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## Legislative Assembly of Ontario

Third Session, 35th Parliament

## Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Troisième session, 35<sup>e</sup> législature

# Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Tuesday 13 April 1993

# Journal des débats (Hansard)

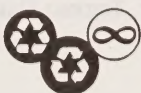
Le mardi 13 Avril 1993

Speaker  
Honourable David Warner

Clerk  
Claude L. DesRosiers

Président  
L'honorable David Warner

Greffier  
Claude L. DesRosiers



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A list arranged by members' surnames and including all responsibilities of each member appears in the first and last issues of each session and on the first Monday of each month. A list arranged by riding and including ministerial responsibilities appears on subsequent Mondays.

### **Table des matières**

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### **Renseignements sur l'Index**

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### **Listes des député(e)s**

Une liste alphabétique des noms des députés, comprenant toutes les responsabilités de chaque député, figure dans les premier et dernier numéros de chaque session et dans le numéro du premier lundi de chaque mois. Par contre, une liste des circonscriptions inscrite dans un ordre alphabétique et comprenant les responsabilités ministérielles paraît tous les lundis suivants.



Tuesday 13 April 1993

The House met at 1503.

His Honour the Lieutenant Governor was pleased to open the session by reading the speech from the throne.

## SPEECH FROM THE THRONE

## DISCOURS DU TRÔNE

**Hon Henry N.R. Jackman (Lieutenant Governor):**

Pray be seated.

Mr Speaker, members of the Legislative Assembly, ladies and gentlemen:

I have the honour of welcoming you to the opening of the third session of the 35th Parliament of the province of Ontario.

This speech from the throne is not about business as usual. We are living in times of great change. Ontario, which has for decades been the industrial heartland of this country, the engine driving Canadian manufacturing and exports, has had some hard blows: high interest rates, an overvalued dollar and trade agreements that have not ensured access to markets. We shall continue to work for alternatives to these policies.

Pour bien mesurer les conséquences de la récession, il faut tenir compte des répercussions qu'elle a eues pour la population ontarienne. On entend souvent dire que l'Ontario a perdu plus de 300 000 emplois ces trois dernières années ; c'est un nombre qui fait réfléchir. Car chaque fois qu'un emploi disparaît, une vie est transformée du jour au lendemain.

A million people in this province have suffered from unemployment. Many thousands have had to turn—for the first time in their lives—to public assistance for food, shelter and clothing. The discomfort and anxiety of these people was what most affected this government when it came into office.

We acted immediately. We invested in jobs and training to turn the talents and ambitions of individuals towards achieving economic recovery. We started the job of rebuilding roads, schools and other infrastructure. We acted to preserve our health system with reforms to make it more efficient and affordable. We forged partnerships with individuals and groups in all parts of Ontario to rebuild our economy. Above all, we invested in people, despite falling revenues and failing federal support.

Our constant goal has been to put Ontario back to work. To ensure a robust and sustained recovery. To facilitate the creation of secure, well-paying jobs. There are now clear signs that Ontario's economy is improving. Over the last seven months, 110,000 jobs were

created in the province. Exports are increasing. Companies are investing in Ontario again. Turning to the future, it is clear that we face a new challenge. We must all join together to ensure our ability to continue investments in jobs, training, education and essential services. We must act decisively to control our mounting provincial debt. Just as it made sense in our budgets of 1991 and 1992, at the height of the recession, to accept higher borrowing, it makes equal sense to reduce provincial borrowing now that the recovery is under way.

If we ignore this commitment, the deficit next year will rise from approximately \$12 billion in the fiscal year just ended to about \$17 billion in 1993-94. At the current rate of growth, the total provincial debt would rise to the unacceptable level of \$120 billion by 1995-96. At that point interest payments on the debt would begin to eat into our budgets for essential services such as health care and education. Ontario would then be trapped in the debt quagmire that has afflicted Canada under the recent Liberal and Conservative administrations. This is what we want to avoid.

Our plan to put Ontario back to work includes immediate action to bring the provincial debt under control. This year we will put the province's finances on a course to ensure we can deliver the jobs and services people expect from their government.

Our economic package includes reductions in government expenditures, raising new revenues through taxes and sale of assets, and the negotiation of a social contract. Our challenge is to turn the need for cost reductions into an opportunity. To maintain investments in jobs and training. To improve essential services. To work out, in partnership with public sector employees and employers, ways to make their work more efficient and the services they provide more affordable.

This government is not unique among provinces in facing fiscal difficulties. What is unique about our situation is the way we have chosen to act. Our approach recognizes that the work public servants do is enormously valuable. It recognizes that the best results for Ontario are those obtained through openness and negotiation.

Some will no doubt say that to embark on major changes is to take risks. We run an even bigger risk by trying to maintain the status quo. If we fail to act now, our public services will become unaffordable. Knowing what we know today, failing to act would threaten the social and economic gains not just of a government but of a generation.

Our plan to put Ontario back to work goes beyond dealing with deficits. It is a plan that will bring about fundamental reforms in the delivery of government services to the public, and in the cost of those services. Some of its elements, such as health care reform and our investments through Jobs Ontario, are already in place. Others are being announced for the first time in this throne speech.

The goal is to return Ontario to a prosperity that is based on responsible fiscal management; investment in jobs; partnership between government, business and labour; principles of fairness and human dignity; respect for the environment; and an abiding concern to provide for the vulnerable among us, including our children.

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To achieve these overall objectives the government is carrying out the following 10-point plan.

1. Investing in our infrastructure: The government has launched more than 1,700 infrastructure projects through the Jobs Ontario Capital fund, creating more than 9,000 jobs across Ontario. Total capital spending by the government last year created about 75,000 jobs.

In partnership with municipalities and the private sector, we will invest \$6 billion over the next decade to build new highways and public transit, improve water quality and conservation and expand telecommunications networks. We are introducing legislation this session to establish three new crown corporations—the Transportation Capital Corp, the Ontario Clean Water Agency and the Ontario Realty Corp—to make these investments a reality.

La restructuration d'Ontario Hydro assurera une tarification qui favorise le renouveau économique en rendant nos industries plus concurrentielles et qui procure à la population ontarienne une source d'énergie sûre à un prix abordable.

2. Emphasizing education and training: Since last summer, the government has helped create more than 19,000 new job opportunities through our Jobs Ontario Training programs. The number of jobs available is growing at the rate of 1,000 per week.

Jobs Ontario Training is getting thousands of people off welfare into jobs. Employers and employees alike benefit from training to upgrade skills that make our economy more competitive.

The new Ontario Training and Adjustment Board will add to this success. It reflects our commitment to work with labour, business, educators and the broader community to provide training that offers real opportunities in the real world.

This government recognizes that training cannot be separated from the larger issues involving the quality and cost of our education. Ontario schools must be able to

prepare our children for the challenge of world citizenship in the 21st century.

A Commission on Learning—with a focus on elementary and secondary education—is being established. It will provide all the residents of Ontario an opportunity to help create an education system better able to meet the needs of the future. We will shortly appoint commissioners, who will be asked to report on their findings by the end of next year.

Province-wide testing of grade 9 students for reading and writing skills will be introduced later this year. Our education system must be more accountable to parents and students. Basic skills in language, math and science need to be widely shared by all Ontario students.

Our commitment to youth employment is an investment that will be repaid many times over. This summer we will invest an additional \$25 million in Jobs Ontario Youth to create 10,000 summer jobs, on top of more than \$150 million we have already committed to youth employment this year.

3. Building partnerships, strengthening industry: This government will continue to develop partnerships with the private sector—to help Ontario industries grow and compete, while providing more and better jobs.

L'aide financière que nous avons accordée à des compagnies comme Chrysler, Ford, de Havilland, Dominion Castings et Mitel porte fruit et a des retombées sur les nombreux fournisseurs de ces entreprises dans tout l'Ontario. Nos investissements ont permis à ces compagnies de créer et de sauvegarder des emplois, d'accélérer leur expansion et d'accroître leur compétitivité.

This government's industrial policy is designed to promote new high-wage and environmentally sustainable jobs. The sector partnership fund provides investment and support for Ontario companies to work with each other and with labour in a climate of collaboration.

A strategy to expand and upgrade Ontario's telecommunications capability is under way. Our partnership with the plastics industry has helped set up three new centres for research and development. More agreements with key industrial sectors will be announced this session.

We will also set up a new Ontario innovation and productivity service to assist firms in exploiting the full potential of new technology. A new Ontario investment centre will provide one-stop shopping for potential investors in Ontario.

To meet the challenges of the new economy, Ontario companies need access to long-term capital. In partnership with the private sector, we will establish the Ontario investment fund to give companies a new source of long-term investment.



4. Supporting communities and small business: We are acting to bring economic renewal into the heart of our communities, particularly in rural and northern Ontario. The budget will contain details of our community economic development initiative.

This session, new community investment share and loan programs will also be established to give small and medium-sized businesses better access to money. This will assist people who want to invest in their local communities through business creation and expansion. As well, \$100 million has been raised for venture capital investments in small and medium-sized Ontario companies through labour-sponsored investment funds.

To strengthen economic renewal, Ontario farmers are being provided with cost-effective financing and programs to stabilize farm income.

A commodity loan guarantee program has been initiated by the government using a provincial guarantee to provide farmers with lower-cost working capital. Over the next year, this program will give farmers access to \$100 million.

5. Expanding worker protection and participation: This government will continue its efforts to expand worker participation in economic renewal. Through innovative worker ownership agreements, we are working to save jobs and Ontario communities. Success is reflected in our experience in Sault Ste Marie, in Kapuskasing and in Thunder Bay.

Two years ago, the future of the Spruce Falls pulp and paper mill in Kapuskasing was threatened. Working with the community, this government helped negotiate a unique employee ownership agreement that saved the mill, which recorded profits in 1992.

Just last month, we supported an employee buyout of Provincial Papers in Thunder Bay to preserve several hundred jobs in that community.

In this session, the government will extend pay equity to an additional 400,000 working women. Fair pay for the thousands of low-income workers who are mainly women caring for our children, our sick, our old people and our most vulnerable is a matter of simple justice. While the overall cost of compensation in the public sector needs to be reduced to preserve jobs and essential services, the foundation must be greater fairness. A start has already been made in the pay equity down payments announced earlier this spring.

6. Reforming health care: Notre gouvernement continuera de réformer le système de santé et d'en contrôler les coûts tout en améliorant la qualité de ses services qui font l'envie du monde entier.

Hospitals are now providing more outpatient care, occupancy rates are decreasing, hospital stays are shorter, more surgery is done as day surgery and the

total number of patients treated is up. Over the previous decade, provincial spending on day care grew on average by about 11% a year. Now growth is just over 1%. The process of reform and change must continue. During this session, the government will implement a historic shift in the way we care for people, by introducing an innovative system of long-term care for the elderly and the disabled.

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7. Sustaining the environment: Improving the environment is key to Ontario. In this session, my government will seek approval of the environmental bill of rights. This bill will ensure that people and communities have the right to a cleaner and safer environment through a more open and accountable decision-making process.

We will also expand our reduce, reuse and recycle program, making it the most comprehensive in Canada. New regulations will require separation of recyclables by generators; waste reduction audits by the industrial, commercial and institutional sectors; packaging audits by major users; and will provide streamlined approvals for 3R sorting facilities.

8. Strengthening social justice: My government will continue to provide leadership in fighting discrimination of all kinds. We have made significant progress in implementing the recommendations of the Stephen Lewis report on race relations, and will continue these efforts with initiatives such as the Cabinet Round Table on Anti-Racism.

To meet the challenges of rapid change and economic renewal, we must take advantage of the full capabilities offered by our diverse society—a key advantage in today's global economy.

This government's employment equity proposals will achieve a workable system that draws upon the talents of all Ontarians. We will seek passage of the Employment Equity Act this session.

9. Supporting families, getting back to work: The social assistance system is not working. No amount of tinkering will fix it. This government believes it is time for fundamental reform.

Our goal is to ensure that Ontarians can raise their children without having to rely on social assistance. We must help get people back to work, with a stronger link to training that is relevant to today's economy. A white paper setting out plans for reform will be released this summer.

High-quality child care is an essential support, particularly for women, to participate in the labour force. The Jobs Ontario Training fund is providing up to 20,000 more subsidized child care spaces, in addition to training and employment opportunities.

10. Controlling government costs: This government

has outlined in recent weeks the specific steps we are taking to control costs, maintain essential services, and reduce the deficit—driven by principles of fairness and shared responsibility. We have eliminated eight ministries of government and continued our internal spending controls. We are engaged in the historic act of negotiating a social contract with the 900,000 men and women who make up the public sector in Ontario. Other measures will include further reductions in government expenditures and raising additional revenues.

In conclusion, we know the state of the economy requires that we act decisively, and that is what we are doing. But we also know that the ability of people to thrive and enjoy life depends on the community that sustains them—through education, health and a respect for fairness and equality.

As a society, we cannot move forward without bringing everyone along. We are in this together. That has been our guiding principle. We are in this together, to share the benefits, to bear the difficulties as a single community. Our economic policies are based upon that principle. So are our efforts to build partnerships to deal with issues and opportunities.

Our economic decisions are always guided by a concern for people; by the right of all the residents of Ontario to find in this community the conditions of fairness, respect and economic opportunity they need to build a better life for themselves and for their families.

L'Ontario demeure la province qui attire le plus grand nombre d'immigrants de tous les pays du monde. Ces personnes choisissent de s'établir ici parce qu'elles y voient une terre pleine de promesses, où elles pourront faire fructifier leurs talents et leurs aptitudes. Nous pouvons tirer une leçon de cette vision des choses. Notre province offre des avantages bien concrets que nous devrions tous être fiers de promouvoir.

The foundation of what we have built in Ontario is our respect for others and our concern for each other. Those simple human qualities, combined with our ability to work together, have made Ontario prosperous.

The programs, policies and investments that comprise the government's plan respect that tradition. It is a plan for social and economic change built upon partnership and responsibility, a plan for reform and restructuring that will preserve what is best about Ontario, while challenging all of us to make it better.

May Divine Providence attend your deliberations.

In our Sovereign's name, I thank you.

God bless the Queen and Canada.

Prayers.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** I beg to inform the House that, to prevent mistakes, I have obtained a copy of His Honour's remarks, which I will now read.

[Reading dispensed with.]

## INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

RYERSON POLYTECHNIC UNIVERSITY  
STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1993

LOI DE 1993 MODIFIANT DES LOIS  
EN CE QUI CONCERNE

LA RYERSON POLYTECHNIC UNIVERSITY

On motion by Mr Cooke, the following bill was given first reading:

Bill 1, An Act to amend The Ryerson Polytechnical Institute Act, 1977 and the University Foundations Act, 1992 / Loi modifiant la loi intitulée The Ryerson Polytechnical Institute Act, 1977 et la Loi de 1992 sur les fondations universitaires.

**Hon David S. Cooke (Minister of Education and Training):** Very briefly, Mr Speaker, I am pleased to bring forward in the House today a bill to amend the Ryerson Polytechnical Institute Act. With passage of this bill in the Legislature, Ryerson Polytechnical Institute will become Ryerson Polytechnic University, Ontario's first polytechnic university.

Ryerson is a fine institution that has served the students in this province since 1948. For many years, Ryerson students have taken university-level programs and met university-level expectations. I believe it is time that Ryerson students receive the same degrees as other students. Establishing Ryerson Polytechnic University also means that Ryerson will join a number of other polytechnic institutions in Britain and elsewhere that recently have achieved full degree-granting status.

Applied education, applied research: These are some of the keys to facilitating economic renewal. As an institution focusing on applied education and research, Ryerson is poised to make a tremendous contribution to the quality of life in Ontario. For these reasons, I am pleased to introduce in the House today a bill to establish Ryerson Polytechnic University.

## MOTIONS

### THRONE SPEECH DEBATE

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Chairman of the Management Board of Cabinet and Government House Leader):** I move that the speech of His Honour the Lieutenant Governor to this House be taken into consideration tomorrow, Wednesday, April 14, 1993.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

### ADJOURNMENT MOTION

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Chairman of the Management Board of Cabinet and Government House Leader):** I move the adjournment of the House.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

This House stands adjourned until 1:30 of the clock tomorrow afternoon.



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The House adjourned at 1534.

**LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO  
ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE DE L'ONTARIO**

**Lieutenant Governor/Lieutenant-gouverneur: Lt Col The Hon/L'hon Henry N.R. Jackman CM, KStJ, BA, LLB, LLD**

**Speaker/Président: Hon/L'hon David Warner**

**Clerk/Greffier: Claude L. DesRosiers**

**Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Committees/Greffière adjointe et Greffière des comités: Deborah Deller**

**Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Journals/Greffier adjoint et Greffier des journaux: Alex D. McFedries**

**Sergeant at Arms/Sergent d'armes: Thomas Stelling**

Member/Député(e)	Constituency/Circonscription	Party/Parti	Other responsibilities/Autres responsabilités
Abel, Donald	Wentworth North/-Nord	ND	government whip / whip du gouvernement
Akande, Zanana	St Andrew-St Patrick	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Premier / adjointe parlementaire du premier ministre
<b>Allen, Hon/L'hon Richard</b>	Hamilton West/-Ouest	ND	Minister without Portfolio, Ministry of Economic Development and Trade / ministre sans portefeuille, ministère du Développement économique et du Commerce
Arnott, Ted	Wellington	PC	
Beer, Charles	York North/-Nord	L	Chair, standing committee on social development / Président du Comité permanent des affaires sociales
Bisson, Gilles	Cochrane South/-Sud	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Northern Development and Mines, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for francophone affairs / adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines, adjoint parlementaire du ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
<b>Boyd, Hon/L'hon Marion</b>	London Centre/-Centre	ND	Attorney General, minister responsible for women's issues / procureure générale, ministre déléguée à la Condition féminine
Bradley, James J.	St Catharines	L	opposition deputy House leader / chef parlementaire de l'opposition
Brown, Michael A.	Algoma-Manitoulin	L	Chair, standing committee on general government / Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernementales
<b>Buchanan, Hon/L'hon Elmer</b>	Hastings-Peterborough	ND	Minister of Agriculture and Food / ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation
Callahan, Robert V.	Brampton South/-Sud	L	
Caplan, Elinor	Oriole	L	
Carr, Gary	Oakville South/-Sud	PC	
Carter, Jenny	Peterborough	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship / adjointe parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiques
<b>Charlton, Hon/L'hon Brian</b>	Hamilton Mountain	ND	Chair of the Management Board of Cabinet, government House leader and minister responsible for the automobile insurance review / président du Conseil de gestion, leader parlementaire du gouvernement et délégué à l'Assurance- automobile
Chiarelli, Robert	Ottawa West/-Ouest	L	
<b>Christopherson, Hon/L'hon David</b>	Hamilton Centre/-Centre	ND	Solicitor General and Minister of Correctional Services / solliciteur général et ministre des Services correctionnels
<b>Churley, Hon/L'hon Marilyn</b>	Riverdale	ND	Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations / ministre de la Consommation et du Commerce
Cleary, John C.	Cornwall	L	
Conway, Sean G.	Renfrew North/-Nord	L	Deputy Leader of the Opposition / chef adjoint de l'opposition
<b>Cooke, Hon/L'hon David</b>	Windsor-Riverside	ND	Minister of Education and Training, minister responsible for the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board / ministre de l'Éducation et de la Formation, ministre responsable du Conseil ontarien de formation et d'adaptation de la main-d'oeuvre
Cooper, Mike	Kitchener-Wilmot	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Labour; deputy government whip; Chair, standing committee on administration of justice / adjoint parlementaire du ministre du Travail, whip adjoint du gouvernement, Président du Comité permanent de l'administration de la justice

Member/Député(e)	Constituency/Circonscription	Party/Parti	Other responsibilities/Autres responsabilités
<b>Coppen, Hon/L'hon Shirley</b>	Niagara South/-Sud	ND	Minister without Portfolio, Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Recreation; chief government whip / ministre sans portefeuille, ministère de la Culture, du Tourisme et des Loisirs ; whip en chef du gouvernement
Cordiano, Joseph	Lawrence	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on public accounts / Vice-Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics
Cousens, W. Donald	Markham	PC	Progressive Conservative deputy House leader / chef parlementaire adjoint du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Cunningham, Dianne	London North/-Nord	PC	Progressive Conservative chief whip / whip en chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Curling, Alvin	Scarborough North/-Nord	L	opposition deputy whip / whip adjoint de l'opposition
Dadamo, George	Windsor-Sandwich	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Culture, Tourism and Recreation / adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Culture, du Tourisme et des Loisirs
Daigeler, Hans	Nepean	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on social development / Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires sociales
Drainville, Dennis	Victoria-Haliburton	ND	First Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House / Premier Vice-Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Eddy, Ron	Brant-Haldimand	L	
Elston, Murray J.	Bruce	L	opposition House leader / chef parlementaire de l'opposition
Eves, Ernie	Parry Sound	PC	Progressive Conservative House leader / chef parlementaire du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Farnan, Mike	Cambridge	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly, parliamentary assistant to Minister of Education and Training / Vice-Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative, adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Éducation et de la Formation
Fawcett, Joan M.	Northumberland	L	
Ferguson, Will	Kitchener	ND	
Fletcher, Derek	Guelph	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship / adjoint parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiques
Frankford, Robert	Scarborough East/-Est	ND	
<b>Gigantes, Hon/L'hon Evelyn</b>	Ottawa Centre/-Centre	ND	Minister of Housing / ministre du Logement
Grandmaître, Bernard C.	Ottawa East/-Est	L	
<b>Grier, Hon/L'hon Ruth A.</b>	Etobicoke-Lakeshore	ND	Minister of Health / ministre de la Santé
Haeck, Christel	St Catharines-Brock	ND	government whip; Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman / whip du gouvernement, Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman
Halton North/-Nord	Duignan, Noel	ND	Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly / Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative
<b>Hampton, Hon/L'hon Howard</b>	Rainy River	ND	Minister of Natural Resources / ministre des Richesses naturelles
Hansen, Ron	Lincoln	ND	Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs / Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires économiques
Harnick, Charles	Willowdale	PC	
Harrington, Margaret H.	Niagara Falls	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Housing / adjointe parlementaire de la ministre du Logement
Harris, Michael	Nipissing	PC	leader of the Progressive Conservative Party / chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur
<b>Haslam, Hon/L'hon Karen</b>	Perth	ND	Minister without Portfolio, Ministry of Health / ministre sans portefeuille, ministère de la Santé
Hayes, Pat	Essex-Kent	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Municipal Affairs / adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires municipales
Henderson, D. James	Etobicoke-Humber	L	
Hope, Randy R.	Chatham-Kent	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Community and Social Services / adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires



Member/Député(e)	Constituency/Circonscription	Party/Parti	Other responsibilities/Autres responsabilités
Huget, Bob	Sarnia	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of the Environment and Energy; Vice-Chair, standing committee on resources development / adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Environnement et de l'Énergie. Vice-Président du Comité permanent du développement des ressources
Jackson, Cameron	Burlington South/-Sud	PC	Chair, standing committee on estimates / Président du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses
Jamison, Norm	Norfolk	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Economic Development and Trade / adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Développement économique et du Commerce
Johnson, Paul R.	Prince Edward-Lennox-South-Hastings / Prince Edward-Lennox-Hastings-Sud	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Economic Development and Trade / adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Développement économique et du Commerce
Jordan, W. Leo	Lanark-Renfrew	PC	
Klopp, Paul	Huron	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food / adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation
Kormos, Peter	Welland-Thorold	ND	Chair, standing committee on resources development / Président du Comité permanent du développement des ressources
Kwinter, Monte	Wilson Heights	L	
<b>Lankin, Hon/L'hon Frances</b>	Beaches-Woodbine	ND	Minister of Economic Development and Trade / ministre du Développement économique et du Commerce
<b>Laughren, Hon/L'hon Floyd</b>	Nickel Belt	ND	Deputy Premier, Minister of Finance / vice-premier ministre, ministre des Finances
Lessard, Wayne	Windsor-Walkerville	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of the Environment and Energy / adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Environnement et de l'Énergie
<b>Mackenzie, Hon/L'hon Bob</b>	Hamilton East/-Est	ND	Minister of Labour / ministre du Travail
MacKinnon, Ellen	Lambton	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills / Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets de loi privés
Mahoney, Steven W.	Mississauga West/-Ouest	L	opposition chief whip / whip en chef de l'opposition
Malkowski, Gary	York East/-Est	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Education and Training / adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Éducation et de la Formation
Mammoliti, George	Yorkview	ND	parliamentary assistant to Solicitor General and Minister of Correctional Services / adjoint parlementaire du solliciteur général et ministre des Services correctionnels
Mancini, Remo	Essex South/-Sud	L	Chair, standing committee on public accounts / Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics
Marchese, Rosario	Fort York	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Premier, parliamentary assistant to Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs / adjoint parlementaire du premier ministre, adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires intergouvernementales
Marland, Margaret	Mississauga South/-Sud	PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on estimates / Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses
<b>Martel, Hon/L'hon Shelley</b>	Sudbury East/-Est	ND	Minister of Northern Development and Mines / ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines
Martin, Tony	Sault Ste Marie / Sault-Sainte-Marie	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Education and Training / adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Éducation et de la Formation
Mathysen, Irene	Middlesex	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of the Environment and Energy / adjointe parlementaire du ministre de l'Environnement et de l'Énergie
McClelland, Carman	Brampton North/-Nord	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on general government / Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernementales
McGuinty, Dalton J.P.	Ottawa South/-Sud	L	
McLean, Allan K.	Simcoe East/-Est	PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on government agencies / Vice-Président du Comité permanent des organismes

Member/Député(e)	Constituency/Circonscription	Party/Parti	Other responsibilities/Autres responsabilités
			gouvernementaux
McLeod, Lyn	Fort William	L	Leader of the Opposition / chef de l'opposition
Miclash, Frank	Kenora	L	opposition deputy whip / whip adjoint de l'opposition
Mills, Gord	Durham East/-Est	ND	parliamentary assistant to Solicitor General and Minister of Correctional Services / adjoint parlementaire du solliciteur général et ministre des Services correctionnels
Morin, Gilles E.	Carleton East/-Est	L	Deputy Speaker and Chair of the Committee of the Whole House / Vice-Président et Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Morrow, Mark	Wentworth East/-Est	ND	Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman: Vice-Chair, standing committee on administration of justice / Président du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman, Vice-Président du Comité permanent de l'administration de la justice
Murdoch, Bill	Grey	PC	
Murdock, Sharon	Sudbury	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Labour / adjointe parlementaire du ministre du Travail
North, Peter	Elgin	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food / adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation
O'Connor, Larry	Durham-York	ND	parliamentary assistant to minister of Health / adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Santé
O'Neil, Hugh P.	Quinte	L	
O'Neill, Yvonne	Ottawa-Rideau	L	
Offer, Steven	Mississauga North/-Nord	L	
Owens, Stephen	Scarborough Centre/-Centre	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Finance / adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Finances
Perruzza, Anthony	Downsview	ND	parliamentary assistant to Chair of the Management Board of Cabinet / adjoint parlementaire du président du Conseil de gestion
<b>Philip, Hon/L'hon Ed</b>	Etobicoke-Rexdale	ND	Minister of Municipal Affairs / ministre des Affaires municipales
Phillips, Gerry	Scarborough-Agincourt	L	
<b>Pilkey, Hon/L'hon Allan</b>	Oshawa	ND	Minister without Portfolio, Ministry of Municipal Affairs / ministre sans portefeuille, ministère des Affaires municipales
Poirier, Jean	Prescott and Russell / Prescott et Russell	L	
Poole, Dianne	Eglinton	L	
<b>Pouliot, Hon/L'hon Gilles</b>	Lake Nipigon/Lac-Nipigon	ND	Minister of Transportation, minister responsible for francophone affairs / ministre des Transports, ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
<b>Rae, Hon/L'hon Bob</b>	York South/-Sud	ND	Premier, President of the Executive Council, Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs / premier ministre, président du Conseil exécutif, ministre des Affaires gouvernementales
Ramsay, David	Timiskaming	L	
Rizzo, Tony	Oakwood	ND	
Runciman, Robert W.	Leeds-Grenville	PC	Chair, standing committee on government agencies / Président du Comité permanent des organismes gouvernementaux
Ruprecht, Tony	Parkdale	L	
<b>Silipo, Hon/L'hon Tony</b>	Dovercourt	ND	Minister of Community and Social Services / ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires
Sola, John	Mississauga East/-Est	L	
Sorbara, Gregory S.	York Centre/-Centre	L	
Sterling, Norman W.	Carleton	PC	
Stockwell, Chris	Etobicoke West/-Ouest	PC	
Sullivan, Barbara	Halton Centre/-Centre	L	
Sutherland, Kimble	Oxford	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Finance: Vice-Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs / adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Finances : Vice-Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires économiques
<b>Swarbrick, Hon/L'hon Anne</b>	Scarborough West/-Ouest	ND	Minister of Culture, Tourism and Recreation /



Member/Député(e)	Constituency/Circonscription	Party/Parti	Other responsibilities/Autres responsabilités
			ministre de la Culture, du Tourisme et des Loisirs
Tilson, David	Dufferin-Peel	PC	
Turnbull, David	York Mills	PC	Progressive Conservative whip / whip du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Vacant	Don Mills		
Vacant	St George-St David		
Villeneuve, Noble	S-D-G & East Grenville / S-D-G & Grenville-Est	PC	Second Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House / Deuxième Vice-Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Ward, Brad	Brantford	ND	Minister without portfolio, Ministry of Finance / ministre sans portefeuille, ministère des Finances
<b>Wark-Martyn, Hon/L'hon Shelley</b>	Port Arthur	ND	Minister without Portfolio, Ministry of Education and Training / ministre sans portefeuille, ministère de l'Éducation et de la Formation
<b>Warner, Hon/L'hon David</b>	Scarborough-Ellesmere	ND	Speaker / Président
Waters, Daniel	Muskoka-Georgian Bay	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Culture, Tourism and Recreation / adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Culture, du Tourisme et des Loisirs
Wessenger, Paul	Simcoe Centre/-Centre	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Health / adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Santé
White, Drummond	Durham Centre/-Centre	ND	Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills / Président du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets de loi privés
<b>Wildman, Hon/L'hon Bud</b>	Algoma	ND	Minister of Environment and Energy, minister responsible for native affairs / ministre de l'Environnement et de l'Énergie, ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones
<b>Wilson, Hon/L'hon Fred</b>	Frontenac-Addington	ND	Minister without Portfolio and chief government whip / ministre sans portefeuille et whip en chef du gouvernement
Wilson, Jim	Simcoe West/-Ouest	PC	
Wilson, Gary	Kingston and The Islands / Kingston et Les Îles	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Education and Training / adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Éducation et de la
Winninger, David	London South/-Sud	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Attorney General, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for native affairs / adjoint parlementaire de la procureure générale, adjoint parlementaire du ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones
Wiseman, Jim	Durham West/-Ouest	ND	parliamentary assistant to Chair of the Management Board of Cabinet / adjoint parlementaire du président du Conseil de gestion
Witmer, Elizabeth	Waterloo North/-Nord	PC	
Wood, Len	Cochrane North/-Nord	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Natural Resources / adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Richesses naturelles
<b>Ziemba, Hon/L'hon Elaine</b>	High Park-Swansea	ND	Minister of Citizenship, minister responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations / ministre des Affaires civiques, ministre déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales











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## Legislative Assembly of Ontario

Third Session, 35th Parliament

## Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Troisième session, 35<sup>e</sup> législature

# Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Wednesday 14 April 1993

# Journal des débats (Hansard)

Le mercredi 14 Avril 1993



Speaker  
Honourable David Warner

Président  
L'honorable David Warner

Clerk  
Claude L. DesRosiers

Greffier  
Claude L. DesRosiers



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Wednesday 14 April 1993

The House met at 1334.

Prayers.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Before proceeding with the business of the House, I would like to inform members that we have a power difficulty which has affected the clocks. The table will do the best it can to provide the accurate time to me. I would simply ask members to understand that and to cooperate as best they can. As soon as the power can be fixed, of course, then we'll be back on to using the clocks.

#### DEATH OF MEMBER FOR DON MILLS

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** I beg to inform the House that a vacancy did occur in the membership of the House by reason of the death of Margery Ward, member for the electoral district of Don Mills. Accordingly, my warrant was issued to the chief election officer for the issue of a writ for a by-election.

#### INTRODUCTION OF MEMBER FOR ST GEORGE-ST DAVID

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** I also beg to inform the House that the Clerk has received from the chief election officer and laid upon the table a certificate of a by-election in the electoral district of St George-St David.

#### Clerk of the House (Mr Claude L. DesRosiers):

"Mr Claude L. DesRosiers  
"Clerk of the Legislative Assembly  
"Room 104, Legislative Building  
"Queen's Park  
"Toronto, Ontario  
"M7A 1A2

"This is to certify that, in view of a writ of election dated the 22nd day of February 1993, issued by the Honourable Lieutenant Governor of the province of Ontario, and addressed to Betty Quantrill, returning officer for the electoral district of St George-St David, for the election of a member to represent the said electoral district of St George-St David in the Legislative Assembly of this province in the room of Ian Scott, who, since his election as representative of the said electoral district of St George-St David, has resigned his seat, Tim Murphy has been returned as duly elected as appears by the return of the said writ of election dated the 9th day of April 1993, which is now lodged of record in my office.

"(Signed) Warren R. Bailie, chief election officer; Toronto, April 13, 1993."

**Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition):** Mr Speaker, I have the honour to present to you and to the House Tim Murphy, the member-elect for the electoral district of St George-St David, who has taken the oath

and signed the roll and who now claims the right to take his seat.

**The Speaker:** Let the honourable member take his seat.

#### INTRODUCTION OF MEMBER FOR DON MILLS

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** I beg to inform the House that the Clerk has received from the chief election officer and laid upon the table a certificate of a by-election in the electoral district of Don Mills.

#### Clerk of the House:

"Mr Claude L. DesRosiers  
"Clerk of the Legislative Assembly  
"Room 104, Legislative Building  
"Queen's Park  
"Toronto, Ontario  
"M7A 1A2

"This is to certify that, in view of a writ of election dated the 22nd day of February 1993, issued by the Honourable Lieutenant Governor of the province of Ontario and addressed to Marlene Streek, returning officer for the electoral district of Don Mills, for the election of a member to represent the said electoral district of Don Mills in the Legislative Assembly of this province in the room of Margery Ward, who, since her election as representative of the said electoral district of Don Mills, hath departed this life, Dave Johnson has been returned as duly elected as appears by the return of the said writ of election dated the 9th day of April 1993, which is now lodged of record in my office.

"(Signed) Warren R. Bailie, chief election officer; Toronto, April 13, 1993."

**Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing):** Mr Speaker, I have the honour to present to you and the House Dave Johnson, member-elect for the electoral district of Don Mills, who has taken the oath and signed the roll and now claims the right to take his seat.

**The Speaker:** Let the honourable member take his seat.

1340

#### REPORT OF COMMISSION ON ELECTION FINANCES

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** I beg to inform the House that on Wednesday, February 10, the 16th report of the Commission on Election Finances containing recommendations concerning the indemnities and allowances of the members of the Legislative Assembly was tabled with the Clerk's office.

#### LEGISLATIVE PAGES

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** I would ask all members to join me in welcoming the 12th group of

pages to serve in the third session of the 35th Parliament:

Letetia Bryan, Riverdale; Mark Cairns, Victoria-Haliburton; Cheryl Lynne Desson, Carleton East; Andrew Emmott, Brant-Haldimand; Kim Fairley, Downsview; Tomasso Ferrera, Sarnia; Suzanne Field, Wentworth North; Heather Graham, Algoma-Manitoulin; Grant Holly, Chatham-Kent; Martin Hrobsky, Mississauga West; Alycia Hudson, Lanark-Renfrew; Christianne James, Brampton South;

Patrick Keating, Middlesex; Shasta Koval, Kenora; Jennifer Lewis, Mississauga South; Timothy Madokoro, Markham; Julia Marshall, Quinte; John Milne, Kitchener-Wilmot; James Nicholas Mouskis, Algoma; Miranda Phelan, Hastings-Peterborough; Allison Sparrey, York East; Dawn Tannous, Essex South; David Vaillancourt, Sault Ste Marie; Francesco Vella, Windsor-Walkerville.

Will you please welcome our pages.

#### MEMBERS' STATEMENTS

##### HEALTH SERVICES

**Mr Frank Miclash (Kenora):** I find it incredible that I am standing in the House once again lobbying an NDP Minister of Health not to allow changes to the underserviced area program.

*Interjection.*

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Order.

**Mr Miclash:** Last year clinics for visiting specialists were cancelled because the NDP government would not approve funding for the program after June 30.

*Interjection.*

**Mr Miclash:** And I remind the minister that he might be interested in this.

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Mr Miclash:** Once again, the shadow of cuts hovers over this most important program, and everyone is asking us what is going on. As of March 31, all underserviced area program agreements expired and the Ministry of Health is only approving applications for visits by specialists on an interim, month-to-month basis.

For smaller communities whose doctors are taking vacation and who rely on the local program, the problem is much more startling. Can you believe that instead of sending a replacement doctor to these communities, these communities have been told by the Ministry of Health officials to get an answering machine?

Minister, I must encourage you to examine not only the delivery of the services to the patients in small northern communities, but also the cost of many patients having to travel versus the cost of one specialist

travelling into their community. Minister, I plead with you to examine and weigh the alternatives in such a manner that keeps this program on the track providing services to small northern communities.

#### PALLADIUM SPORTS FACILITY

**Mr Norman W. Sterling (Carleton):** On July 29, 1992, I attended a ground-breaking ceremony together with a number of other members of this Legislature for the \$193-million Palladium in my riding of Carleton. The Palladium at Kanata is to be the new home of the Ottawa Senators NHL hockey club and a 18,500-seat, multipurpose sports and entertainment facility serving all of eastern Ontario.

Unfortunately, the Palladium is presently experiencing construction delay because the Ontario government and the Palladium Corp have been slow to agree on the terms of a provincial government loan guarantee for the \$35 million required for public infrastructure, including a highway interchange.

I wish to remind the government that the construction of the Palladium will directly provide 1,100 person-years of employment for a 22-month construction period, and indirectly another 1,600 person-year jobs. Revenue to the province of Ontario during construction will amount to approximately \$12 million and, following construction, annual tax revenues to the province from the operations will amount to about \$9 million.

I wish to further remind the government that this will be the largest union construction project in Canada in 1993-94.

I urge the Premier and his government to show good faith and immediately conclude their negotiations with the Ottawa Senators so that the Palladium project can get under way and 2,800 person-years of employment will be realized. Eighteen trade unions and tens of thousands of hockey fans are anxiously awaiting your approval.

#### STU DREW

**Mr Drummond White (Durham Centre):** It is with both pleasure and sadness that I rise to pay tribute to my friend Stu Drew, founder of the Neurofibromatosis Society of Ontario—pleasure that his is a spirit and a determination that live on and sadness that his physical existence is no longer and that he is no longer a part of our immediate community.

Neurofibromatosis, or NF for short, is the tragic genetic disorder that was brought to public attention in the play and movie, *The Elephant Man*. Ironically, Stu has told me that John Merrick, the *Elephant Man*, did not suffer from neurofibromatosis.

NF is most commonly characterized by the growth of tumours beneath or on the surface of the skin and manifested in brown spots, known as café-au-lait marks,



over the body. Usually there's a tremendous amount of mental anguish as well as the physical disfigurement.

Stu worked tirelessly to help beat neurofibromatosis. He reached out to provide support for others afflicted with NF and aid physicians in their search for a cure. Stu counselled NF sufferers from all over Canada, making himself an invaluable support to the thousands who are afflicted with this disorder.

A glimmer of hope for a cure came when researchers isolated the gene that causes NF in 1990, but research has been slow due to lack of funding. Stu has lobbied for both research and a neurofibromatosis clinic to address the concerns of those who've been grievously afflicted by this disorder.

Sadly, no cure came in time for Mr Drew, who passed away in January of another affliction.

#### SOCIAL ASSISTANCE

**Mrs Yvonne O'Neill (Ottawa-Rideau):** To quote from yesterday's speech from the throne, "The social assistance system is not working, and no amount of tinkering will fix it."

Social assistance, as we all know it, is hopelessly wasteful and is often less than helpful to its recipients, and yet this government presents as its one solution a white paper, a discussion paper—another delay tactic, a stalling mechanism, another excuse for real action, a disappointing inability to deal with real problems.

Social assistance reform has been studied for over a decade in this province. The most significant reports now gather dust. Transitions, with its close to 300 recommendations, was unanimously supported by all parties as the blueprint we wished to follow for social assistance in Ontario.

More recently, in May 1992, a document built upon Transitions, Time for Action, with 52 directions for implementation, was fully embraced by this NDP government. Indeed, the minister at the time, the Honourable Marion Boyd, stated, "Social assistance reform is my most crucial priority." She promised legislation within the year, and yet yesterday this NDP government promised a discussion paper.

This government promises no plans for efficiencies, no meaningful reforms to better help the vulnerable in our communities. The long-awaited social assistance reform is once again being put on the shelf. Ontario deserves and demands better.

1350

#### BURLINGTON FAMILY NIGHT

**Mr Cameron Jackson (Burlington South):** There are many signs that indicate the coming of spring, and for Ontario and Canadian baseball fans the most important one of all was the return of the world champion

Toronto Blue Jays to the SkyDome last Friday.

I am pleased to announce that tonight at the SkyDome will mark the third annual Burlington Family Night at the Dome, which will see the Toronto Blue Jays up against the Seattle Mariners at 7:30. As the MPP for Burlington South, it is my privilege to sponsor this community event each year, proceeds from which will go to the Burlington Association for Community Living, which does excellent work with intellectually challenged adults and children in our community of Burlington.

Among the special guests who will be participating in the onfield presentation will be three-time Special Olympics gold medal winner Jodi Kaczur, who is also the honorary chairperson for this year's annual BACL bike-a-thon which will be held on May 2.

BJ Bird will help to hatch a special dinosaur egg and publicly welcome, for the first time, our bike-a-thon mascot, Bike-a-saurus. The pre-game ceremony will be an exciting way to start the evening, where Jay fans will be joined by several thousand enthusiastic Burlington boosters in cheering the Jays to another victory.

I invite all to come out and participate in what will be a fun-filled way of going up to bat for the Burlington Association for Community Living to help it keep its funding bases covered. By the way, there are still a few tickets left for tonight's game, and they're available by calling my constituency office at 639-7924.

#### BUSINESS IN TORONTO

**Mr Gordon Mills (Durham East):** A few months back, when Bill 40 was being debated in this House, both opposition parties went nuts. They said that in the morning, all the business in Ontario would be located in the United States. To date, Mr Speaker, they spent millions on the campaign to spread doom and gloom all across Ontario—

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Order.

**Mr Mills:** —to put fear in the heads of the workers. The billboard campaign waged by Bay Street was a disgusting effort.

Today I want to speak about Mr Ron Foxcraft, the owner of Foxton International Inc, whose mouthguard division is expected to sell to \$5 million this year in Ontario.

This company went to New York as an emotional reaction to Bill 40 and has since returned to Ontario. The company president says, "It's cheaper to produce in Ontario, we have a more reliable workforce and there is a better team effort here."

So as you're gearing up for another term of doom and gloom and negativity, I say to you, shame on the lot of



you. This is an example of what we can do in the province of Ontario, and you just listen and remember that.

#### *Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** I did inform members that the clocks weren't working. I didn't say that the sound system wasn't working. The member for Ottawa West.

#### AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE

**Mr Robert Chiarelli (Ottawa West):** Mr Speaker, that is a tough act to follow.

The NDP's new auto insurance legislation represents another government shot at innocent seniors across Ontario. Since the introduction of this ill-planned and unnecessary legislation, MPPs' offices have been inundated with calls and letters from concerned seniors who will suffer because of the NDP's unfair and inequitable rate increases soon to hit seniors.

The government knows that it is exerting a painful grab on the pocketbooks of seniors. The United Senior Citizens of Ontario Association told the government this:

"When looking at cost projections presented to us by various organizations, including the government of Ontario...it has become apparent that largely due to Bill 164 our members will see automobile rates increase between 4% and 20% next year.

"Regardless of who is right or what the final outcome will be, rate increases of 4% are totally out of the question. If in fact we have rate increases as high as 20%, we are sure that we will go...to a point where this is the number one complaint from our members."

The government must come to its senses and correct this ill-advised and unnecessary legislation. In these tough economic times, seniors can't stand to take another hit. Seniors have been a key target of this government, through OHIP cutbacks, drug benefit reductions and increased property taxes, and now they will have to carry the freight for high-risk drivers.

#### SKILLS TRAINING

**Mr Bill Murdoch (Grey):** The Georgian Triangle Literacy and Basic Skills Coalition is very concerned that the Ministry of Labour plans to cut all labour adjustment program funds from the Ministry of Education and Training's literacy branch.

The program, which was initiated by this government, allows laid-off workers to be fast-tracked to higher education and jobs by having them go through a cost-effective and efficient retraining process. It is in place across Ontario and serves a multitude who rely on it, those unemployed men and women who must learn to read and write before they can find a job.

The Ministry of Labour encouraged workers who had

lost their jobs to enter these retraining programs and improve their skills. The workers saw this as a commitment by the government to help them through the necessary process. They were told that if factories or businesses shut down, this avenue would be open to them. Now they are faced with the prospect of being let down once again.

The program has proven to be very successful and has garnered a great deal of support across the province. In the past year, thousands of displaced workers have been trained by community colleges, school boards and local initiatives through labour adjustment training.

The minister knows that, for the time being, our unemployment rate is not dropping. My office has learned that he has \$6 million which his officials have earmarked for apprenticeship programs. The money should go to LAI. Literacy is the most fundamental and basic skill we can have, and this government has promised to provide it. There are waiting lists to get into these programs, and those who are on the lists ask you to keep your word.

#### OPPOSITION MEMBERS

**Mr Derek Fletcher (Guelph):** Mr Speaker, it's good to see you back for another session. One of my pet peeves, and it's also a pet peeve of a lot of people in Ontario, is junk mail. Let me show you some of my junk mail. It's called The Leader's Report from Lyn McLeod. That's a good piece of junk mail that I've been getting.

What it says is that the solution for creating jobs for the long term lies in common sense. What's common about sense when you're looking at Liberals? Not much. It's the same old rhetoric we've been getting for many years from the Liberals. The people of Ontario are saying, "Forget this, we don't need it." You also get a 1-800 number. If you phone it, you get an answering machine that says, "Sorry, we don't have any policies, but you can trust us." We're not ready for that.

In fact when you look across the floor, the member for Renfrew North was crying so much last term you couldn't make any sense out of what he was saying. The member for Oriole was chirping away all the time; couldn't hear a thing that was going on. The Leader of the Opposition is a marshmallow; a lot of puff, that's all it is.

The people had the Liberals for five years, and they realized that they couldn't govern. That's why they've turned away from what they were doing.

Let's look at it: At least when this government has a deficit, we call it a deficit, not a surplus. At least we're not out there telling people one thing when it isn't actually true. So what we have to look at is exactly the rhetoric of the left and the right. I'm coming to you

guys later, but not right now; I'm hitting this side.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** The member's time has expired.

MEMBER FOR DON MILLS AND  
MEMBER FOR ST GEORGE-ST DAVID

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs):** I wonder if I might have unanimous consent of the House. This is both a sad and a happy occasion for members of the Legislature, because while we are here of course to welcome two new members, it also is a day on which we mark the passing of one of our colleagues and another former colleague who is known to many of us.

I wonder if I might have this opportunity to say a few words in recognition of the new members and then sit down and ask if there are members of other parties who would like to indulge themselves for a few moments. I'm sure we'd permit that, and then if I might have unanimous consent to say a few words about our late colleagues.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Do we have unanimous consent for both items? Agreed? Agreed.

1400

**Hon Mr Rae:** Quite simply, as someone who no doubt made their entrance into this place altogether much easier and indeed possible, I wonder if I might say a few words to welcome the new members, Tim Murphy and David Johnson. Speaking personally, having won two by-elections and been admitted into two Legislatures, I know, I think, a bit of the sense of pride and anticipation that they bring to these new responsibilities.

While both of them are seasoned politicians and indeed politicians who have won the support of their constituents in this most recent by-election, I think it's also fair to say that they come into this place, I noted today, with the support and love of their family and friends and with a great sense of pride in them which is quite appropriate.

I know that Mr Murphy served as an assistant and an adviser to the member from Renfrew, as well as for his predecessor in St George-St David. He is a distinguished counsel and comes to us with a strong commitment to serving the people of his constituency, and on behalf of the New Democratic Party I want to welcome him to this place.

I'd also like to take this opportunity to welcome my friend David Johnson, the former mayor of East York. The mayor and I have known each other for many years. My federal constituency used to have a great many East York constituents in it, and we had occasion to meet a number of times. He's somebody whose dedication to the citizens of East York and to the people

of Metropolitan Toronto is well known. He is a very effective advocate on behalf of the causes that he feels deeply about, and he is a talented administrator. I might also note the presence in the gallery of Mayor Willis Blair, who was for many years the mayor of East York. No doubt he takes great pride in the achievements of Mr Johnson, since I understand they share a certain political persuasion. I've always surmised that, but now my suspicions are confirmed.

Let me welcome them both and say that these moments of civility come only too rarely in our political lives. I would dearly love to extend them for a longer period of time, but I do want to welcome them most sincerely. We are all here representing our constituents as best we can and to the best of our abilities, and I very much want to welcome both of them to the joys of the parliamentary life.

**Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition):** Needless to say, I am delighted to be able to join the Premier in welcoming the new members to the Legislature this afternoon. It is certainly with a great deal of pleasure and a great deal of pride that we welcome Tim Murphy as the newest member of the Liberal caucus.

I am absolutely confident that the new member for St George-St David will serve his constituents and will serve in his contribution to this House equally to the contribution of the past member for St George-St David. Clearly that provides a formidable reputation, which he is clearly equal to matching.

The Premier speaks of the support of family, which all of us know is absolutely essential for us to be able to make the contribution that we make to public service. I would like to, as I'm sure the new member for St George-St David will, express the support of our caucus to Tim's family, particularly to his wife, Jane, for a somewhat extra effort and extra commitment of support during this past by-election campaign. The Premier, of course, would have absolutely no way of knowing that, the day after the writ was issued for the by-election campaign, Tim's wife would be delivered of their first baby daughter, but he will appreciate the extra commitment and the extra effort that it took for Tim to carry out that campaign when he would clearly have liked to have been spending time with his wife and his new daughter.

May I also join the Premier in extending our congratulations to the new member for Don Mills, to welcome him to the Legislature and to say we look forward to serving with him in this House.

**Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing):** I too am delighted to have the opportunity to welcome both new members to the chamber. I think, as the Premier has indicated, he can remember his two by-elections, coming into the House of Commons, I guess, and to the



Legislature of Ontario. All of us must remember our first day in the Legislature, the apprehension, the can you even find your way around, can you come in the right door, do you bow at the right time, and so we can empathize with our two new members.

We celebrated 100 years of the opening of this building. We had a chance yesterday to chat about the thousands of members who have served Ontario, who have spoken words in this House. I indicated at that time there were many memorable speeches given, and then there were a few that some, myself included, from time to time, would wish to withdraw. It's an exciting place.

The Premier talked about the civility. We were reminded yesterday in the civility and the ceremony of just how lucky we are to have parliamentary democracy, this form of government. Some mornings we wake up, we're not so sure. Yesterday we reaffirmed our commitment to that, our commitment to parliamentary democracy, and of course these two by-elections are a key part of that. So these are very special days for Tim Murphy, the new member for St George-St David, very special days for Dave Johnson, the new member for Don Mills, and for their families.

I know you'll permit me to say that in my historical observations as well, since 1962, the formation of Don Mills riding, whoever has won that riding has also formed a government, whether it was Progressive Conservatives or Liberals or New Democrats. I mean, I say that in a very non-partisan way. I obviously, as does the former mayor for East York and my caucus, believe that that trend will continue. As many things change, some don't.

I truly welcome both members. Whether in government or whether in opposition in the Legislature, the privilege to serve your constituents, to represent them, to fight on their behalf, to represent all Ontarians, is a privilege and an honour that I would not cash in, that I would not trade for anything else that I've done in my life or anything else that I plan to do, because I do plan to have a life after politics, in 10 or 15 or 20 years, as well.

So I cherish these days. I say to both Tim and to David, when the going gets a little tough, reflect upon those who have gone before you, reflect on the history, reflect on the significance of what happened and what brought you here and the importance of why you are here in shaping a better future for Ontario.

**Mr Tim Murphy (St George-St David):** If I may respond to those kind remarks, Mr Premier, I agree that civility is a tone that should be continued in this chamber. Unfortunately, when the news that the by-election was called was given to my wife during labour, civility was not the tone that she used in response to

that. But I hope to carry that forward, and I want to thank you, Mr Premier, for the kind remarks, and of course my leader, the leader of the official opposition, and the leader of the third party, and I do want to pay a brief tribute to the previous member for the riding, Mr Ian Scott, who I think served the people of St George-St David and in fact the province very well in his time as member, and I pay tribute to him.

It is with both pride and humility that I stand here as the member for St George-St David. I'm very much looking forward to representing those constituents. As a final note I want to say thank you to my family, and my mother and father in the gallery, and my wife and my little girl, Emma, whom I hope I'll get to see occasionally.

1410

**Mr Dave Johnson (Don Mills):** I wish to thank the Premier, Mike Harris and Lyn McLeod for their kind words of introduction into this House. I look forward to representing the people of Don Mills. I've had many years of public service in the municipal sphere but this is a new experience for me. I know it's going to be an exciting one. I look forward to it very much. I would like to note the presence of my family in the gallery, if I could. My wife, Joyce, my daughter, Lesley Ann, my mother and my father and many of my campaign workers are here to note my presence in this House. I will be making comments in a few minutes about the previous member for Don Mills.

MARGERY WARD

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs):** I'd just like to say some words. We've spoken on many occasions, those of us on this side, and indeed I know on a number of occasions in the last while we've been joined by members from the other parties as well, in remembering Margery Ward, the late member for Don Mills who passed away so tragically after a valiant struggle with cancer.

Margery was a great friend to all of us, I know, on this side, and certainly to me personally and to my family, and I know that she was warmly regarded by members of the opposition in her role in committees as well.

She was a truly remarkable person. She was born in New Brunswick, a member of a large family, many of whom, her brothers and sisters, we were able to meet when she died. She came to Ontario, came to Toronto, as a young woman, went to work as a cashier in a grocery store, became actively involved in her union, had a lifelong interest in education, went to York University as an adult student, got her BA in computer science and went on to work for a large insurance company.



She was active in the CCF-New Democratic Party from the time of her arrival here as a young woman. She truly believed in the community. She cared for it a great deal. Like many people on this side of the House and indeed some on the other side of the House, she ran a number of times unsuccessfully. We used to joke about the nomination meetings early on when it would basically be a question of drawing straws in someone's basement, and the person with the short straw would be the candidate. It's very true.

Margery ran unsuccessfully in 1987 and she ran successfully in 1990. She took great pride in being a member of this Legislature. She took great pride in her family and in her friends and she believed intensely in what she was doing, but she had a wonderful sense of humour and a wonderful sense of perspective about this place, about the topsy-turvy world in which we all live and about the vagaries of fortune, both political and personal.

She took the news of her illness with courage and with a quiet determination. She ennobled all of us by her constant sense of fun and humour, even in the midst of great pain and her own suffering.

I can recall very vividly a number of conversations that I had with her, but particularly the last conversation I had with her, when she spent most of the time asking me about my family, about how I was doing, about my schedule, about how I had to take it a little bit easier and she was inquiring after me, which I thought was quite remarkable since she was at that point very ill indeed.

I am truly sorry, and I hope members will understand, and the new member for Don Mills will understand, when I say this and not take it in any political way at all: This young woman of 50 was not able to complete her term and her time. We are all ennobled by having known her and having had an opportunity to work closely with her, and I take this opportunity once again to celebrate her memory.

**Ms Dianne Poole (Eglinton):** On behalf of the Liberal caucus, I would like to join in the tribute to our colleague Margery Ward. There will be many people who will talk of her commitment and her determination during her life, but I would like to share with you some stories of her courage in dying.

The first story I'd like to share with you occurred during the referendum campaign last fall. It was an unlikely coalition of Liberals, Conservatives and the NDP, all working together for the Yes side, and a difficult campaign at times. In Don Valley West, which is the federal riding I shared with Margery, we were going to have a celebration of our campaign office opening. We had contacted her staff and they said Margery's health was very poor and they really doubted

she would be there.

That night, there was Margery at the campaign opening. We announced to the people there that the next morning at 7:30, at Yonge and Eglinton, we would be at the subway stop campaigning for the Yes side. Margery's assistant whispered, "I really don't think Margery will be there." At 7:30, in the rain, Margery was there, and she stayed for two hours. Such was her love and her commitment to our country.

The second story I'd like to relate occurred in this Legislature during the midnight sessions. I think all members will remember those midnight sessions with some sense of horror; certainly we didn't relish doing House duty. My executive assistant had just talked to Margery's office a couple of days before to inquire about her health and learned that things did not look very good and that Margery was deteriorating rapidly. So the last thing I expected one night near midnight was to look across and see Margery Ward doing her House duty, but such was her commitment to this Legislature and what we stand for.

We have been joined today by a new member for Don Mills, and I can say that he has a worthy role model to follow with Margery's commitment to her constituents, to her country and to this Legislature.

I would like to conclude by reading a poem which was on the funeral service of Margery:

In tears we saw you sinking  
We watched you fade away  
You suffered much in silence  
You fought so hard to stay  
You faced your task with courage  
But still you kept fighting until the very end.  
  
God saw you getting tired  
When a cure not to be  
So he put his arms around you  
And whispered, "Come with me."  
So when we saw you sleeping  
So peaceful, free from pain  
We could not wish you back  
To suffer that again.

1420

**Mr Dave Johnson (Don Mills):** I'm honoured to join my colleagues on both sides of the House today in taking a few moments to pay tribute to the memory of my predecessor as the member for Don Mills, the late Margery Ward.

Margery has been remembered by many as an absolutely tireless worker, and I'm certainly among those who remember her that way. I was the mayor of East York during her time as an MPP, and in those capacities we encountered each other on many occasions.

The last time I saw Margery was actually at a graduation ceremony at the Marc Garneau Collegiate Institute, and that was just this past December, actually the month before she lost her fight with cancer. It must have taken tremendous effort for her to be there that night. I'm sure that many people feeling as poorly as she must have would have decided that a ceremony at a high school was really not that important and that staying home would be a much better idea, but not Margery. She had a tremendous sense of duty and she was always prepared to put her work ahead of herself.

I was always impressed with how sincere, honest and dedicated she was, especially when it came to acting on behalf of the little people, the ordinary, average constituents who counted on her to be their voice at Queen's Park. I think there's a great lesson in that. I've only just arrived here, but I've found that it's pretty easy to feel important at Queen's Park. But we must remember there are those whom we represent who don't feel so important, the people who don't get their faces on TV or their names in the paper. That was always job one with Margery Ward.

It's a lesson I will keep firmly in mind as I take over for her in representing the people of Don Mills. I think it's a lesson we should all bear in mind, and it's a legacy of which Margery Ward and her family can be very, very proud.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** I would like to thank the Premier, the member for Eglinton and the member for Don Mills for their very kind and thoughtful remarks. Those remarks will be sent to the family of Margery Ward.

PATRICK LAWLOR

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** The Premier.

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs):** Two weeks ago, we all heard the sad news about the passing of Patrick Lawlor, who was a member in this place between 1967 and 1981.

Patrick was truly one of a kind. Many of the members in this place will not have served with him or would not know him. I didn't serve with him, but I certainly came to know him and love him a great deal. He was a truly remarkable person.

How can I describe Patrick to those who did not know him or who had not met him? He had a merry, impish grin, eloquent, an extraordinary personality. He was a poet. He was a philosopher keenly interested in all aspects of philosophy, political and otherwise. He was a marvellous talker and raconteur. He was a great friend to his constituents. He was also a lawyer who served his constituents and his clients for almost half a century. He was a world traveller. He loved the joy of retirement and the ability to travel. He was a counsellor

to many of us, both personal and political.

He was truly one of a kind. They don't make two Patrick Lawlors. I say that unfortunately, because he was a great presence and a great spirit.

Pat was a graduate of St Michael's College, the University of Toronto. He practised law in the west end of Metropolitan Toronto, in Etobicoke. He developed an extraordinary relationship with the people around him. He married his wife Leslie and together they raised four children who themselves are a remarkable tribute to that union, and he was elected to this place in 1967.

At the memorial service, which many of us attended, my colleague the Minister of Health and her spouse both spoke movingly of Patrick, a political comrade and dear friend to both Ruth and Terry. That occasion was one where we were able to hear and listen to some of Patrick's extraordinary eloquence and his dedication to the people of the province.

I just want to say that my life was enriched by my friendship with Patrick. I enjoyed every encounter I had with him, every meal, even the odd glass of wine or some other spirit occasionally imbibed as we would look to the past and look to the future and talk about all aspects of our lives. He was a great friend to everyone. He also, I think it's fair to say, at a time between 1967 and 1981 when he served in this place, developed really good friendships and relationships with people on all sides of the House. Those were the days when night sittings were the order of the day and when friendships seemed to be fuelled by that common experience and by that sense of camaraderie which Patrick was very much a part of.

He died very suddenly and unexpectedly. He'd just returned from yet another trip and was talking eagerly about all the things he had done and all the things he wanted to do. He wrote a book which many of us have—he gave a copy of it to me—called the Psychotic Personality of Our Time, which I think, if you know Patrick, describes certainly an important part of this wonderful personality. I simply wanted to pay tribute to him and to take this occasion to do so publicly.

**Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North):** On behalf of my Liberal colleagues, I want to join the Premier and others in the Legislature in expressing our condolences to the Lawlor family on Patrick's death a few weeks ago.

I knew Pat Lawlor well, and the Premier's right, there was no one quite like Pat. Lest there be any confusion, among other things Patrick liked a good drink, and I think myself, if I want to celebrate Pat Lawlor, I'll have a drink to remember the good times we had together.

The first time I met Pat Lawlor he was laughing and talking to himself in the Legislative library. It was a



place where I met him on many subsequent occasions. He liked to talk, he liked to read, he liked to write, he liked a drink, though he once made a wonderful speech in here about how he had achieved at age 50 the ecstasy of sobriety and how he had needed very few drinks to achieve that plateau.

I don't suspect that there has ever been another member who has come to this place, certainly in the modern period, who began his inaugural speech to the assembly with the words, "Ecce somniator venit"—Behold, the dreamer cometh. I was thinking that as Pat makes his way up to that other place, the discussion between Patrick and higher authorities, which I'm sure will be ongoing, will be in Latin and will be about a very wide range of interesting and arcane subject matter.

He had a very distinguished career in this place, largely as justice critic, but there was a brief time when, if you can believe it, Pat Lawlor was assigned, I think by Stephen Lewis, to be the New Democratic Party critic for finance. Now, a more laughable prospect I cannot imagine. It's like Benjamin Disraeli talking about the time he was briefly Chancellor of the Exchequer—a very unhappy experience—and I think Patrick would certainly agree with that assessment.

I suspect, though I don't know, that Patrick Lawlor was probably one of John Robarts's best friends, because few know that one of Patrick's great accomplishments was in his election in 1967, when he dispensed with Alan Eagleson from this place. I see the Minister of Health cheers. I don't think anyone in the NDP could have cheered as loudly as Premier John Robarts did that night in October 1967.

As the Premier has rightly observed, he wrote a famous book of poetry, and he once told a story—Peter Mosher, whom many of you know, wrote some wonderful articles in the *Globe and Mail* about 15 years ago about Patrick Lawlor. They're in the library and they make for very good reading. I'm sure Peter would share the copyright with you. He'd have to, because I'm using some of his material as I speak this afternoon. But Patrick was a very serious fellow when he needed to be. I see the Minister of Housing smiling. Patrick had a smile that—I think the Premier used the word "impish." He was always smiling, often talking to himself, as I indicated, always interested to share his latest observations.

I remember, and I think Peter in one of his articles pointed out, that Patrick once said he had an idolatrous respect for Stephen Lewis until he, Patrick Lawlor, grew up. He liked Bette Stephenson. He liked Darcy McKeough. I mean, the more outrageous the Tory was, it appealed to Patrick's Celtic self.

1430

Finally, and I just simply want to end with this,

Patrick was also a very deeply religious and moral person. He was the only one I knew around the place who dined with theologians and who read the latest tract from the Vatican and other places. But he once said, and I submit this as really my memory of his great testament to this place, quoting Patrick from one of his speeches years ago: "We are all of us vehicles of a power higher than ourselves. We are the earthly spokesmen of a better social system which strives to wipe out ignorance, poverty and disease."

In his own wonderful, colourful, romantic, impish way, he did much to espouse and to support that great cause, and he will be well remembered by all of us who were fortunate enough to serve with him.

**Mr Norman W. Sterling (Carleton):** So much has been said about Pat, and I cannot but agree with everything that both the Premier and Mr Conway have said about Pat Lawlor.

I served in the Legislature from 1977 to 1981 with Pat, and during that period of time it was regular that on Tuesdays and Thursday evenings we would have evening sittings. I think Pat sat in this Legislature about where I am standing. We would listen for hours and hours as Pat Lawlor would philosophize about whatever the topic might be.

I think one of the things that Pat Lawlor brought to the Legislature was a warmth and kindness that I have rarely seen in this Legislature exhibited by any member on any side. He certainly was a kind person. I don't think I ever heard him utter a word of personal vendetta against a member on the opposition, no matter how much he might have disagreed with what that member might or might not have been saying.

As a lawyer, as I listened to him talk about the law and the justice system, I always had the feeling that Pat Lawlor not only understood what the present state of the law in our jurisdiction was but also understood how that law became pieced together. He understood the philosophy and the reasoning behind how the laws in our province over a long period of history had come to be. I never saw him allow his political feeling about a particular issue muddy his water in terms of his respect for the institution, of the legal system or of this Legislature, and I admired him greatly for that.

My friend the member for Etobicoke West, who knew Pat Lawlor, tells me that during the period of time that he knew him, he described Pat Lawlor as a member who could not more accurately mirror the people he represented and that he was a friend and an ear for all the people he represented and an example, perhaps, that we hope we will have in this Legislature some time in the future.

His mastery of the English language was unequalled in this Legislature. He was able to explain and reason



by drawing upon authors and ancient history to back whatever position he might take.

He was truly a joy to serve with. I will always consider Pat Lawlor as I saw him walking in the halls of this Legislature long after he was elected but always would make an effort to come up and say hello to former members he knew in this Legislature. I will always consider him a friend. I know that every member of this Legislature who had the pleasure to serve with him will always consider him a friend. I express our sincere condolences to his family and his friends on behalf of my caucus.

**The Speaker:** I would like to thank the Premier, the member for Renfrew North and the member for Carleton for their very kind words about Patrick Lawlor, who was a friend of Parliament, and those kind words will be sent to his family.

It is now time for oral questions.

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order. I had called earlier for statements by ministers, but that may have been lost on both sides. Are there statements by ministers? It is time for oral questions.

## ORAL QUESTIONS

### JOB CREATION

**Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition):** The throne speech that we heard in this House yesterday was simply a rehash of old programs. The real message that the people of this province were looking for was a message about jobs. People need jobs.

The Premier spoke in his throne speech yesterday about an economic recovery. Last month the unemployment in this province went up. For every job that this Premier says we have gained, we have lost two more. The Premier doesn't seem to understand that the only way we're going to get jobs back in this province is if we get business back in this province, and the only message to business in this throne speech was a message about new taxes, which is certainly not going to get business back.

I ask the Premier, when is he going to bring forth a real plan that will make Ontario competitive, will bring business back to this province and will get people back working again?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs):** I'm sure the honourable member will not be surprised to hear me say that I disagree quite profoundly with her very negative characterization of the current situation in the province. I think it would be wise for the honourable member perhaps to at least mention to her constituents and to those who are listening that in fact this marks the seventh month in a

row in which job creation in this province has grown, in which employment is up: 110,000 jobs in the last seven months.

I can say to the honourable member that when we look at the investment decisions that are being made, in terms of what's happening in terms of the public record, companies that are investing, expansion plans that are being made, the decisions that are being made by large corporations as well as by small, there are very clear signs that a recovery is under way.

I want to say to the honourable member that while she may dismiss, disagree with, have views about the 10-point plan, if I may say so, at least it's a plan. I haven't heard a single thing from the honourable member since her election as Leader of the Opposition which would indicate that she has any positive suggestions to make with respect to job creation. We are doing things that are positive. We're working in partnership with the private sector, we're working in partnership with our own employees.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Would the Premier conclude his remarks, please.

**Hon Mr Rae:** We are creating jobs in this province and we are helping to foster a recovery that is going to stand us in good stead in the years to come.

**Mrs McLeod:** May I just remind the Premier that he has been responsible for the government of this province now for some two and a half years. I would suggest to this Premier that he is clearly so consumed with putting a good face on his recycled agenda that he simply forgets about the needs of the people of this province.

The only program that this government has offered to people is the Jobs Ontario Training program, and it is not working. I would like to share with the Premier the story of a man, George Shepherd of Toronto, who represents the experiences of so many.

Mr Shepherd is an electrical designer. Two years ago the construction boom ended and he lost his job. He is 54 years old. Since then, he has been on unemployment insurance, he's used up his entire savings and he is now on social assistance. At the beginning of the Jobs Ontario program, Mr Shepherd enrolled. Since then, he has followed the whole Jobs Ontario process. Mr Shepherd has been to Jobs Ontario lectures. He's filled out Jobs Ontario forms. He's followed all the rules.

But after six months of being enrolled in the Jobs Ontario Training program, he still has no job. Nothing has happened, and the future for Mr Shepherd continues to look very bleak. I ask the Premier, why, after six months of having been enrolled in the Jobs Ontario Training program, Mr Shepherd still has no job.

**Hon Mr Rae:** I'm not for a moment denying—I

mean, we all live in the province, we all work in our constituency offices, we all come into contact with people who are still looking for work. But let me also say to the honourable member—she mentions the Jobs Ontario Training program—that there are many, many indications from people that this is the approach and this is the direction in which people think we should be going, that the emphasis needs to be on training, that the emphasis needs to be on working in partnership with the private sector.

1440

If I could quote from somebody who owns a company in the constituency, not of the member sitting next to her but of the member who's usually sitting next to her, Mr Ted Weishar, the president of Hyndman Transport, said, in describing the Jobs Ontario program: "The program is working beyond your expectations. It's a win-win deal."

Mr Bob Schnar, who was in inventory control, now at New Tech Energy Systems: "This represents a new turn in my career. I'd never worked on computers before, and through Jobs Ontario I have a lot more career potential."

Lynn Briggs, who's a new employee at Byron Secretarial: "My comments about Jobs Ontario are absolutely positive."

The point I'm making to the member is that it seems to me the honourable member has a choice to make: She can either choose to run everything down and to say how negative things are and how bad they are, or she can choose to take what I think would be a much more positive and constructive approach, and that is to recognize the reality that we share with every other jurisdiction around, with all the other people of Canada: that we're coming out of a recession, that we're into a recovery, and that we are investing more as a government, certainly more than her government ever did, in terms of capital investment, that we're putting more into construction and more into the work that's going on than her government ever did, and that we're doing everything we possibly can to encourage private investment in construction as well.

That's what the capital corporations are all about, that's what Jobs Ontario Training is all about, that's what the capital budgets of the province are all about, and they are beginning to show signs of growth and recovery. Those facts are undeniable.

**Mrs McLeod:** The Premier's words about recovery simply do not speak to the realities that are being faced by the thousands and thousands of people who are without work in this province. I am asking this Premier to understand those realities. I'm asking this Premier to understand that his Jobs Ontario Training program is not working. It is, once again, the major plank in his throne

speech. He is asking people again to believe that this program is working. They were willing to believe that last year, that this program could offer them some hope. That's exactly why Mr Shepherd enrolled in the program.

When Mr Shepherd enrolled in the program, he was told by one of the government's own officials that only one in four who apply to the Jobs Ontario Training program would be helped; that is the track record of the program that this government continues to put its confidence and its money into. I ask the Premier how he can possibly be satisfied and willing to accept a program with a 75% failure rate. Why won't he scrap it and set in place a program that will get people working again?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I can say with some confidence that the member's numbers are completely wrong. The facts, as I have been advised of them today, obviously by people in anticipation of such a negative question from the honourable member, are that there are over 19,000 people who are now registered and enrolled in the Jobs Ontario Training program, that this program is seen widely in the private sector, seen widely by business people themselves, as being the better approach to take: a long-term approach.

Yes, it takes time because of the training component. Yes, it takes time because of the retooling that has to take place. Yes, it takes time because we're looking at a major structural adjustment in the economy. But let me say once again, at least this government has a program. There was no program in place when we took office and when the honourable member was in government, and we are countering this recession with programs that are positive. We're taking the human footsteps, which is more than we can say for the Liberal opposition.

**The Speaker:** New question.

**Mrs McLeod:** On subsequent occasions in this House during this session of the Legislature, I'm sure we will spend a great deal of time about numbers and whose numbers can be believed.

#### MEMBERS' CONDUCT

**Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition):** I want to repeat the fact that yesterday's speech from the throne was nothing but a rehash of failed promises from previous throne speeches. There was one ingredient from earlier throne speeches that was noticeably absent, and I would ask the Premier, why is it that your government's throne speech yesterday had absolutely nothing to say about integrity?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs):** I think that is an assumption and a given that we all share and would say to the honour-



able member that the focus of the throne speech was on the economy, which is where I think the province wants us to be, which is the focus the province wants us to have, and I think the throne speech reflected that very clearly.

**Mrs McLeod:** I thought it was an assumption we all shared, and that is precisely why I raise it, because if I didn't raise it, there might be some thought that I didn't think it mattered and in fact I think it matters a great deal, and I would suggest in fact that the question of integrity is even an economic issue, because people are not prepared to do business with a government that they cannot trust.

On June 28, 1989, the Premier said:

"Integrity is a foundation of everything else a government does. If a government cannot pass that test, it cannot pass any other test. If a government cannot meet that standard, it cannot meet any standard."

I will be in Kitchener this weekend, and people in Kitchener and many other people across the province wonder how the conduct of the member for Kitchener meets the standard for conduct of this Premier. I ask the Premier, how does he respond?

**Hon Mr Rae:** First of all, let me say that I think the comments I made in June 1989 are good ones and are sound ones, and I guess the thing I am troubled by in terms of the approach that's been taken by the Leader of the Opposition is the assumption that if there are differences of opinion or if there are things that have been done with which you disagree, that necessarily leads to the conclusion that the member seems to be so quick to draw, that those who have acted, those who have made judgements, as I have made judgements, if they disagree with the ones that I've exercised, are necessarily acting without integrity. I expect that kind of comment from the Leader of the Opposition. I don't think it's a view that's shared by others.

I would say with respect to the conduct that she's referred to that the member for Kitchener has apologized to me, and I think to people in question, with respect to what has taken place, and I think that is clearly on the record.

**Mrs McLeod:** We have at no point made any judgements, nor have we made any effort to draw any conclusions. Since the so-called Piper-Ferguson affair broke last November, all we have been trying to do is to get to the bottom of it. All we have wanted to know from the very beginning until this day was the truth about what happened and about who was involved, and all we have been met with is roadblocks and stonewalling and evasion, this from a Premier who in 1990 held that integrity and conduct of government officials was his number one priority in government.

Premier, you said that if a government cannot pass the test of integrity, it cannot pass any test. Why do you not live up to your own standards and permit an all-party, investigative inquiry into the Piper-Ferguson affair? What, Premier, are you trying to hide?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I would say to the honourable member that she's making allegations about this government and about this cabinet which have no foundation in fact. She's making statements which have no foundation, and I say to the honourable member that I believe we have acted in accordance with the clearest possible standards in terms of acting when information was available, in terms of calling for a police inquiry when that was deemed necessary and in terms of waiting for a police inquiry to be concluded before making any other public comment.

I've answered any other questions which have been put to me with respect to what has taken place, and for the honourable member to suggest otherwise is truly unworthy of her.

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#### TAXATION

**Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing):** My question is to the Premier. Yesterday in your throne speech you gave Ontario's jobless the disastrous news that you intend to hike taxes. During the pre-budget hearings, everyone told you the same thing: If you increase taxes, you will slow down the recovery, you will kill private sector investment and you will kill even more private sector jobs.

What I'd like to know from you today is, after what we heard in your throne speech yesterday, what is it that you seem to know that no one else knows? What study are you referring to, what economic theory are you following that would convince you that the way to stimulate the private sector this year is to hike taxes?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs):** First of all, I say to the honourable member that I'm not moved by any abstract theory; I'm moved by what I think is a commonsense approach to the economy as we now see it. I think it is a commonsense approach. There are variations and there are different ways of doing it, but if you look at the experiences of other governments, I think we are all moved by a similar problem, as is the government of the United States, with respect to the current situation.

I know the honourable member won't admit to it any more than the Leader of the Opposition will, but I think most people regard 1993 as a year of recovery, in which recovery is clearly under way, in which jobs are being created, in which we now have, as I said before, over 110,000 new jobs being created.

I say to the honourable member that it's in that



context that we need to take a balanced approach to increasing investment, which we are doing; to continuing to encourage increased capital investment, which we are doing; and to dealing with the question of the deficit and the debt, which again we are doing.

I say to the honourable member that there isn't a government in North America that hasn't had to face up to the fact that in order to deal effectively with the issue of the deficit and the debt there has to be a combination of serious review and reduction of expenditures, which this government is undertaking.

We are undertaking it in terms of programs, we're undertaking it in terms of direct discussions with our own employees, what's been called "the social contract", and also in terms of measures to increase revenues. There isn't a government in the country which hasn't had to undertake some combination of those in order to deal with the deficit issue.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Could the Premier conclude his response, please.

**Hon Mr Rae:** That's exactly what we're faced with. I'd like to know what particular theories the honourable member is thinking of as he goes around talking about the deficit.

**Mr Harris:** We acknowledge the deficit is a problem. Mr Premier, the theories I'm following are what everybody told you in your pre-budget hearings. Scotiabank said tax hikes will be self-defeating to reduce the deficit. The Bank of Montreal said it will make matters worse. The chamber of commerce said the provincial government has not just reached but has passed the effective limit of taxation, the limit where further increases in tax rates and new taxes result in less, not more, taxation revenue. I agree. The well is dry. I agree with all of the experts that came before the committee.

For the past eight years, we've endured a total of 55 tax increases. With every single one, we've become more uncompetitive. With every single one, we've lost jobs. I agree with your own Treasurer when he said in the *Toronto Star* on February 23, "You can only increase taxes so much when you're struggling to come out of a recession or else you cause more problems than you solve." That's who I'm listening to: your Treasurer.

I ask you, Premier, if you are truly interested in helping Ontario recover, why are you talking about hiking taxes when that is contrary to all the advice you have received and is contrary as well to what your own Treasurer said on February 23?

**Hon Mr Rae:** With due respect to the honourable member, what I'm saying is directly in sync with, in link with, in contact with the comments that have been made by my colleague the Minister of Finance. The fact of the matter is that of course there are limits, there's a

balance that has to be struck and of course we have to be extremely sensitive to not do anything that will have a negative impact on the recovery.

But let me give you one example. If you take the comments of chairman of the Bank of Montreal, Mr Barrett said, "Look, if you keep your expenditure increases to around the rate of inflation and you hold the line on taxes, that will solve the deficit problem." The main thrust of his speech was, the real problem is to deal with the deficit in order to create long-term confidence in the economy.

**Mr Harris:** We've all been telling you that. We all agree with that.

**Hon Mr Rae:** We've all heard that. We're listening to you very carefully. Every word you say we listen to carefully.

I say, with due respect to my friend the chairman of the Bank of Montreal, that when you look hard at the suggestion that he is making, as the Treasurer has indicated publicly very clearly and has shown very clearly—and we can show you the charts and we can show you the direction—it doesn't work that way. That won't get us into the kind of deficit position that we all feel we need to be in.

So we are saying to the people of the province—and you say, why are we saying it in the throne speech? Because we believe in being straight with people and in being candid with people with respect to the challenge that we face. I am not going to go around and say, "We're going to freeze taxes and you're never going to have a tax increase," when I know as a matter of fact that to take that position will simply lead us down the path to the same kind of debt quagmire, the same kind of debt swamp that bedevilled Brian Mulroney and bedevilled Pierre Trudeau before him. We want to avoid the Liberal trap, we want avoid the Tory trap, and that's why we're being straight with the people of Ontario. That's exactly what we're doing.

**Mr Harris:** Premier, you'll be a long time ever climbing out to get on the level where you'll fall into the traps that we might fall into.

We acknowledge the deficit is a problem. You continue to insist that the deficit is as a result of a revenue problem that you need to tackle by hiking taxes. All your cooked-up charts that the Treasurer has say that. Let's look at the facts—your facts, your figures.

Last year your revenues in the province increased 2.6%, more than double the rate of inflation. Your revenues increased. You don't have a revenue problem. You've got a spending problem because your spending last year went up three times the rate of inflation. You continued the high-spending ways of the Liberals. You

continued to spend well in excess of the increases in the rate of inflation. This year, according to your Treasurer's cooked-up charts, you intend to spend at a rate of increase of 9% over last year. That's what that silly chart says. Inflation is going to be 2%.

Premier, will you admit you don't have a revenue problem? You have record high revenues in this province, thanks to the 55 tax increases that you have. You have, as your predecessors had before you, a major spending problem.

I would ask you this, Premier: Will you take the advice of Matthew Barrett of the Bank of Nova Scotia? Will you take the advice of all the economists? Will you begin to deal once and for all with your major problem? You've got a spending problem. If you control that, we could begin to get the deficit under control.

**Hon Mr Rae:** I was about to say—and I wouldn't want to be facetious on a subject as serious as this—first of all, on the very face of the question we are dealing with the expenditure problem and we are going to deal with the expenditure problem. I would say to the honourable member that we're going to deal with the expenditure problem in a way more directly and I think more clearly than any government in recent memory, because we have a major challenge to face and we are going to face up to it.

The difficult news—and the member may want to deny it. He may want to say that it's all made up. He may want to say the numbers don't add up. He can use whatever rhetoric he wants. I will say to the honourable member that for the past three years the revenues of this province have been completely stagnating and in some cases have gone down, in many instances have dropped.

I would say to the honourable member that this is not a problem unique to Ontario. It's a problem shared by every other jurisdiction in the country. All of us are having to face up to it. It would be very nice if we could suddenly adopt a theory that said, "Well, if you cut taxes, that in fact will increase your revenues." Those are theories which led President Reagan to do what he did in the early 1980s, and he's left the American economy with a multi-trillion-dollar debt problem which the new American administration is having to deal with.

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Look at the experience internationally. Let's talk realistically about the challenge that we face. We do not look forward to having to do what has to be done, but we will do it and we will face up to it. We're facing up to the spending problem. I wonder if the honourable member is prepared to face up to the revenue problem, because it's very real.

**Mr Harris:** Mr Premier, the last eight years we've

had the highest-spending government in the whole of the western world. That is not facing up to the spending problem.

#### LABOUR RELATIONS

**Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing):** My second question as well is to the Premier. We've heard much talk about your proposed social contract over this past week, and I want to talk about that. We've heard little in the way of specifics. You will know that I applauded the initial announcement that you were going to talk with public sector employees and with representatives of a million of them.

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs):** You got into trouble for that.

**Mr Harris:** No, I didn't get into any trouble for that, Premier. You let me down in the discussions.

What we do know is this, Premier: that the public service costs of their wages—just their wage costs—have ballooned over the past two years in the face of massive job losses in the private sector and the taxpayers that have been trying to pay these salaries. Yet last week we heard your union friends, the leaders, and then yesterday we heard you and your union friends say they won't talk wage concessions until you soak the private sector even more. Yesterday we heard you planned to soak the private sector even more.

I guess, Premier, I want to ask you this: When you're talking tax hikes this year, as you did yesterday, is that the real price, that the union leaders are telling you they need to come to the table, of your social contract?

**Hon Mr Rae:** The short answer is, absolutely not. The assumption behind the member's question is simply false.

**Mr Steven W. Mahoney (Mississauga West):** You can't do that, Bob.

**Hon Mr Rae:** The member for Mississauga is encouraging me to give the long answer, and our relationship goes back long enough that I know he's being sincere in that encouragement. But I would simply say to the honourable member, I appreciated very much the comments that he made the week before. I hope very much that they did not cause him too much pain in the subsequent caucus meetings and would say to him, in all sincerity, that we are engaged, and will be engaged in the next period of time, in some very intense discussions and negotiations with the members not only of the public service of Ontario but people working in the broader public sector representing over 900,000 employees and many thousands of employers.

It's probably the most difficult and complex set of discussions that have been held in this place for some time. We enter into them in sincerity, with no preconditions, except that there must be complete candour in



recognizing the economic and social problems faced by the province and recognizing the need for the public sector to be part of the solution to the economic recovery in the province.

We really do believe that the public sector wants to be part of the solution, that it wants to be constructive, and we enter into these discussions in a very constructive and positive mood.

**Mr Harris:** Premier, when your government came to office we were in the middle of a recession. The private sector was being decimated at that time. I repeatedly, at that time, you will recall, called on you to hold all wages in the public sector to 2% that first year. I was laughed at. You laughed at me, the public sector workers laughed at me, they all laughed, you all laughed at me. It reminded me a little of Pierre Trudeau laughing at Stanfield when he said, "I think we're going to need wage and price controls to get a handle on this." That's what it reminded me of.

Premier, today the wages of the full public sector that I said we should limit to 2% that year, when we were in the recession, cost us \$43 billion annually. That's what they cost taxpayers. Those are your figures: \$43 billion, all taxpayers. Premier, instead of the 2% that I called for in that first year, the total wage bill in the public sector that year, while you were laughing at me, went up 12%. It went up 12%. If you had followed my advice that year, taxpayers would have saved about \$3.5 billion in that one year alone: \$3.5 billion. They would have saved even more last year if you had kept the total wage costs to the rate of inflation.

I'm asking you today, Premier, will you not admit that as a result of your mismanagement, as a result of trying to spend your way out of the recession—you told everybody in that first year when you laughed at those of us and all of the other provinces that said, "It's time for restraint." Will you not admit today that as a result of your mismanagement, the public sector will have to give back some of that money that you gave them in that first year?

**Hon Mr Rae:** Well, I can understand the desire of the leader of the third party to insist that he's been right all along, or whatever theory he's trying to put forward. I want to say to the honourable member that I don't laugh at any suggestion that he makes. I listen very carefully when he speaks, and I think that the work that his caucus has done has, if I may make a distinction, been notably quite constructive. I don't agree with all the ideas that are in there, but at least there are ideas that one can recognize as such, which is more than one can say for some others.

I want to say to the honourable member, having said that, whatever is past is past. The key for us as a government is to look to the future and to look to what

needs to be done. I think it's clear that what needs to be done is for us to sit down with the workers in the broader public sector to create the tables that need to be created and to sit down and really talk seriously about what the future is going to look like and to try to get a stronger buy-in, as I said before, from all the employees working in the broader public sector as to the existence of a problem and as to the need for us, together, to come together to find solutions. That's the approach that we're taking now, and I think we're going to be taking it in a very decisive way.

**Mr Harris:** Premier, I think you would agree with me that if public sector wage costs had gone up the rate of inflation, the deficit would be on the way down today, and that, yes, the past is past and it's unfortunate, but we can ask the public sector to at least agree to that, that the election of Bob Rae should not have resulted in more compensation than at least the rate of inflation while the rest of us have been in recession.

Premier, the union leaders, and then you this past week—you have said that taxes must go up. The union leaders said that the private sector must share the pain.

Premier, I want to talk about the social contract, because we haven't had any details on it. There wasn't much yesterday. I guess, if the goal of the social contract is to share the pain, to share misery, then I guess you're right and the union leaders are right. But, Premier, if the goal of the social contract, as I applauded when I first heard you wanted to enter into it, is to share in the opportunities, if that goal is to have all Ontarians share in the tremendous new job creation opportunities that are happening as a result of the North American and the global restructuring, if that's the true goal, why will you then not look at policies that instead of taking the last nickel out of the private sector so, yes, they will fail and they will share the misery, why don't you make sure that the private sector has the dollars they need to invest in this economy, to invest in this province, to create the jobs, so that through a social contract we can all share in opportunities and growth instead of sharing in the misery, the direction you're going today?

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**Hon Mr Rae:** I would just say to the honourable member that I share his sense of optimism about the need for us to share an opportunity. That's very much the approach that we're taking to the social contract discussions, and I want to assure him of that.

I would say to the honourable member that obviously we're looking hard at every item of government expenditure, we're looking hard at every aspect of what governments do, and I wouldn't suggest for a moment that we enter into any discussions with respect to tax increases with any sense of joy with respect to that,



obviously not, but in order to be straight with the people of the province and to be clear with the people of the province and to be candid with the people of the province I think it's very important that we at least put forward the view we have reached, on the basis of all the facts that are before us, that in order to deal effectively with the deficit problem there has to be an element of a tax increase. Now, how big that's going to be is a matter that the Treasurer will have to determine as the budget formation continues. The test is fairness and the test is opportunity.

I want to say to the honourable member I share his view very strongly that what we do in the budget has to be done in a way that will foster and encourage the recovery. We believe that a large overhanging debt does not encourage recovery. We believe that the deficit and the debt at this point are going to hurt the recovery. That's why we're determined to deal with it.

We've also reached the conclusion—and I'm happy to listen to the honourable member. If he, on the basis of his studies of the estimates and other things, has some positive suggestions to make, I will say to him very sincerely that we will look very carefully at suggestions that are made by any honourable member with respect to how else we can organize the expenditures and taxes of the province in a way that will deal with the deficit issue effectively and at the same time provide for opportunity. We are ready to have that discussion with members of the opposition in question period or indeed at any other time. I know my colleagues would share that view.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Would the Premier conclude his response, please.

**Hon Mr Rae:** The job that has to be done is not an easy one, but we do feel a need to be completely candid with the people about the task ahead of us.

#### PALLADIUM SPORTS FACILITY

**Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition):** My question is also for the Premier. Yesterday the Premier spoke about the need for job creation and for infrastructure investment. He also spoke about the Jobs Ontario Capital program as one way in which to create jobs. He has also spoken about the importance of private sector partnerships. So today I want to ask the Premier about the status of a very specific project that has the potential to create thousands of jobs.

The Premier will be aware that the Palladium Corp has arranged for nearly \$200 million in private financing for the construction of the Palladium complex in Kanata. The financing is conditional upon the government providing not capital but a loan guarantee so that the infrastructure needed for the complex can be completed.

The application for the loan guarantee was made a year ago, and we still do not know its status. If the government approves the guarantee, the construction project could get under way literally within weeks, providing employment of over 2,800 person-years and millions in revenues to the government coffers—just the suggestion the Premier says he's looking for. Further delay could put the project in jeopardy, and I would ask the Premier, will he today confirm his support for this project and will he tell us how soon we can expect to hear the outcome of the approval process?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs):** I've had inquiries made by a number of individuals with respect to this particular project, a project in which I take a great deal of interest, and since I've discussed it just today with the Minister of Economic Development and Trade, I think I'll let her answer the question.

**Hon Frances Lankin (Minister of Economic Development and Trade):** I want to assure the leader of the official opposition that we actually share her enthusiasm for the project and what it would do in terms of eastern Ontario. It would be a major boom to construction jobs and an economic development initiative and I think there's a lot of potential there.

In fact, since the first approach that was made about 12 months ago, there's been a considerable amount of work that's gone on. There have been a number of meetings, the most recent of which was on April 1. Due diligence has been carried out on all of the information that has been received to date. There is still some outstanding information we're expecting to receive from the stadium corporation, and we have indicated that we would try and get a final response to them from the working level in the ministry within five working days of getting that information. At that point in time the ministry officials would be indicating whether or not they're prepared to recommend the terms of the project as arrived at in the negotiations to ministers for consideration. We think there's a lot of exciting development that can happen here and we're working with the corporation to achieve that.

**Mrs McLeod:** I am reassured that the minister is taking an active interest in this project. I trust that the interest she has expressed reflects both the interest and the support of the Premier, which I think would go a long way to ensure this particular project is expedited, and it would come as very welcome news to the people of the Ottawa area.

I am concerned that this application is already a full year old and that in the past it seems not to have had the attention and the priority a project which would create 2,100 jobs should really be receiving from the government. The minister quite appropriately references

the fact that there is community economic development benefit in this particular project. It is exactly the kind of community project that this entire community has come behind.

I would ask the minister to provide us with the assurance that she and the Premier both understand how important this particular project is, and that they assure the people of the Ottawa area that this project has their full support and that they are actively working as quickly as possible to resolve any outstanding concerns so that this project can get under way in a matter of weeks.

**Hon Ms Lankin:** Again, I do want to assure the member that the Premier has full interest in this project. In fact, upon appointing me to this portfolio, it was one of the areas he stressed with me it was important for us to be involved in, and to continue and support. I think his concern reflects the concern of this government with respect to economic development opportunities for eastern Ontario. We understand the critical importance in that respect.

I say to the member, however, that it's also important she understand that a series of discussions has been taking place with respect to this project. In fact, over the period of the last 12 months, the nature of the proposal and the requests from the stadium corporation have changed to a certain degree. Some of that is in response to information that's been provided from the ministry in terms of the kind of assistance we might be able to provide in keeping with the Ontario Municipal Board ruling with respect to where public investment should or should not be in this project, in terms of looking at due diligence and ensuring that taxpayers' dollars are protected, and in terms of any way in which we may assist with this project.

I also think she knows there is a major set of discussions taking place, on behalf of the stadium corporation, with the major private sector supporters or financiers of this, that they require to have the main project undertaken.

I assure her that I am aware of and on top of the file. The Premier and I discuss this on a regular basis, and when we receive the full information we require, in order to do due diligence on behalf of the taxpayers, from the stadium corporation, we will respond in a very timely fashion.

#### COMMERCIAL CONCENTRATION TAX

**Mr Dave Johnson (Don Mills):** My question is to the Premier. One of the most devastating of the 33 tax increases introduced by the Liberal government was the commercial concentration tax. At the recent Metropolitan Toronto economic summit, you will recall, Mr Premier, that the municipalities were unanimous—this is somewhat of an infrequent state of affairs—that the

commercial concentration tax is driving out jobs and investment from the greater Toronto area. That is certainly contrary to the thrust of your throne speech, to work with business and to get Ontario back to work.

In light of your statement at the economic summit that you had heard the message about the commercial concentration tax, will you commit today to repeal this Liberal tax in the upcoming budget?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs):** First of all, let me recall the very first question I asked in a Parliament. It was to the Minister of Finance of the day, who is now the leader of the official opposition in Ottawa, and the subject was high interest rates. So I'm keenly interested in the question he asks, and I was sitting in about the equivalent seat.

The Minister of Finance isn't here and I'm not about to make the budget on the fly in the House, though that might appeal to some. Let me say to the House and to you, Mr Speaker, what I've said on a number of occasions and in a number of gatherings. I am no advocate or fan of the commercial concentration tax. The government has to deal with any taxation issue on the basis of all the fiscal information in front of it, but I can assure the honourable member that the commercial concentration tax, together with a number of other tax questions, is being very actively discussed and will be actively discussed leading up to the budget, but a final decision will have to await the Minister of Finance's budget, which will be some time in May, I would think.

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**Mr Dave Johnson:** That's somewhat reassuring, but do I recall that when the Liberals brought in this tax as part of the agenda, that did cost jobs and investment and anguish throughout the GTA and the NDP were opposed to it. And yet, Premier, we've gone through two budgets and each year we've taken about \$120 million from the economy of the GTA for this tax and you have not repealed it yet. Today, will you commit, and I ask again, will you commit to repeal this Liberal tax and right the wrong that has been done through the GTA?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I just say to the honourable member that I'm listening very carefully to his representations, as I do to those that are made by all members, and would say to him that I at least hope he would recognize that in the steps this government has taken since forming the government, we have invested far more than the revenue from the commercial concentration tax back into the infrastructure of Metropolitan Toronto. We're building rapid transit again in Metropolitan Toronto, in cooperation with the government of Metropolitan Toronto, of which the member was a former councillor. We are putting money into the infrastructure in Metropolitan Toronto in a way that



hasn't been done since Leslie Frost and John Robarts and Bill Davis were the premiers of the province.

So I would say to the honourable member that we have used the revenues from the CCT, but I would repeat the comment I made before: I'm no particular fan of the CCT and I would say to the honourable member that obviously, together with a number of other tax issues, it's being looked at and reviewed very carefully by the government of the day.

#### ROUGE VALLEY

**Mr Jim Wiseman (Durham West):** My question is to the Minister of Natural Resources. As the minister—  
[Applause]

**Mr Wiseman:** No, sorry, it's changed. It's back there now.

**Hon Bud Wildman (Minister of Environment and Energy and Minister Responsible for Native Affairs):** That's why I was applauding.

**Mr Wiseman:** That's good.

As the minister well knows, the beginning of this year saw a tremendous start when your colleague the now Minister of the Environment, the then Minister of Natural Resources, announced the creation of the largest urban park in North America, the Rouge park. The excitement that this announcement created among my constituents was and is unparalleled, and you experienced some of that when you came out to the Rouge to announce the consultation process.

Throughout the planning that led up to this historic and unprecedented announcement, there have been continued promises from the federal government that it was going to support the park by contributing \$10 million. This money, which has been promised time and time again—I have not heard it has reached your office. Can the minister please advise this House when the government of Ontario can expect to receive this much-awaited funding?

**Hon Howard Hampton (Minister of Natural Resources):** I thank the member for this very important question. The government of Ontario has not received any indication at this point in time from the federal government as to its intention to come forward with the \$10-million contribution to the Rouge River park that has been mentioned on many occasions in the past. We have, on a number of occasions, repeated our invitation to the federal government to come forward with the \$10 million and we continue to make that invitation and hope that we will see something forthcoming from the federal government very soon.

I note in yesterday's paper that the member of Parliament for Scarborough Centre, who is a member of the federal government, indicates that she thinks the park is

a wonderful idea. I am hopeful that this is finally an indication that the federal government is going to come forward with the \$10 million.

**Mr Wiseman:** Also, the federal government is the owner of large acreages in the north end of my riding; it was expropriated in 1972. They are currently selling off approximately 5,000 acres of what are called the Pickering airport lands. The minister is aware that much of this land is either in the Rouge or the Dufferin watershed. Can the minister please tell me, has this ministry received any indication from the federal government that it plans to contribute some of this land as part of a down payment and proof of its commitment to the Rouge park?

**Hon Mr Hampton:** I'm happy to tell the member that municipal governments, that regional governments, that many community organizations and environmental conservation organizations are working very hard with the Ministry of Natural Resources and the Ministry of Agriculture and Food to bring the Rouge River park into reality. We would very much appreciate at this point in time an indication from the federal government that it is prepared to come forward with the many thousand acres of federal land to make this park the very best urban park in North America.

#### LABOUR RELATIONS

**Mrs Elinor Caplan (Orillia):** My question is to the Premier. Premier, given that yesterday's throne speech had no plans or ideas for restoring jobs and hope to the people of Ontario, we're forced to assume that your entire agenda is the creation of your so-called social contract. But let's look at what you're really creating with this last minute, desperate move. You've created mass confusion, mass misunderstanding, fear and anxiety among both the millions who work in the public sector and those who use their services.

One day you announced you were suspending collective bargaining, and the next you confessed that you didn't have the power to do that. One day you were laying off 18,000 people, and the next you were rolling back wages of 900,000. Then you said you wanted to sit down and talk about cooperative solutions.

Premier, isn't the truth behind your social contract the fact that you have ignored all the warnings, our warnings and others, for two years about the province's financial record and problems, and isn't it the truth that one month before your budget is due you panicked, and you're desperately trying to spin your lack of a plan into a social contract that nobody understands?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs):** The honourable member will not be surprised to hear my response, that I take a far more positive construction on recent events than she does. I can understand that she's got a role to play, and I



understand that only too well, but I would say to her that what we're doing has never been done before in the province, and the reason for that, quite simply, is because the situation we face has no real direct parallel.

The only comment I would make to the honourable member—and it might strike a slightly partisan tone, but nevertheless I feel a need to say it to the honourable member—is that I listen carefully to what she says, I read with great interest the comments of my friend from Scarborough, the Dr Bandolo of numbers, and would say to the honourable member: This, from a political party whose entire campaign in the last election was based on the misinformation that the province was headed to a balanced budget? I find it hard to take.

**Mrs Caplan:** Both the Provincial Auditor and the Treasurer have confirmed what everyone knows, and that is that the comments the Premier has just made are not only unbecoming but not factually correct.

Mr Premier, I would say to you that despite your rhetoric, many of your own ministers, your own colleagues, do not know what you mean by this "social contract," and many have expressed doubts of your ability to be able to deliver it. You have started a process without definition, without time lines and without any details. Premier, the 900,000 public sector workers and the rest of the people in the province of Ontario have a right to know what your agenda is and what your real plans are. What will happen if your negotiated social contract turns out to be only that, and that's words?

Mr Premier, your own House leader has put us on standby to expect legislation if your social contract doesn't work. Will you confirm today that if your social contract fails, you plan to introduce legislation that will suspend collective bargaining and impose your will?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I'm reminded, when I listen to the questions of the honourable member, about all the doubting and all the negativity during the last election campaign. Every day I would have to answer questions from the media: "Bob, what are you going to do when you lose? What are you going to do when you lose your seat? What are you going to do when the sky falls in? What are you going to do when disaster strikes?"

I'd say to the honourable member, I much prefer to take a positive view of things. I've found that it's allowed me to get through some difficult moments in life and it's an attitude that I would commend to people as we struggle with a very difficult situation.

I would say to the honourable member, we enter into these discussions in good faith. I'm not going to bargain across the floor of the House. I'm not going to bargain in front of the media. We're going to sit down and negotiate with our own employees on a broad basis to deal with the most difficult fiscal and financial situation

the province has faced since the 1930s, and we're going to do it in a spirit that's positive, a spirit that's optimistic and a spirit that's respectful of all the people around the table, and that's exactly the approach we're taking.

1530

CARLTON MASTERS

**Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South):** My question is to the Premier. Like women across Ontario, I am gravely concerned about his government's management of sexual harassment cases following the incredible mishandling of the Carlton Masters case.

On the one hand, the government presumed that Mr Masters was innocent before the Premier received the report on the investigation. Last November, the Premier offered Mr Masters another senior public service job. The Premier's parliamentary assistant and the Ontario NDP president even suggested to friends that Mr Masters would be found innocent. On the other hand, last week the Premier released the report which concluded that Mr Masters sexually harassed at least six women.

Mr Premier, why would you offer another senior job and a golden handshake to somebody who is accused of sexual harassment before you had received the report on the investigation?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs):** Perhaps the most direct thing I can say to the member is that she has her chronology wrong with respect to what took place. I hope she would appreciate that there are few issues as difficult—that I think all of us have to deal with and certainly as Premier that I've had to deal with—as this question. It's one in which, now that the report has been made public, I've noticed a wide variety of views and on which many statements are made about what might or might not have been done.

Upon reflection and upon the advice that I received from a number of senior public officials in the province, I made the determination and the government made the determination that it would be reasonable to ask Mr Masters to apologize, that it would be in the interests, I think, of everyone to allow there to be some process of reconciliation, of recognition and of rehabilitation. That's a judgement that I made.

I would say to the honourable member that if she follows the chronology carefully, she will have to recognize that as soon as the secretary of cabinet was advised of a possible problem he advised me and he then acted as he was required to do under the policies of the government. A thorough investigation took place that was quite independent of the government, and the government waited, before taking any action, until receiving the report.

Those are the facts which I think the honourable member has an obligation to know in terms of asking her question. I would say to the honourable member that these issues are never easy; they're always difficult. But I can assure the honourable member—and I hope, even in her moments of intense partisanship, she might recognize—that sometimes people do act in good faith and do try to reach decisions which are not easy. Sometimes they don't work out, and we all have to live and work through that, which is what we are all doing and what I'm certainly doing. But I would say to the honourable member that I always—

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Could the Premier conclude his response, please.

**Hon Mr Rae:** —try to act in this manner in complete good faith, and I hope she would accept that at face value, at least on this occasion.

**Mrs Marland:** The Premier is right about one thing. This is a very difficult, very serious issue, and that's why I'm on my feet asking this question.

There are no winners in this case, only losers.

Mr Masters is a loser. The report concluded that the allegations against him are valid, yet a dissenting legal opinion says the process never gave him a chance to respond to certain allegations.

The women who made the allegations are also losers. Their credibility was damaged by the NDP's presumptuous suggestions that Mr Masters was innocent.

The people of Ontario are losers. This travesty of justice suggests that if a person accused of sexual harassment is in a high position, he will get a golden handshake or a new job regardless of his innocence or guilt. It suggests that women who make sexual harassment charges will suffer even if their allegations are valid.

Mr Premier, my question is this. This is a crisis. The whole handling of the Masters case—your involvement, your staff's involvement, the investigation and the settlement—must be reviewed by an independent body. Premier, will you take this step to restore confidence in the provincial government's management of sexual harassment cases?

**Hon Mr Rae:** Let me say to the honourable member, I have a lot of respect for her and for her approach to things, which is ordinarily, I find, a very commonsense approach to these things. I understand that the question period requires a certain degree of partisanship. I would say to her that with respect to the last question which she raised about the ongoing review of sexual harassment or the cases involving sexual harassment, that's something obviously which the government is doing, because of the sensitivity of these questions and because of the difficulties involved in

terms of the issues. She says that there needs now to be another full public inquiry. I would say to the honourable member, there was a thorough investigation by an independent body that looked at the questions involved. The government acted, I think, in fairness, in good faith.

**Mrs Marland:** You made a decision before the report.

**Hon Mr Rae:** The honourable member says the decision was made before the report. That's quite false.

*Interjection.*

**Hon Mr Rae:** She's now saying it again. It's not in congruity with the facts. I would say to the honourable member that she is certainly free to criticize what's happened. I fully expect opposition members to do that.

**Mrs Marland:** I feel sorry for both sides in this issue.

**Hon Mr Rae:** The member says she feels sorry for both sides. I think all of us share that perspective and I don't think any of us could take a different perspective.

**The Speaker:** Could the Premier conclude his response, please.

**Hon Mr Rae:** The issue therefore is, has the government acted according to its policies? Has there been a determination the way through to try in the circumstances, as difficult as they are, to be fair? I think the facts will bear me out on that.

**The Speaker:** We have time for one question but no supplementary. I'll recognize the member for Cochrane South.

#### FOREST MANAGEMENT

**Mr Gilles Bisson (Cochrane South):** My question is to the Minister of Natural Resources. We would know that in 1992-93 the province of Ontario planted some 157 million seedlings within the forests of Ontario. We also know that number is down from previous years. We know that in this year, 1993-94, we're expecting the Ministry of Natural Resources to plant somewhere in the neighbourhood of 134 million seedlings.

In discussions I've had with people both within the seedling industry and within the forestry industry, there's a recognition of the fiscal reality out there, that government is faced with the situation of choosing where you're going to make cuts in a time of fiscal restraint.

The other part they also recognize is that the whole question of forestry is not simply a question of just planting trees, but also a question—

**Mr Gregory S. Sorbara (York Centre):** Order. He is giving a speech.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** I'll call order. Does the member have a question?



**Mr Bisson:** Yes, Mr Speaker. It's also a question of the total policy on forest management. My question to you, Mr Minister, and the question that people ask is, what does the Ministry of Natural Resources plan on doing in regard to the whole question of forestry and sustainable development in our forests here in Ontario?

**Hon Howard Hampton (Minister of Natural Resources):** I thank the member again for a very important question. I think we need to recognize that in very difficult economic times we need to focus whatever funding we have available, whether it be in health care or housing or education or forest regeneration, to use it as effectively and as efficiently as we possibly can and to maximize our forest regeneration effort.

There's been a fallacy in the past that somehow you can measure forest regeneration by the number of seedlings you stick in the ground each year. No farmer would walk away from a newly seeded field and say: "There goes a successful job. Everything is fine, everything is complete." We know that when we plant something or when we seed something we must look after it.

What we need to do in Ontario—and I think the member is aware of this, coming from northeastern Ontario—is focus on, how can we most effectively use all of the methods of regenerating our forests so that we can take our available funding and do the most with it across Ontario?

1540

## MOTIONS

### PRIVATE MEMBERS' PUBLIC BUSINESS

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Chairman of the Management Board of Cabinet and Government House Leader):** I move that notwithstanding standing order 96, private members' public business not be considered until Thursday, April 22, 1993, and that the requirement for notice be waived with respect to ballot items 1 to 4, inclusive.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

### HOUSE SITTING

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Chairman of the Management Board of Cabinet and Government House Leader):** I move that notwithstanding standing order 8(a), the House shall meet at 1:30 pm on Thursday, April 15, 1993.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

## PETITIONS

### SCHOOL CLOSURE

**Mr Leo Jordan (Lanark-Renfrew):** I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"We, the undersigned, beg leave to petition the Parliament of Ontario as follows:

"Whereas the closing of the Horton public school will result in Horton being the only township in the area without a school, as residents paying taxes in Horton, we feel it is our right to have access to a school in our township;

"Whereas the closing would result in the disruption of our children's educational stability as well as the close community ties that have developed in their educational development, the relocation of students to different schools would cause undue emotional upset and tear apart the fabric of the community which the children and parents have worked hard to build up, especially the close friendships the children now have;

"Whereas the Renfrew County Board of Education has submitted this proposal that could result in the closing of Horton public school, as concerned taxpayers, we are in strong disagreement with this proposal. We would like this legislative body to intervene to strike down this proposal so that this fine educational establishment will remain a vital part of our community in Horton township."

That has been signed by 1,400 residents, and I affix my signature to it.

### DRIVERS' LICENCES

**Mr Derek Fletcher (Guelph):** "To the Parliament of Ontario:

"Whereas in 1990, the Ontario Ministry of Transportation demonstrated its good intentions by proposing a system of graduated licensing that would require newly licensed drivers to adhere to certain conditions and restrictions which would be removed as the driver gains driving experience;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Parliament of Ontario as follows:

"To take immediate action to revise the laws, specifically the Highway Traffic Act, to include a graduated licensing program for novice drivers. As concerned parents and citizens of Ontario, we believe now is the time to take action to protect our young and novice drivers and, in effect, our very future."

There are about 870 names on this petition, and I affix my name also.

### WASTE DISPOSAL

**Mr Ron Hansen (Lincoln):** I have a petition here to the Legislature of Ontario:

"Whereas the Ontario Waste Management Corp is proposing to build and operate a huge centralized toxic waste incinerator and landfill site in the heart of Ontario's farm land;

"Whereas toxic waste must be treated at the source

because transportation of such huge volumes of toxic waste on our highways is suicidal;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislature of Ontario to change the mandate and directions being promoted by this crown corporation."

I affix my signature to this petition.

#### GAMBLING

**Mr Dennis Drainville (Victoria-Haliburton):** It gives me great pleasure to rise in the House today to present a petition from the people of Windsor.

**Interjection:** Windsor?

**Mr Drainville:** Windsor, yes; 3,000 citizens from Windsor who say that they do not want a casino in their jurisdiction. They say that they do not support the concept of a provincially staffed and operated casino as being in the best interests of Windsor, nor do they want one in Ontario, and I'm glad to affix my signature to this very important document.

#### HEALTH SERVICES

**Mrs Irene Mathysen (Middlesex):** I have a petition for the government of Ontario signed by 810 members of the Middlesex community. My constituents respectfully ask the Ministry of Health to allow Search, a community service organization, to be extended to include much-needed counselling for the people of West Middlesex. I have signed my name to this petition.

#### REPORTS BY COMMITTEES

##### STANDING COMMITTEE ON GENERAL GOVERNMENT

Mr Brown from the standing committee on general government presented the following report and moved its adoption:

Your committee begs to report the following bill as amended:

Bill 61, An Act respecting Algonquin and Ward's Islands and respecting the Stewardship of the Residential Community on the Toronto Islands/Loi concernant les îles Algonquin et Ward's et concernant l'administration de la zone résidentielle des îles de Toronto.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Shall the report be received and adopted? Agreed? Agreed. Shall Bill 61 be ordered for third reading? Agreed? Agreed. So ordered.

##### STANDING COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Mr Stockwell, on behalf of Mr Runciman, from the standing committee on government agencies presented the committee's 20th through 25th reports, inclusive, and moved their adoption.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Pursuant to standing order 106(g)(11), the reports are deemed to be adopted by the House.

##### STANDING COMMITTEE ON FINANCE AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

Mr Hansen from the standing committee on finance and economic affairs presented the committee's report on pre-budget consultations 1993 and moved the adoption of its recommendations.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Mr Hansen presents the committee's report and moves the adoption of its recommendations. Does the member wish to make a brief statement?

**Mr Ron Hansen (Lincoln):** Yes. I would like to say that this year there was a consensus based upon the consultations by all three parties of the House.

**The Speaker:** Does the member move adjournment of the debate?

**Mr Hansen:** Yes, I do.

**The Speaker:** Good. Mr Hansen has moved adjournment of the debate. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

##### STANDING COMMITTEE ON THE OMBUDSMAN

Mr Morrow from the standing committee on the Ombudsman presented the committee's report on the review of the Office of the Ombudsman and moved its adoption.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Mr Morrow presents the committee's report and moves its adoption. Does the member wish to make a brief statement?

**Mr Mark Morrow (Wentworth East):** Yes, I do. I just basically want to say that this was a unanimous agreement with support from all three parties in the House. I want to thank all the members who took part. I want to thank the clerk Franco, and I also want to thank Paul Murray, legal counsel.

**The Speaker:** Does the member wish to move adjournment of the debate?

**Mr Morrow:** Yes, I do.

**The Speaker:** Mr Morrow moves the adjournment of the debate. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

##### STANDING COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Mr Cooper from the standing committee on administration of justice presented the following report and moved its adoption:

Your committee begs to report the following bills as amended:

Bill 102, An Act to amend the Pay Equity Act/Loi modifiant la Loi sur l'équité salariale

Bill 169, An Act to amend the Public Service Act and the Crown Employees Collective Bargaining Act/Loi modifiant la Loi sur la fonction publique et la



Loi sur la négociation collective des employés de la Couronne.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Shall the report be received and adopted? Agreed? Agreed.

Shall Bill 102 be ordered for third reading? Agreed? Agreed. The bill therefore is ordered for third reading.

Shall Bill 169 be ordered for third reading? Agreed? Agreed. So ordered.

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#### STANDING COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Mr Beer from the standing committee on social development presented the following report and moved its adoption:

Your committee begs to report the following bill as amended:

Bill 101, An Act to amend certain Acts concerning Long-Term Care / Loi modifiant certaines lois en ce qui concerne les soins de longue durée.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Shall the report be received and adopted? Agreed? Agreed.

Shall Bill 101 be ordered for third reading? Agreed? Agreed. So ordered.

#### INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

##### MARANATHA CHRISTIAN REFORMED CHURCH OF WOODBRIDGE ACT, 1993

On motion by Mr Sorbara, the following bill was given first reading:

Bill Pr84, An Act to revive Maranatha Christian Reformed Church of Woodbridge.

##### ONTARIO ASSOCIATION OF VETERINARY TECHNICIANS ACT, 1993

On motion by Mr Lessard, the following bill was given first reading:

Bill Pr3, An Act respecting the Ontario Association of Veterinary Technicians.

##### WOMEN'S COUNSELLING REFERRAL CENTRE ACT, 1993

On motion by Ms Akande, the following bill was given first reading:

Bill Pr2, An Act to revive the Women's Counselling Referral Centre.

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY THRONE SPEECH DEBATE

##### DÉBAT SUR LE DISCOURS DU TRÔNE

Consideration of the speech of His Honour the Lieutenant Governor at the opening of the session.

Mr Marchese moved, seconded by Ms Murdock, that an humble address be presented to His Honour the Lieutenant Governor as follows:

To the Honourable Henry Newton Rowell Jackman,

a Member of the Order of Canada, Knight in the Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, doctor of laws, bachelor of laws, bachelor of arts, honorary colonel of the Governor General's Horse Guards, honorary colonel of 429 Squadron at Canadian Forces Base, Trenton, Lieutenant Governor of Ontario:

We, Her Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Legislative Assembly of the province of Ontario, now assembled, beg leave to thank Your Honour for the gracious speech Your Honour has addressed to us.

**Mr Rosario Marchese (Fort York):** It's my pleasure to move the adoption of the speech from the throne. This throne speech captures the essence of Ontario envisioned by our government, led by Bob Rae and the New Democratic Party.

Although we're governing in tough times, indeed the toughest our province has ever seen since the 1930s, we have a plan to rebuild and revitalize the province and to improve the ability of Ontarians to benefit from the economic recovery.

C'est avec plaisir que je propose l'adoption du discours du trône. Ce discours du trône capte l'essence de la vision de l'Ontario qu'a notre gouvernement, dirigé par Bob Rae et le Nouveau Parti démocratique.

Bien que nous traversons une période économique difficile, en fait la plus grande difficulté qu'ait connue notre province depuis les années 30, nous avons un plan de reconstruction et de revitalisation pour notre province qui permettra aux Ontariennes et Ontariens de mieux profiter de la reprise économique.

It's a fair plan, Mr Speaker. It's balanced plan, an innovative plan, a plan that reflects who we are and who we must become. It's a plan that we can be proud of, but it will take hard work by everyone to achieve these goals. This is not business as usual. This is a time of profound change.

I want to share with you two opposing visions of change which we are faced with as a society and as a government at this critical time in our history.

The first is a vision of a societal change dictated by global market forces; in short, dictated by forces over which we ultimately have very little control. Free trade policies are being driven by large corporations who wish to maximize profits by changing the priorities of society.

As the parliamentary assistant to the Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs, I had the opportunity a short time ago to represent Ontario in Washington at the United States congressional briefings on NAFTA, which is the proposed free trade agreement between the governments of Canada, the US and Mexico. At that meeting, I was able to share with other concerned citizens from the US and Mexico our first-

hand experience of the devastating impact of the Canada-US free trade agreement on Ontario's economy and people.

It is not that we're against trade or investment. The US is by far Ontario's largest trading partner. But the test of a good trade policy is that it improves the quality of life for all people. Trade is not just an end in itself. The destruction of Ontario's manufacturing sector by free trade and the recession has resulted in the loss of 184,000 manufacturing jobs. Many of the people who lost their jobs were already the most vulnerable: the working poor, women, recent immigrants and older Canadians. In Ontario, we have 551,000 people unemployed and over 1.2 million people who must rely on social assistance.

Given the major impact free trade has had on all of us, I want to ask you: How many of us were consulted by those who implemented these important decisions? I'm sure the answer is very few.

NAFTA, which is essentially a bill of rights for companies which restricts the power of people and their elected governments, has already passed second reading in the House of Commons. Yet, I say, where were the public consultations? Where was the public debate? Where was representative government when we needed it most?

The vision of societal change embodied in these free trade agreements has shown itself to be profoundly undemocratic. It is a vision which my government opposes. It is symptomatic of a politics that takes place over our heads.

While free trade and the global recession are things over which we have little control as a provincial government, nevertheless we must respond to these realities, which brings me to the vision of change that my government offers.

In responding to change, we must involve our citizens, we must consult before acting and we must look before we leap, and this is our commitment to Ontarians. We are committed to meaningful dialogue, to full consultations, and we have shown flexibility in modifying our policies thanks to public input.

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This vision of government as an active partner in society is part of what defines the social democrat. As Premier Bob Rae has said, "The message of social democracy is to be fairer, better, not making sure that the weather will always be sunny, because no government can assure that, but that when it's cold, at least everybody will have a coat and the people will be able to be cared for. I and my colleagues strongly believe in this message. We've come from all walks of life and backgrounds, yet we share this common vision.

I myself immigrated to Canada from Italy, and my riding of Fort York, in which I've lived my life, is home to many races, to many cultures and languages. Historically, it has been the first step of successive waves of immigration from many different countries. While my family, upon arriving in Canada, believed in the potential and promise of our new land, we were faced with the inequities which exist here and around the world. So our government is committed to empowering members of our society who have been left out of the development of public policy and who have suffered from discrimination.

As a social democrat, I believe we must rework the fabric of our Canadian identity by replacing the strands of racism and intolerance with the stronger threads of fairness and equity. That is why I applaud our government's acknowledgement that racism exists. We applaud its anti-racism strategy and the introduction of employment equity legislation. Today we salute the actions our government has taken to build a better Ontario and we announce an ambitious program to continue these efforts over the next year. It's a fair package that asks a fair contribution from everyone. It's a plan for the future that's based on fiscal responsibility and social responsibility.

There are five key parts to the fiscal plan:

Le premier est d'investir dans les emplois et les citoyens et citoyennes de la province.

Le second est de réduire les coûts du gouvernement en le rendant plus efficace, comme nous avons commencé à le faire dans le domaine de la santé.

Le troisième est de négocier un contrat social qui détermine la juste contribution du secteur public.

Le quatrième est d'augmenter les revenus gouvernementaux en demandant à chacun de payer sa part équitable.

Le dernier est de s'assurer que le développement économique respecte l'intégrité de notre environnement naturel.

[Remarks in Italian]

If we look beyond the individual components of the plan itself, we will find that it's based on a vision of government and of society that is drawn historically from social movements, from people who are seeking a better society.

On this occasion, I would like to quote one such advocate of social justice to whom I and many others look for inspiration. Twenty-five years ago this month, Dr Martin Luther King Jr was assassinated by a sniper in Memphis, Tennessee. As if he were with us at the crossroads today, I believe his words still ring true when he said:



"We are prone to judge success by the index of our salaries or the size of our automobiles, rather than by the quality of our service and relationship to humanity.

"I can never be what I ought to be until you are what you ought to be. This is the way our world is made. No individual or nation can stand out boasting of being independent. We are interdependent.

"Everyone must decide whether they will walk in the light of creative altruism, or in the darkness of destructive selfishness. This is the judgement. Life's most persistent and urgent question is, 'What are you doing for others?'"

Chacun doit décider s'il veut avancer dans la lumière de l'altruisme créatif ou dans l'obscurité de l'égoïsme destructif. C'est un jugement. La question la plus insistante et la plus pressante de la vie est celle-ci : <Que faites-vous pour les autres ?>

This is a message to be delivered not only by our social movements but by our governments as well, for our governments are trustees of our community interest and their policies and programs should embody the vision that governments can foster social justice as well as economic prosperity and that in fact the two go hand in hand.

While jobs and the economy are high on the government's agenda, as indicated in the speech from the throne, social justice continues to be a trademark of this government. Clearly there's much more that needs to be done, but I must stress that much has already been accomplished on both fronts despite the difficulties in which we find ourselves.

Let me share with you some of the key initiatives.

A strong economy can best be constructed by harnessing the energy of all Ontarians, particularly those who've been marginalized by the operation of the free market.

One area in which I've been proud to play a part is developing a partnership with citizens of this province who feel they have been neglected, the native people of Ontario. We have recognized the inherent right to self-government of aboriginal peoples. We were the first government to do so. We have signed a statement of political relationship with the aboriginal peoples of Ontario and are using this as the basis for conducting negotiations to resolve long-standing grievances, and we're the first government to have invested money in the capital infrastructure on reserves in this province.

We've focused on the issue of unpaid family support payments. Fathers of over 120,000 Ontario children owe more than half a billion dollars in support, and we say that's wrong. Our government has introduced automatic deduction of support payments from the paycheques of all those ordered by the court to pay support. Already

this plan has collected and distributed \$212 million. This has helped to ensure the financial security of some of the most vulnerable people, women and children.

We began building a partnership with the workers of the province whose companies were going bankrupt, largely because of the federal policies. We foot the bill, the insurance for their lost wages and a higher degree of insurance for their severance payments than is available in any other province.

Our social assistance payments have gone up from \$2.6 billion in 1989-90 to \$6.2 billion in 1992-93. This increase is more onerous for Ontario because the federal cap on the Canada assistance plan has resulted in a cumulative shortfall of \$3.3 billion since 1991 in the federal share of social assistance expenditures. Many will argue we could do more and that social assistance is not working as well as it should, and I agree with them. Social assistance reform is high on our agenda this year.

As a government, we decided we were going to put our new dollars into early childhood education, where we have increased the budget by 50%, and in training, where we've increased the budget by 40%, to ensure a workforce that is equipped for new technologies and specialized new jobs. We've advanced the training budget in this province to the point where it is nearly \$1 billion, a huge, significant advance, and again, we've done it in a time when the federal government has cut back. When they reduced their commitment to training, we have increased ours. Our approach must be to emphasize jobs which are high-wage and high-tech. It is self-defeating to try to create low-wage, low-skill jobs in competition with other countries. Education and training will help us to succeed.

We also have to improve the infrastructure of the province through ongoing capital investment. When we took office, we found that during the most productive six years in terms of economic growth, in the late 1980s, public infrastructure had been overlooked. For example, where were all the new subway lines that all of this economic activity should have generated? Instead, the investments during that time were based, much of them, on real estate speculation, on paper profits, on money shifting hands.

We have embarked on an ambitious program of productive investment, investment in public infrastructural renewal. A new Transportation Capital Corp will build and improve roads and bridges and charge tolls to repay the borrowed money. A new Ontario Clean Water Agency will refurbish \$2 billion worth of sewer systems, creating jobs and improving water quality. This is crucial here in Metro, where 25% of our sewage goes straight into the lake untreated. The situation is worse in many parts of the province.

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A new Ontario Realty Corp will use the value of government lands as leverage for job creation and other joint ventures.

In terms of affordable housing, we've done more than any government in Canada, and during very difficult times. The construction of non-profit homes, which has increased under our government, will create over 33,000 person-years of employment this year alone and will create housing that is permanently affordable.

We have to do more to assist smaller companies, smaller industries and smaller businesses. I met with small businesses in my riding last week to discuss how we do this, both locally and provincially. The consensus is becoming clear. If we are to meet our community needs, I strongly believe that small business is where our efforts need to be strengthened. Here in Metro Toronto, in 1990-91, we lost 50,000 jobs from companies with more than 50 employees, but we gained 20,000 jobs in companies with less than 10.

We have to improve the structure for community economic development, which will be essential for communities, regions and whole areas that have been seriously affected by the recession, and small business is where these new jobs will come from.

The first part of our plan is, quite simply, to focus all our efforts on improving the strength of the economy and the productivity of our people, and in doing so, to build a viable economy for the long term.

Now that the recovery is under way—nearly 111,000 jobs created in the last seven months; unemployment that's come down from a high of 11.3% last August to 10.3% today; not fast enough, not as much as we would like—we have to ask ourselves, how do we get on to a financial and fiscal course as well as a social and economic course that is truly sustainable for our future?

With falling revenues and increased costs from greater demands on our social services, our deficit has increased. We have had to borrow more and pay a larger share of our tax dollars to interest on the debt. We would rather use public resources to invest in services benefiting the whole community rather than becoming slaves to bond holders who primarily come from the most privileged segments of society.

Therefore, we must reduce the debt and the deficit, and the first step is to get our province back to work so that our tax base can once again support the services we rely on.

The second step is to reduce the cost of government by improving its efficiency and the effectiveness of our programs.

In terms of the softer social services, we've made important reforms and plan to make more this year.

Welfare reform is crucial. The current system of social assistance does not work very well and we admit that. It eats up an enormous portion of our budget and there's no indication that the numbers will come down unless we take action. The number of people on social assistance, including children, is up into the 15% range. This is intolerable.

We're the first government to create a council of consumers made up entirely of experts who know the system inside out—welfare recipients—to recommend how we can improve the delivery and administration of social assistance.

We will proceed with welfare reform this year, the most wide-ranging reform since the Canada assistance plan was introduced in the 1960s.

As a New Democrat, looking back at the history of our party, the purpose of our party isn't to make sure that everybody in the province gets a welfare cheque; the purpose of our party is to make sure that everybody in the province gets a chance to work.

Another key area of reform lies in the health care system. Health is the largest item in the provincial budget at \$17 billion. We have learned that you don't advance the cause of health care by simply adding more doctors or giving more money to hospital administrators. We have to bring the system under community control and make it more responsive to our needs. This is the only way we can preserve universal health care.

Cost control is not just an issue in health care. We must control costs on the operating side of government in a way which reflects the deflationary economy we have been living in for the last few years, and we are committed to doing that, not by a slash-and-burn approach to government cost cutting, where we tell our public sector to take it or leave it, but rather through a negotiated social contract with our public sector employees and their bargaining agents.

While this will not be an easy process, I applaud the government for taking this partnership approach. We have to continue to give workers more of a voice and more of a stake. Everything we have done as a government has been based on this premise: wage protection, worker ownership, the rights to organize in Bill 40, the creation of the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board, the kind of empowerment and advocacy which we have represented. All of this is based on a common philosophy and common point of view that we gain as a province and that we gain as a people by advancing the ability of people to become better trained and to participate.

In the public sector, our public servants do an enormously valuable job in this province. They take care of people in their moments of greatest vulnerability. None of us should ever forget that. These are the people who



work on behalf of the public in Ontario.

Despite the devastating recession, we have continued to ensure the integrity of our public services, which we all rely on. Public servants who are providing social services and administering our programs have direct knowledge of how this is being done and ideas on how it could be done better. We must harness their knowledge and pride.

It appears that in order to meet our fiscal objectives we will have to reduce our public sector wage package. As a social democratic government, we are committed to doing everything in our power to arrive at a negotiated result, and I am confident that with the goodwill of everyone involved we can reach such a result.

The fourth part of our plan, after we've invested in jobs and in our people while improving the value we get for our tax dollars, is to raise taxes more fairly. As we are prepared to demonstrate that tax dollars will be used more effectively for the public good, we must also have the courage to ensure that those who have benefited most from our society, those with greater income and wealth, should contribute a fair portion of their resources to assist those who are less fortunate, for we have to insist that at the end of the day, the New Democratic Party stands for the common good. We stand for the common wealth. We stand for what all of us owe each other and what we can provide for each other.

Finally, the foundation upon which our social and economic objectives are built and from which they are derived is our natural environment. Environmental sustainability is crucial and will be the basis of a renewed and renewable economy, in which we must encourage the emergence and creation of green industries, of government institutions which respond sensitively to the environment, of increased citizen rights to protect and preserve our environment. These are the long-term interests of our community, and of our economy as well.

We believe governments must be judged on the balance they strike between social justice, economic productivity, environmental sustainability and fiscal responsibility. This is how we determine the maturity and effectiveness of our governments.

It will be Ontarians, under the leadership of our government, who will turn these plans into reality. We have come through a difficult time together, but the clouds, in my view, are breaking, and as a government we have sown the seeds of social, economic and environmental renewal in our province over the last two years. We invested in our people, we have maintained our essential public services and we have advanced social justice where other governments are retreating. If we continue to work together, a season of renewal will

take hold in Ontario.

Si nous continuons à travailler ensemble, l'Ontario connaîtra un véritable renouveau.

1620

**Ms Sharon Murdock (Sudbury):** I am very pleased to second the motion moved by my colleague the member for Fort York.

It is a momentous time, this session, not only because we are moving slowly out of a protracted recession but also because all of us here and throughout the province have come to realize that momentous change must occur.

Momentous change is the order of the day if the emerging economic recovery is to mean jobs, investments, training and provision of necessary services for people, while at the same time an increasing quality of life for all Ontarians.

Perhaps the most momentous challenge we face in the months ahead is the challenge of the costs of government in this period of recovery. Simply put, we have to find ways—creative, humane ways—of maintaining services for people in effective and cost-efficient methods in a period of unprecedented fiscal challenges. The costs of government have to be reduced, recognizing at the same time that publicly provided quality services are basic to the quality of life of Ontario's citizens and that compensation costs, broadly defined, are a very large proportion of the costs of the broader public sector.

The necessity of addressing this crucial challenge is the necessity of reversing a troubling trend, where more and more working people are coming to believe that the future is not their friend.

Des changements, nous devons en apporter dans ce que nous faisons, dans notre façon de faire les choses, dans les objectifs que nous espérons atteindre. Le discours du trône d'hier donne les grandes lignes de ces changements et met l'accent sur les emplois pour les Ontariennes et Ontariens et sur l'amélioration de notre économie.

One hundred thousand new jobs have been created in Ontario over the last six months or so, and that covers roughly one third of the jobs lost through this recession and that is encouraging. However, we have much to do to get our people back to work. It's the number one priority: jobs, meaningful jobs. With unemployment at unacceptably high levels, new economic opportunities for people increasing depend on new and renewed skills for Ontarians in a changing and highly competitive world. Our responsibility as a Legislature is to ensure that our people get the training they need.

That's one reason why the passage of the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board legislation is so import-

ant. It exemplifies the concept of new partnerships that are going to be required in the future. Business, labour, educators, trainers and community representatives all working together will determine the training needs for the province.

Under that bill, local labour, local business and local community representatives will determine what is needed in terms of training and retraining at a local level. Who better knows what is needed in their own area than the people who live and work in that particular community?

Speaking as a northern member, I believe that what is significant in the LTAB formation is the fact that allocation of dollars will be determined by local people concerned about their own local needs, and it won't be some person or some committee in a Toronto office making decisions for us.

Representation on these boards is also very important. The tripartite nature, of course, includes business people and labour people. However, it will also include the voices of women, aboriginal peoples, the disabled and visible minorities. For far too long they have been forgotten, and yet they form a majority of our population. Now they will have a say.

Half a billion dollars—just think of it—\$500 million each and every year is to be spent through OTAB on training Ontario workers. Overall, Ontario spends, now, more than \$900 million a year on worker training and adjustment, more than any government in this province has ever spent in these particular areas.

No longer will training be overseen by numerous ministries, often with excessive duplication. One board, OTAB, will take over the direct organization and the management of government-sponsored training. It will prove to be a much more efficient and cost-effective method of administering program delivery.

Something I'm very proud of and that I carried in committee is for the women in this province who are still not being paid equally for work of equal value. The pay equity amendments have been through committee now and the two new methods of comparing women's wages, proportional and proxy values, are included in those amendments.

Public sector employees, another 400,000 of them, will be affected. The cost of \$1 billion over the government's mandate is indeed high, but higher yet is the cost to those women in this province who work long and hard hours without the recognition that their work has value and that what they do is not only respected but also valued.

That \$1 billion towards recognition of women's work will reap benefits for everyone in this province, with more income, disposable income increases, and this

results in not only greater spending but more tax revenue. Everyone benefits with pay equity.

This session will also see final passage of long-term care reform. Last year the ministers of Health, Community and Social Services and seniors announced the need to streamline services for the disabled and elderly. It makes sense to have multiservices, social and medical, provided by a single agency in each region. The one-stop-shopping concept has been hailed by those whom it will serve, for it will provide a continuum of care, from providing home care as it is needed, to institutionalization if necessary.

Une meilleure coordination des services dans les régions permettra aux personnes âgées et handicapées d'avoir accès plus facilement aux services dont elles ont besoin. Le système sera plus efficace et plus rentable.

As our population ages, the pressures put upon our health care system increase. Our long-term care reform will address some of the structural problems in the existing system: for example, support for families who care for sick relatives; palliative care services for those who wish to spend their last days in their own home; a relief system for care givers; looking at whether or not to pay families directly to care for ailing relatives at home; giving disabled adults control over buying their own attendant care services; expansion of homemaker programs and community support services.

This bill has been a long time coming and while additional funding will be required to set the reforms on their feet, the long-term costs to health will be significantly affected and reduced, while at the same time enriching the lives of Ontario residents.

Spring is a time of renewal and new beginnings. We've already emphasized that job creation is our number one priority. A major bill will be introduced this session towards that goal—it will have first reading—the creation of three new crown corporations: Transportation Capital Corp, Ontario Clean Water Agency and the Ontario Realty Corp. Each corporation will focus on job creation projects within the context of new partnerships with the private sector.

In February, our government committed itself to an aggressive \$6-billion capital investment program. I heard on the news that yesterday's throne speech, in particular in this area, was just a rehash and a repetition of what has already been announced. It is true that we did announce this in February, but it is a new beginning, together with municipalities and private sector investors: \$6 billion will be invested over the next decade, 60,000 jobs will be created by 1996 and more than 100,000 by the end of the program.

La construction et la réfection des routes permettront de maintenir l'infrastructure de l'Ontario. Dans le cas d'une nouvelle route, et à condition qu'il existe d'autres



routes menant au même endroit, un système de péage sera instauré jusqu'à ce que les coûts de construction de la route aient été payés. Des emplois seront créés dans l'industrie de la construction et dans les entreprises connexes.

Des réseaux et d'adduction d'eau un peu partout en province ont besoin d'être rénovés et entretenus. Encore là, on créera plus d'emploi.

La Société foncière de l'Ontario se servira de la valeur des terrains du gouvernement comme levier financier pour emprunter et créer des emplois grâce à des partenariats.

This is a new concept, a new beginning. The boards which will direct operations will involve representatives from all the sectors with people who have some expertise in the specific area. New partnerships will be forged and no longer will it be government representatives making all the decisions. Instead, it will be Ontarians working for themselves.

As you can see, this session will be a busy one. I have addressed only some of the initiatives presented in the throne speech, but each bill coming forth this session addresses an aspect of job creation or of improv-

ing Ontario's economy without diminishing those social values which we hold dear. Ontario must get back to work. Our residents deserve the dignity of a good day's pay for a good day's work. Our agenda this session works towards that goal and I am sure that everyone in this House will strive to that end.

I am proud to second the motion in passing the throne speech and I thank you for your attention.

**The Deputy Speaker:** The member for Mississauga West.

**Mr Steven W. Mahoney (Mississauga West):** I would love to, but I will adjourn the debate.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Mr Mahoney moves the adjournment of the debate. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

**Hon Marion Boyd (Attorney General and Minister Responsible for Women's Issues):** I move adjournment of the House.

**The Deputy Speaker:** The acting House leader moves the adjournment of the House. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried. This House stands adjourned until 1:30 of the clock tomorrow afternoon.

The House adjourned at 1631.

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## Legislative Assembly of Ontario

Third Session, 35th Parliament

## Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Troisième session, 35<sup>e</sup> législature

# Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Thursday 15 April 1993

# Journal des débats (Hansard)

Le jeudi 15 Avril 1993

Speaker  
Honourable David Warner

Clerk  
Claude L. DesRosiers

Président  
L'honorable David Warner

Greffier  
Claude L. DesRosiers



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Thursday 15 April 1993

The House met at 1335.

Prayers.

#### MEMBERS' STATEMENTS

##### LABOUR RELATIONS

**Mr Hans Daigeler (Nepean):** Guess what? The NDP has added a new acronym to the socialist dictionary. It's SC. What, I wonder, could SC mean in Bob Rae's vocabulary? Sinful cabinet minister? Scandal count? Sheer comedy? Stifled competition? Stagnant cash flow? Sour caucus? Sorry choice? No. It means social contract.

What in the world is a social contract? Does it mean you sign a form before you go dancing with someone? Does it mean getting a caterer for your next party? No, wrong again. According to the government's PR material "social contract" means "containment of compensation costs" exchanged for "empowerment in planning processes," and that's a quote.

Why all the pseudo-intellectual gobbledegook, I ask the Premier. Why don't you come clean and say, "I want wage restraint for power sharing"? Premier, don't hide the real tough issues behind fanciful words.

##### RAIL SERVICE IN ALGONQUIN PARK

**Mr Leo Jordan (Lanark-Renfrew):** My statement is for the Minister of Natural Resources. Mr Minister, Canadian National Railways and CP Rail are currently developing plans to merge their rail lines through the Ottawa Valley. CP Rail's Ottawa River route is to be abandoned and the CNR route along the Petawawa River in Algonquin Park is to be retained and used to provide a route for both CNR and CPR traffic.

A growing number of people are concerned that a poorly planned and improperly monitored expansion of the railway in Algonquin Park could result in serious ecological, aesthetic and economic impacts on Ontario's oldest provincial park. People are concerned that the increased frequency of rail traffic through the park will disturb park visitors, create a safety hazard to hikers and portaging canoeists and perhaps kill and injure park wildlife.

As Minister of Natural Resources, you have an obligation to administer, protect and conserve Ontario's provincial park system. You have a duty to ensure that any rail line expansion proposals are socially and environmentally responsible. Mr Minister, you must get involved in the planning process that would result in any railway expansion within a provincial park, especially when 1993 marks the centennial year of Algonquin

Park, the jewel of the park system in the province of Ontario.

##### HEALTH CARE

**Mr Mike Farnan (Cambridge):** I would like to draw attention to the remarkable and continuing participation of the entire Cambridge community in fundraising for a new ambulatory care centre with an enlarged day surgery and a new intensive care-cardiac care unit at the Cambridge Memorial Hospital.

Last year, a year in which many of us felt the pinch of hard times, Cambridge residents strengthened their commitment to this capital project. In the year ending March 31, 1993, our community raised \$731,000, up almost a quarter over the year before. Since 1986 we have raised \$6.6 million for this vital project.

As a community, we recognize the excellence of the care that is available through our local hospital and we appreciate the efficiency with which it is run. In fact, CMH was acknowledged as the most efficient hospital of its size in Ontario. We are proud that the Cambridge Memorial Hospital is actively shifting towards community-based care, in keeping with provincial strategies.

As a community of individual and corporate donors, as patients and care givers, we are anxious to see our contributions put to use. We have committed to paying more than 70% of the cost of the new facility, the government has committed to paying \$4.6 million and our regional government is willing to participate in the financial outlay.

The citizens of Cambridge and the hospital staff are all eagerly looking forward to getting on with this project. All we are waiting for is a written guarantee of the availability of the promised provincial funds. We ask for these funds now.

##### FOOD BANKS

**Ms Dianne Poole (Eglinton):** On Monday, I went to the Daily Bread food drive to listen to the people's throne speech, delivered by those who knew at first hand what it is like to depend on food banks to survive. This is what recipients believe the Rae government's throne speech should say if the NDP government had any compassion or integrity:

"I sit before you and offer a profound apology.... My government came into power with vast promises. But, ignoring our roots, we have embraced our absolute power and essentially all but forgotten the people and ideals we were elected to represent.

"More than 160,000 people each month in our

provincial capital go to a food program in order to survive. In what way has my government contributed to this situation? In all honesty I fear we have contributed greatly."

That's what the people at the food banks are saying about the NDP.

Three years ago, Bob Rae promised he would eliminate the need for food banks. Instead his government has given social assistance recipients the lowest increase in more than a decade, just 1%. The NDP has abandoned a major part of STEP, the supports to employment program, which gave welfare recipients an incentive to work, and Bob Rae's Jobs Ontario program has become a disaster.

To add insult to injury, Bob Rae now says that average citizens, not his government, will have to make sure everyone has enough to eat. The Premier says this when 42% of those using food banks are children. Shame on this government. Shame.

#### HEALTH CARE

**Mr Jim Wilson (Simcoe West):** A very serious matter has arisen that I believe the Health minister should move to immediately resolve. At the end of March, hospitals in Wingham, Sturgeon Falls, Elliot Lake and Collingwood were told, without prior consultation or discussion, that their registered nursing assistant training programs would be discontinued effective May 31, 1993.

This arbitrary decision by the government has caused great hardship to incoming students and the teaching staffs at each hospital. Students who applied to the program for the 1993-94 academic year are expecting to hear that they have been accepted into the program. Instead they will soon learn of the program's termination and will not have an opportunity to enrol in a similar program for the upcoming year.

Hospitals in Wingham, Sturgeon Falls, Elliot Lake and Collingwood are asking for a 12-month extension to wind down their RNA training programs. This extension should be given for two reasons: In lieu of the extremely short notice given by the government, laid-off staff will receive hefty severance packages. These severance packages will completely offset the money the Ministry of Health expected to save with its hasty decision to shut down these programs. Two other hospitals in Kenora and Fort Frances have already been given 12-month extensions.

The government's slash-and-burn approach to health care is leaving a string of casualties in its wake. I urge the minister to open her eyes and put down her scalpel and meet with these hospitals to discuss their urgent and reasonable request for a 12-month extension.

#### ITALIAN OF THE YEAR AWARD

**Mr George Dadamo (Windsor-Sandwich):** Every year in Windsor, the Giovanni Caboto Club, with a membership of some 1,500 people, searches the city and the county of Essex for a leader possessing sterling qualities and admired by many of his or her peers. Italians in Windsor are proud of this title and gather, young and old, to honour one of their own.

It is an arduous task, never easy sifting through the possible candidates. This year the Caboto Club of Windsor on Parent Avenue, with a search committee headed by Paolo Savio, found such a dynamic person in the name of Father Lino Santi.

Father Santi was born in Italy, spent most of his life in North America, guided by his beliefs and, of course, his chosen vocation. He also spent some years in Thunder Bay, but most of his time in the Windsor area, and specifically at St Angela Merici church on Erie Street or Via Italia, a church which I attend and also had the privilege of being an altar server in some 30 years ago. During this time, I had the honour to serve under Father Lino Santi and I'm now convinced this prestigious award has found the right person.

Recently, nearly 1,000 people gathered to honour the 1992 Italian of the Year at the Caboto Club in Windsor. The award, now in its 10th year, was initiated by the Caboto Club to honour a member of the Italian community who excels in his or her field and whose lifestyle, work and involvement have brought honours.

Along with my Windsor colleague the member for Windsor-Walkerville, it gives me great pleasure to announce Father Lino Santi of St Angela Merici church on Erie Street as this year's 1992 Italian of the Year.

#### MUNICIPAL FINANCES

**Mr Steven W. Mahoney (Mississauga West):** I want to congratulate Mayor Hazel McCallion and the council of the city of Mississauga, as well as her senior management staff, for doing something that's completely unheard of in today's economy: They actually lowered their taxes. Can you imagine that?

The city of Mississauga has the lowest municipal tax rate of 25 major Canadian cities. It has been debt-free for 14 years and this year Mayor McCallion and her council were actually able to give the people of Mississauga a property tax decrease. The city has set an example for all levels of government in this country and government can learn from that example. That lesson is sound fiscal management, long-term planning and a no-nonsense business approach that can attract investment, despite policies of an NDP provincial government determined to scare off investment in this province. It can result in a tax decrease, despite a recession that has



been worsened by the inept management of this NDP government.

Mayor McCallion does not have to negotiate a social contract with her employees. She accomplished all of this with their cooperation and without losing one single job. Bob Rae, Mr Speaker, ought to commission a bronze statue, with your blessing, for the front lawn of Queen's Park, of Mayor McCallion, to say to the people that she knows how to run a government.

I'm proud to say I was on that council for 10 years. My wife is currently a member, carrying on the Mahoney tradition in Mississauga. Mayor McCallion and her council are leading the way in fiscal responsibility that Mr Premier should listen to and the Treasurer should listen to.

#### CURLING CHAMPIONSHIPS

**Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East):** There is no doubt as to who the masters of the ice really are. That title belongs to the Russ Howard rink of lead, Peter Corner; second, Wayne Middaugh; third, Glen Howard; and alternate, Larry Merkley, following the second world curling champion triumph in Geneva on April 4.

The Penetanguishene-based team of athletes is an example of just what can be accomplished when people band together to work toward a common goal. For the first time since 1989, when the world championships were held in Milwaukee, Canada claimed world supremacy in both men's and women's curling. The Sandra Peterson rink of Regina beat Germany by a score of 5 to 3, while Penetanguishene's Russ Howard skipped his rink past Scotland 8 to 4. The Russ Howard rink won first in the world crown in 1987 in Vancouver and, after six years of fighting to get back, they certainly earned the opportunity of being number one once again. The Howard rink set the tone early in the world championships by curling aggressively and making every shot count.

I join with the Howard rink's many fans, friends, families and curling colleagues in the Penetanguishene area in extending my heartfelt congratulations and sincere best wishes to the real masters of the ice.

#### TAX REFORM

**Mr Tony Rizzo (Oakwood):** As we begin a new session of the Parliament of Ontario, I would like to make a passionate plea in favour of property tax reform. It is a plea that I will never tire of making so long as my constituents keep telling me, as they did last night at St John Boscoe school, that they, like hundreds of thousands of citizens in this province, can no longer bear the burden of their property taxes.

Far too often, while canvassing my riding, I see tears in the eyes of the elderly, the unemployed and the disabled. They are losing their homes to mortgage

companies and to banks because, in order to pay the exorbitant property taxes, they cannot afford to keep mortgage payments up to date. Let us not be derailed by the market value assessment issue. Even if the Metro plan had been implemented, the tax rebate would still not be large enough to provide real relief for thousands of citizens.

We must proceed as fast as possible on the road indicated by the Fair Tax Commission report. We must no longer use property taxes to fund our educational system. That is regressive taxation. Instead, funding for education should be raised through a progressive form of taxation, one based on a person's ability to pay. In short—

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** The member for Oakwood, the time has expired.

1350

#### STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY AND RESPONSES

##### JOBS ONTARIO YOUTH

**Hon David S. Cooke (Minister of Education and Training):** Tuesday's throne speech outlined our plan to put Ontario back to work: to create jobs and training opportunities and to rebuild the economy. Our 10-point plan makes it clear we are continuing to invest in jobs and to invest in people.

The recession has hit all communities hard, but our young people, Ontario's next generation of workers, have been hit very hard. Youth participation rates in the workforce are at their lowest level in more than 10 years. Although young people represent about 18% of the workforce, the drop in youth employment levels since 1989 represent 84% of the total net employment decline in Ontario.

This province is facing a very real fiscal problem. As the Premier and the Minister of Finance have said, we are committed to dealing with it through a balanced package of expenditure reductions, an increase in government revenues and the negotiation of a social contract with our public sector partners, but we're not interested in deficit reduction for its own sake. We are dealing with Ontario's debt so that we can continue to make the kind of investments in jobs and in people that I am announcing here today.

Jobs Ontario Youth is an important part of our plan to put Ontario back to work. The skills and work experience gained by participants will strengthen the workforce of tomorrow.

Most young people's first experience with work is through summer jobs. These jobs play a critical role in developing skills to last a lifetime. They build attitudes towards work, saving and lifelong learning.

We recognize the challenges faced by young people

as they enter the workforce and we have taken action to increase access to jobs. Spending on youth employment programs has increased by \$25 million in the last two budgets.

Last year, under the leadership of the Premier's parliamentary assistant, Zanana Akande, we created the Jobs Ontario Youth program to increase access to summer jobs. Using the skills and contacts of youth employment counselling offices and community organizations, the program matched young peoples' skills with employers' needs. Special emphasis was made to ensure that black and other racial minority youth had access to jobs, as their unemployment rate is far higher than the average youth unemployment rates.

The program was a success: 9,551 jobs were created, 1,051 more than targeted.

This success goes beyond statistics. At closing ceremonies for the program, employers and youth participants were enthusiastic about their experiences.

Employers ranged from businesses with fewer than 10 workers to Canada's largest financial institutions.

The program had an immediate and positive impact on young people. Some acquired skills and work experience that led to full-time jobs. Others returned to high school, college and university with definite career goals in mind.

Ms Akande has continued to consult with youth, community agencies, employers and ministers across government, not only to identify short-term employment issues but also to identify longer-term issues which the government needs to consider as the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board develops. Ms Akande has continued to display outstanding leadership in the area of youth employment. She is committed to increasing educational, employment and training opportunities for youth and for ensuring that all youth have equal access to these opportunities.

Earlier today, she met with young people, employers and deliverers who participated in last year's program at St Christopher House, a community agency in downtown Toronto. Some are in the gallery now, and I ask members to welcome them.

I am pleased to announce that Jobs Ontario Youth is being renewed for 1993. A total of \$25 million has been approved for the program. About 10,000 summer jobs will be created and year-round programs and services will be maintained and strengthened.

The first component of Jobs Ontario Youth will provide jobs for young people in Toronto, Ottawa, Hamilton and Windsor. These cities have large racial minority populations and the largest concentrations of unemployed youth. The component has a budget of \$14

million and will create summer jobs for 6,000 young people. Field agents for the program will begin placing young people with employers at the beginning of May.

The second component will provide an additional \$7 million for three existing summer programs: the Environmental Youth Corps, northern training opportunities program and summer experience. About 4,000 summer jobs will be created.

Youth employment issues are not limited to the summer months. Whether to support themselves or to help pay for their post-secondary education, young people are competing for jobs throughout the year. To help them, a third component of Jobs Ontario Youth will spend \$4 million to strengthen year-round employment services for young people.

Youth training and job creation programs will soon be the responsibility of the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board. The board will ensure our programs are effective, reflect real market needs and provide the widest possible access to training.

The province administers a range of programs that address a variety of job needs for young people. Last year, we spent about \$180 million on these programs. But money alone does not ensure the needs of all youth are equally addressed. We must ensure that there is no duplication and no gaps in service.

The needs of young people are immediate. This summer we will bring together community organizations, especially groups representing young people, ministries and the OTAB project to form a committee to review youth job programs. The committee will recommend measures to improve client service and to ensure programs are effective.

The work must begin today, because the need is here today. The skills of a new generation of workers must be brought into the workforce. The skills of young people are essential to rebuilding the economy and attracting new jobs and investment. Their skill and energy will secure economic growth and the future of Ontario.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Statements by ministers? Responses. Official opposition.

**Mr Alvin Curling (Scarborough North):** I want to tell the minister that of course we welcome any announcement of the sort that would create some sort of jobs for young people. But I want to remind him that it was his government that got these young people in this terrible situation today. You have started to erode the ability of young people even to go to school. You have taken away the grants from OSAP, so they have to find jobs in order to pay their tuition fees. You went ahead and increased the tuition fees for these young people, which put pressure on their parents, so therefore they



have to go and look for jobs in order to pay their tuition fees.

Of course you have leaned on Mrs Akande, on the work that she went around to do. As I have always said, you seem to have given her a basket to carry water with nothing there, and now you are praising her work and saying that we have created great jobs for young people.

I don't think, being the first statement that was made here today, that this is acceptable. When my colleague Mr Beer went around to the youth employment centres, what he heard was one word: Help. He tried to save them. He came back to this House and emphasized the desperate need of young people there in the youth employment centres. Did they respond? No. What they're going to do is bring old programs back, recycle them and say, "Look how many things we are doing here." I think they should be ashamed of what they have brought forward today, saying, "We have been progressive."

There's no youth employment strategy whatsoever. You come about and say that it's April and May and we've got to try and get some summer jobs made for these young people. It will not help. What they will do is scramble about and try to get some jobs. I hope that the young people you brought in today will see through all your smoke and mirrors, will see that they don't want just summer jobs; they want a youth employment strategy so they can think there's a future that is there for them in order to be a part of this Ontario.

Sure, minorities are in that list, saying that they're worst off in regard to employment. A lot of other youth are desperately hoping not only that they'll get a job but that they'll make sufficient money to go back to school. They are not only making money in order to pay their tuition fees; many young people are finding jobs in order to help to support their families. There is no future out there for our young people if this government continues this way.

As a matter of fact, speaking about the future, when I was the Minister of Skills Development, and my good colleague here, Greg Sorbara, was the previous minister, we brought about the Futures program, a wonderful program. I'm sure the minister hasn't got time yet to go around the province to find out, when they tell you that one of the most creative programs they had was Futures. What have you done with it? You've undermined it and you've killed it.

1400

I don't think you have to do a lot of thinking today. We've done the thinking for you. The Futures program is an excellent program. Continue to fund it. Don't take our word for it. Go to the youth employment centre and ask them about those programs. They need you to show some leadership. You have lacked leadership in all other

aspects. If you just show it in the youth, at least they'll have some spark of life so that when we form the government, we can continue the excellent work we were doing with the Futures program itself.

Statistics have shown that almost 20% of our young people are unemployed, and my God, they come out today and say: "We have a program. We have a program that will help all the young people." It will not work.

Mr Minister, the crisis on this government's hand is a crisis in this province, where young people have nowhere to go, no jobs to get. Tell me, Mr Minister, how will this program be linked to the OTAB program? I don't know. It's not explained in here. I hope that you'll find some continuity in your program, and not putting about a summer program.

I would like to say that if this government thinks seriously about our future, it would think very seriously about our young people. Our young people have no faith in this government. It's not only the young who feel this way; it's all the people, the business people. The businesses are leaving. They can't even get jobs for the parents, much less get jobs for the young people.

I would like, in closing, to say to this minister, that if there's any help, we have extreme experts on this side of the House who are willing to help, because we know how serious it is that the young people come here with their eyes wide open, hoping for these opportunities. Somehow this minister, this new minister, will have some spark in him, some sort of compassion in him, to realize our young people are suffering there without jobs.

**Mrs Dianne Cunningham (London North):** I would like to take this opportunity, at the first announcement by the new minister, to congratulate him in his new portfolio and to wish him the very best in what I think is one of the most important portfolios in Ontario today.

In broad terms, I think the government should understand from the throne speech yesterday that if in fact we are looking at youth unemployment and if we are looking at opportunities for young people to get work, then this province has to set the tone and the atmosphere for investment in this province.

So I will take the opportunity to say two things: First of all, Bill 40 did not do that; secondly, any discussion about increased taxation does not do that. Mr Minister, your program does. I can tell you right now that if you're targeting young people, the most discouraged persons in our society today—and some of them are sitting up there right now—are young people who cannot find work.

I should tell you that we're pleased if this is just the

beginning. There's an increase from \$20 million to \$25 million for these young people. It's not just summer employment, the minister is telling us today; it's ongoing employment throughout the school year. I hope two things will happen: first of all, that there will be accessibility for all, and that the minister will be making these programs available, announcing and communicating with the public right across Ontario, so that everyone has an opportunity to apply and an opportunity to avoid the gaps that he talks about, and a duplication in these programs.

I'd also like to take the opportunity to tell the minister that if he is interested in training young people to meet the needs of tomorrow, he should take a look—and he still has an opportunity to do this—at the makeup of the OTAB board, which in fact does not allow for the kind of representation on behalf of educators. That bill is still in committee. We've left it there so that the minister can come to the committee himself and listen to the representatives speak on behalf of educators who feel that they need more seats on that board to speak for these very young people who are here today who want apprenticeship training programs and a major change in the delivery structure for apprenticeship training, not just OTAB but the education system itself, if we're going to train young people for the needs of tomorrow.

I'd also like to say that we, at this time, are talking about disbanding the clerkship stipends for medical students. These are people in training in our hospitals who are working 40 to 60 hours a week in their training, and right in the middle of this year we're talking about disbanding their clerkship stipends, \$5,000. It may not be appropriate, but the timing is incorrect. Fair discussion and consultation are extremely important if our young people are to have the kind of confidence we want them to have in government. We have to do that correctly.

I would like to stop my response by saying to the minister that this is just a beginning. We're looking for these kinds of incentive programs, and if he's talking about young people, we have to reach out to them more than we ever have before, and they want jobs.

**Mrs Elizabeth Witmer (Waterloo North):** I'm pleased to hear that this announcement is going to create 10,000 new jobs, because our young people have been devastated by this recession. However, I question whether 10,000 new jobs are really going to be created, since it's going to depend on two things. Number one, are the employers going to be able to provide positions? Number two, if this is going to be run in a similar manner to the other Jobs Ontario programs, with the bureaucratic delays and the bumbblings that have been experienced, I can assure you we will not see 10,000 new jobs for our young people this summer.

Unfortunately, what we have here is an emergency measure by this government. It's piecemeal. It's not going to help our young people in the long run, and I would like to say to this government, this type of emergency measure would not be necessary if this government were providing incentives to the business community, the private sector, to create jobs. That's where the long-term jobs for our young people are going to be: in the private sector.

It's the small business community that creates the jobs. However, if this government, as it has indicated, is going to continue to raise taxes, we're not going to see new job creation. I would say to this government that although I applaud what you have done today, I would encourage you to take a look at stimulating investment in the private sector, because that's where the long-term jobs for our young people are going to be, not in this program that could experience bumbling.

**Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham):** Could I call upon the House for unanimous agreement for statements from all parties on Holocaust remembrance day?

**The Speaker:** Do we have such an agreement? Agreed.

#### HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL DAY

**Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham):** Today, we are honoured to have guests in our gallery, people who know first hand the importance of freedom and why it's worth fighting for.

In the gallery are Holocaust survivors Norma Dimity, Isaac Jesin, Alex Eisen, Anna Kremer and Morris Greenbaum; also partisan fighters from the second war David and Peter Smuszkowicz, good friends of mine, and Peter Silverman; and also Canadian Jewish war veteran Sam Pasternack.

We are also honoured to have with us the consul general of Israel, Mr Dror Zeigerman and his wife, Asia.

We welcome these honoured guests as we mark the 50th anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising and Yom Hashoah, Holocaust remembrance day. You are an inspiration to us all.

I would also like to take this opportunity to thank my colleague Charlie Harnick, the MPP for Willowdale, for allowing me to have this opportunity to speak on behalf of the PC caucus. Mr Harnick has been an inspiration to me and to all for the tremendous commitment he has given to the building of the interest and knowledge about the Holocaust in the Ontario Legislature.

As a Christian, I see this as much more than a Jewish issue. It is a human issue and should touch the hearts and minds of all. I want to take this issue to everyone, to know the horror of the Holocaust and to fight against racism. Our honoured guests are survivors of the



Holocaust, living history, who personify the struggle for survival, the fight for freedom, and ultimately the fight against racism.

1410

We are coming to the end of a generation of Holocaust survivors, the people who were there and who survived. Now more than ever, it is important to deepen our understanding of this dark period of our history. The Warsaw ghetto uprising became a symbol of the struggle against intolerance. We must remember the heroism to ensure that mankind never allows another Holocaust. The Warsaw ghetto uprising demonstrated to the world that individuals could stand up against insurmountable odds and fight against the Nazi war machine.

In 1942, the Warsaw ghetto was comprised of nearly 500,000 Jewish people, and on July 22, 1942, transfers to the death camp at Treblinka began, at the rate of more than 5,000 Jews per day. By January 1943, word reached the ghetto that Jewish people were being executed in gas chambers. Those living in the ghetto organized an armed resistance. On April 18, which happened to be the first day of Passover, they fought off the Nazi army and they were able to hold off the Nazis for four weeks.

It is almost inconceivable to look back some 50 years ago and realize what was taking place then in Europe: the systematic extermination of a race, the murder of six million people. These individuals fought against incredible odds. They truly symbolize the struggle for survival, and at this time it is incumbent upon all of us to remember the past.

Now is also the time to reaffirm our commitment to human rights, for vigilance against another Holocaust occurring, and to redouble the fight against racism, hatred, bigotry and prejudice. We must fight the increase in anti-Semitism. In 1992, the B'nai Brith recorded some 196 anti-Semitic incidents, ranging from the desecration of synagogues, the distribution of hate literature, some the product of Ernst Zundel, to the wearing of swastikas, to the voice of the Heritage Front and to the white supremacist in Peel who is teaching our young.

We as legislators have an opportunity to take concrete action. Our first step must be to stop the publication of hate literature material. We must move to ensure that racists are not allowed to spread their hate, and when they do that they are prosecuted. Currently, Mr Harnick from Willowdale and myself are developing a private member's bill. This bill will prevent the production of anti-Semitic hate literature. I hope to introduce it this session. This is an important step to protect people's rights and especially to remember what we can do to protect all people's rights. Never again should such

atrocities occur.

There will be a rally outside the Legislative Building this Sunday in order to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising and Yom Hashoah, Holocaust remembrance day. The rally commences at 2:30, and I encourage everyone to attend. Our hope and prayer is that through education, vigilance and respect for one another, we will all stand together fighting for true freedom for all mankind.

**Hon Elaine Ziemba (Minister of Citizenship and Minister Responsible for Human Rights and Race Relations):** On behalf of the government of Ontario, I stand in this place to also commemorate Yom Hashoah, which is the anniversary of the Holocaust and the Warsaw ghetto uprising. I too was at the event this afternoon, where we commemorated the nine men and women who are the survivors and who are members of the Jewish war veterans, people who have lived the experience and people who certainly have given us an insight to that struggle and to understand better what really took place.

On April 19, 50 years ago, the Jews of the Warsaw ghetto took a heroic stand. Sick, starving, quite debilitated, they rose up against the Nazis in a struggle that would last for 42 days. The Warsaw ghetto uprising was an incredible feat. We cannot comprehend what the men, women and children went through in standing up to their oppressors. The Jews of Europe stood their ground against vicious oppressors. For any group of people to challenge this evil force and to have lasted so long speaks well of the human spirit. Many of them joined the partisans who were also in the force in the European countries to fight against the Nazi oppressors, and young people—11 years of age, 12 years of age—joined those partisan heroes.

The Jews of the Warsaw ghetto will be remembered in history, and the Holocaust, the systemic slaughter of six million Jews, can never be forgotten by any of us. This weekend commemorates that particular event. In fact, in Warsaw there are events happening, and one of the largest events that will be happening in all of the world will be in Warsaw this particular weekend. I had hoped that I could have been there, but unfortunately I'm here in the House today. But I'm pleased that I had the pleasure to meet the survivors and give the plaque on behalf of the government of Ontario.

In 1993, one would have thought by now that we would have learned one of the most significant lessons of history, that racism and discrimination are wrong. I regret to say that we have not. In fact, rather than seeing a decline, we are constantly reminded, both here and abroad, that we have not learned that important lesson of history. Whether it's defacing of synagogues, which we have seen quite recently, or community

facilities or the racially motivated violence in other parts of the world, and here as well in Toronto, it clearly indicates that in fact that we have not learned from the past.

We cannot afford to congratulate ourselves on respecting human rights when racism and anti-Semitism continue to rear their ugly heads in our midst. We need to remind ourselves constantly of these crucial points in history so that the phrase "Never again" will have meaning. But it is not enough to be hopeful that will never happen again. We must take action to prevent it. We must do that now, and all of us must do that in the House.

In closing, last year I stood and spoke about this event and I read to you a poem by a young Jewish girl who was imprisoned in the Warsaw ghetto, Franta Bass. I would like to read that poem again, because I think it symbolizes for all of us the feelings and the emotions that young woman felt as she was imprisoned in the ghetto, the feelings of hopelessness and despair, but also of courage and human spirit. If you'll permit, I'd like to proceed with reading it.

A little garden,  
Fragrant and full of roses.  
The path is narrow  
And a little boy walks along it.  
A little boy, a sweet boy,  
Like that growing blossom.  
When the blossom comes to bloom,  
The little boy will be no more.

It's surely a horrific thought to think that a child of 11 could see the potential for such human brutality and in such stark terms.

In many of the schools across Ontario, young people as well are learning about the experiences of the Holocaust. I was given this morning a poem, and it's another poem written by a young woman today who's 12 years old. Her name is Ariella Kaufman; she happens to be the daughter of the Deputy Minister of Citizenship. I think it's quite in keeping to read this poem to you, because it means that we have really not forgotten and that people still do remember.

Here behind every shadow  
There is death's face  
Here people live in fear  
They live to beat death  
Not in hopes for a better tomorrow  
You can see it in those hopeless eyes  
Oh! how those eyes haunt me at night  
Those eyes saw all they, the people, cannot  
In those eyes, you can see they still feel pain  
And hunger  
You can see that they are still human  
And are only parading as "animals"

You can see that they still can feel  
Still can love  
Sometimes I think it's the "animal" keepers  
And killers that can't feel  
They are the ones who cannot care for anyone but themselves  
But that's stupid  
Because  
If they cannot feel  
Then how can they feel such hatred against  
People they don't even know?  
Let us never forget.

1420

**Mrs Elinor Caplan (Oriole):** As I rise today to join my colleagues in a non-partisan tribute to Yom Hashoah, I'd like to read the words of the leadership that today sponsored the event here in the Legislature. I have the privilege of being able to speak here today. While they're in the gallery, they don't have the privilege of having their words enshrined in history. So with the patience of the members, I'd like to read their eloquent words and quote for you.

From Miriam Goldbloom, co-chairman of the Canadian Society for Yad Vashem:

"Honourable David Warner, Speaker of the House, Honourable Elaine Ziemba, Minister of Citizenship, distinguished members of Parliament, Consul General of Israel, Dror Zeigerman:

"Yad Vashem, Martyrs and Heroes Remembrance, was founded in 1953 by an act of the Knesset, the Israeli Parliament in Jerusalem. Yad Vashem is affiliated with the Ministry of Education in Israel. It is the world's most significant research centre and repository of documents and exhibits relating to the destruction of European Jewry during the Second World War.

"Yad Vashem of Jerusalem is the quintessential Holocaust museum in the world and stands as a beacon to the world, showing the results of hatred and bigotry. It also shows the depth that men can descend into when prejudice and evil run unchecked.

"Former foreign minister Abba Eban officially opened the Canadian society in Toronto in April 1986. Since then, we have taken the initiative to educate Canadians on the events of the Holocaust and to create a better understanding of that tragic period in our history.

"In 1991, from May 13 to June 16, the Canadian Society for Yad Vashem had a photographic exhibit, A Day in the Warsaw Ghetto, in Hart House gallery at the University of Toronto. Over 10,000 adults and students visited the exhibit.

"The Yad Vashem Holocaust memorial, a monument in Earl Bales Park in the city of North York, was built through the efforts of our organization. The memorial



was dedicated in June 1991 to the memory of the six million victims, the partisans, the armed forces and the righteous among the nations who were killed during the Holocaust.

"In July 1992, we sponsored a secondary school teacher for a course at the Centre for Holocaust Teaching in Jerusalem in order to be equipped with the tools to teach the context and components of the Holocaust.

"We and our government must be united to continue to inform and educate Canadians about those who would divide our society with their venom. Freedom and human dignity for all are core values and fundamental principles in a democracy."

In the words of Dr Joel Dimitry, the co-chairman of the Canadian Society for Yad Vashem:

"This is a historic day in the Parliament of Ontario and for the Ontario Jewish community, for we are here to honour Jewish survivors of the Nazi Holocaust in this significant 50th commemorative year. Fifty years ago, the tide began to turn against the Nazis: at Stalingrad, the retreat of the German army; the Warsaw ghetto uprising; Canadian forces land in Sicily, and the Danes' and the Swedes' rescue of the Jewish population of Denmark began.

"We do not have exact figures for the Jewish survivors among those liberated by the allies, but estimates are about 600,000. In the camps, it is estimated that some 100,000 remained alive while 80,000 to 100,000 souls perished during the last months of the war. In Bergen-Belsen alone, 40,000 Jewish souls were murdered on the eve of liberation. Had the war continued one more year, there would be no Jewish survivors in Europe.

"The pain of war does not end when victory is declared. One of the most courageous dramas of the 20th century is still being lived. It is the awe-inspiring story of the daily struggle and triumph of the survivors of the Holocaust. Each story of survival is unique, but the common thread they have is the unconquerable spirit and indomitable will to live.

"This year, the worldwide Jewish community commemorates the 50th anniversary of the revolt of the ghettos of Warsaw, Vilna and Bialystok, as well as in the extermination camps of Treblinka, Sobibor and others. Nineteen forty-three was a year in which thousands of young Jewish men and women left the ghettos for the forests to join the partisan struggle against the Nazi assassins. The countless acts of resistance which took place in all parts of occupied Europe during the Holocaust have been well documented, from France in the west, Yugoslavia in the south and vast areas under Nazi control in eastern Europe.

"Among our honorees here today are men and women

who took part in the resistance against the Nazis. Many brave comrades-in-arms did not survive, having died in unknown battles in unknown places. Capture was not an option for the partisans, for it would mean long torture and death at the hands of the Nazis, but given the opportunity and the means to fight, Jewish men and women were in the forefront of the battles.

"I am proud to say that my father, the late Nathan Dimitry of blessed memory, was a partisan in the Vilno area. He died last year in the only battle he could not win, his battle against cancer. David and Peter Smuszkwicz and Peter Silverman were partisans in the same area and lived to write a book, *From Victims to Victors*, an eyewitness testimony of their struggle for freedom.

"Some 1.7 million Jewish men and women fought worldwide with the allies, with the resistance and in the ghettos. We will honour Jewish war veterans here today under the leadership of Toronto post commander Sam Pasternack. Today we also honour young Canadian servicemen and servicewomen in uniform who made the ultimate sacrifice so that the war would end sooner, in Sicily and in Normandy and wherever they were needed.

"The foremost act of resistance was the Warsaw ghetto revolt. November 15, 1940, the Warsaw ghetto was a sealed-tight prison with a population of 450,000. Thirty per cent of Warsaw's population was incarcerated in 2.4% of the city's area. There was no trade or communication with the outside world. Warsaw had the largest Jewish population in Europe, a population four times the size of the Jewish population of Toronto. By April 1943, the population of Warsaw was drastically reduced to about 60,000 due to starvation, disease and deportation to Treblinka death camp. With few arms and no hope of success except to die fighting, the Warsaw ghetto revolted, and for 40 heroic days held off the German army. On May 16, 1943, the ghetto was utterly destroyed. Of the 60,000 Jews at the beginning of the uprising, only a few hundred survived in the ruins of the ghetto.

"The Warsaw ghetto uprising was the first uprising by an urban-based population under German occupation. Uprisings occurred in the following months in almost every large ghetto in occupied Poland and Russia. Those brave Warsaw ghetto fighters unknowingly wrote their own heroic chapter in the history of the Jewish people.

"Over 5,000 Jewish European communities were destroyed between 1933 and 1945. Some of the Jewish communities had continuous histories dating back to Greek and Roman times. European Jewry was a tremendous intellectual well that nurtured every aspect of European culture. No civilized mind could have imagined the tragic fate that European Jewry was to suffer.

"The survivors of the Holocaust are quiet heroes. They were given no medals, no recognition for the life-and-death battle they so bravely fought. They had experienced such pain and terror that the world could not imagine or believe to what depths of depravity it had fallen.

"When Europe was finally liberated, the world rejoiced, but what joy was there for the Jewish remnant? They were broken both spiritually and physically. Before any plan for the future could be made, body and soul had to be healed so that life could continue.

"Sadly, many did not survive liberation. Postwar Europe was in chaos. There were few agencies that could help or protect them. If they expected sympathy and understanding from their neighbours when they returned to their homes, they were cruelly disappointed. The local populations did not want the survivors back. They had already stolen their homes and belongings. With no family, friends, money or protection, what were the survivors to do? Where were they to go? Where were they to live?

"There were millions of refugees spread throughout displaced persons' camps all over Europe. Very few countries were accepting refugees, especially Jewish refugees. The survivors languished in displaced persons' camps for years while the world reluctantly tried to make a place for them. Finally, visas arrived for destinations that were as far away as Australia, South Africa, South America, the United States and Canada, and, in 1948, Israel.

"When survivors finally arrived in their chosen country, the local and Jewish welfare agencies provided whatever physical comfort they could. But what was beyond their hosts' understanding was the terrible psychological traumas of the survivors. How could these safe and normal communities of the west understand the horrors and terrors of the war experience? Can words express the terror of living under a regime where no normal human law exists, where there is no civilized compassion for humanity? The unspeakable was so difficult to express and hear that many survivors and their hosts developed a mutual silence that allowed both sides to interact normally.

"Today, here in this place of law and justice we break that silence to honour men and women who withstood the horrors of the Holocaust, who came to Canada destitute but not broken in spirit, who, given the opportunities of Canada, prospered and became honoured citizens."

Then Joel Dimitry said to those being honoured, "Your courage, spirit, dignity and humanity should be an example to all of us."

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** The eloquent and sensitive remarks by the honourable member for

Markham, the Minister of Citizenship and the honourable member for Oriole will be provided to our honoured guests who are with us today.

1430

#### ATTENDANCE OF PREMIER

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I rise on the second day after the speech from the throne to raise with you an item which I have raised, it seems, time and time again. It's an item over which you have little control, but it should be noted, at a time when this province needs leadership, that the Premier has decided to vacate the premises so that he does not have to answer the questions of the day.

Mr Speaker, I know the standing orders do not allow you to require attendance, but it seems to me that duty, obligation and the moral need to have leadership displayed by the Premier would have him here in the Legislature barely two days after he comes back from being away for four months or so. I bring it to your attention and I bring it to the attention of the people of this province.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** The House leader for the opposition has stated, quite properly, that there is nothing in the standing orders which would assist me to be able to answer his request.

In a wider context, of course, I would mention to all members that the standing orders are something that the House may wish to amend from time to time and, with respect to attendance, it may wish to look at what is done in other jurisdictions as it affects attendance in the House by all members.

It is time for oral questions and the Leader of the Opposition.

**Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition):** Thank you very much, Mr Speaker. Quite clearly, our frustration lay with the fact that it was our understanding that the Premier would be present and, quite clearly, I had hoped that I would have an opportunity this afternoon to be able to pursue in my questions the responses he gave to my questions yesterday.

#### ORAL QUESTIONS

##### JOBS ONTARIO TRAINING

**Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition):** In the Premier's absence, I will direct my first question to the Minister of Education and Training.

Yesterday the Premier tried to convince the people of Ontario that the government's job training scheme was working, yet this government, in recognition of the failure of the program, invested an additional \$1.5 million in advertising because employers and clients were not picking up on the program. I would ask the minister, why at the last minute was \$1.5 million spent



in advertising a program that was supposedly so successful?

**Hon David S. Cooke (Minister of Education and Training):** I indicated very clearly, on the day that we announced the \$1.5-million program to promote the Jobs Ontario Training program, that the momentum of the program had picked up significantly. But it was very important that, as the program was being established, to get the infrastructure of the program, the brokers set up across the province, and that took some time.

But if the leader of the Liberal Party is going to say now that this program is not successful when we've got 19,000 jobs created, when that means there are 19,000 people who are being taken off welfare and put back into the job market with obviously less cost to the taxpayers and obviously a better feeling for individuals because they're into the workplace and they're being encouraged to participate in the economy of this province, if that's a failure, then I think she's got it all wrong. This program is working for the people of this province.

**Mrs McLeod:** I'm sure it's very difficult for all of the people to whom this government has said, "We have financial difficulties and we're looking for every possible way to save money," to convey the message that you needed to spend even \$1.5 million advertising a program that's supposedly had wonderful momentum, I just think that takes a little explaining, Minister.

Yesterday we tried to convey the frustration experienced by individuals who applied for this program. The Premier claimed that businesses have written to the government about how successful the program is. For every success story you can produce, I can produce at least three stories of your scheme's failure. I want to share with you this afternoon the experience of just one company.

Ross Pope and Co of Kirkland Lake applied for a training subsidy under your training scheme. A total of 43 pages of correspondence, of faxes, of documentation were sent and all of this resulted in a subsidy of \$386. They concluded, needless to say, that the time commitment and the costs that were required to make the application could not be justified and that your government was not being honest about what it expected employers to do.

I ask, how many more examples do we need to give the minister before he admits that his government needs to scrap this training scheme and get on with a plan that will get business back to Ontario so people can indeed get back to work?

**Hon Mr Cooke:** The government never claimed when this program was being set up that every person who was unemployed was going to find a job in Jobs Ontario Training. If the leader of the Liberal Party is

trying to make the claim that that's what we said, it's absolutely ludicrous. We have a whole package of programs, whether it's the Jobs Ontario Training, the Jobs Ontario Capital, other programs that were announced in last year's budget, announced in the throne speech. She knows that very well.

There is no one single answer to creating jobs in this province, but this government is committed, that as jobs are created in this province, welfare recipients and long-term unemployed are going to share in the success as this economy improves. If she wants to criticize that approach, that's fine, but I don't believe the people on welfare, 19,000, nearly 20,000 jobs, which they're now eligible for under this program, would not share her silly criticism of this program.

**Mrs McLeod:** I am simply trying to get this minister, this Premier and this government to come clean about a particular program which is not working, even though it is the key economic plan of this government's program and even though it is the only program which it is offering to all those people who are so desperately looking for work.

Yesterday the Premier told us and today the minister has reiterated that the government's so-called successful job training program had registered 19,000 jobs. In the Premier's eyes and in the eyes of the minister, this means the program is working.

I would like to share with you the complete picture. Indeed, 19,000 positions have been registered. However, 55,000 people have applied to Jobs Ontario. So how many actually got jobs out of that 55,000? Only 7,600, which into an 87% failure rate, a one in eight success rate. This is the government's successful job training program.

*Interjection.*

**The Speaker:** Order, the member for Chatham-Kent. The Leader of the Opposition, would she place her question, please.

1440

**Mrs McLeod:** I agree with the minister that the people of this province clearly are ready to get back to work and want to get back to work. I simply ask again, why doesn't your government stop wasting its time and its money, our time and our money, put together a real plan that will bring back business, that will create the jobs we need?

**Hon Mr Cooke:** That's exactly what we're doing. The leader of the official opposition refers to the 7,600 people who have actually been placed. She's correct: There are 19,185 job offers at this point and 7,600 people have been placed. There are a large number of people in pre-employment training and then they get placed in a job.

The jobs are coming in so quickly now, over 1,000 per week, that of course they're not going to be placed at 1,000 per week as well. This is a successful program and I am absolutely shocked that the leader of the official opposition, no matter what the program is, takes the same old-style approach: Criticize it because she's in opposition, even if it's working well. What's your alternative? Come clean. Tell us what you want us to do. Quit your criticizing.

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order. The Leader of the Opposition with her second question.

**Mrs McLeod:** Thank you, Mr Speaker, although I do want to say that there are going to be only so many times that the members of the government can ask the members of the opposition to tell them how to manage this province.

#### REPORT ON VICTIMS OF ABUSE

**Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition):** Again in the absence of the Premier, to whom I would very much have liked to address this question, I will pose the question to the minister responsible for women's issues and to the Attorney General.

Over the last few months, this government has been rocked by the Piper-Ferguson affair. The member for Kitchener has admitted that he passed Judi Harris's criminal record to John Piper, who tried to leak it to the press. The member for Kitchener is still in the caucus.

Yesterday the Premier said, "The member for Kitchener has apologized to me, and I think to people in question, with respect to what has taken place, and I think that is clearly on the record." But Will Ferguson has refused to apologize to Judi Harris for what he tried to do to her.

Minister, you are responsible for both women's issues and for justice. Your job is to advocate at the cabinet table for women everywhere. I ask, do you really think that Will Ferguson's apology to the NDP caucus is adequate?

**Hon Marion Boyd (Attorney General and Minister Responsible for Women's Issues):** The member opposite knows very well that this is a very complex issue for us in this caucus, that we have shown very clearly our disapproval of the actions of Mr Piper and Mr Ferguson. The Premier has shown his disapproval by taking away from them the jobs that he was able to confer. It is quite clear, I think, in terms of the concerns that we have expressed about the message that this may have given to people who have been alleged victims of abuse at Grandview, that they may be fearful of coming forward.

We are very deeply concerned about that whole issue and we feel very strongly that the more the opposition

tries to make this the issue, the more the attention of the public is redirected from what is really the issue, which is that abuse was allowed to go on for years and years at Grandview under the Conservative government. There was nothing done under the Liberal government, even though there were many accusations.

It is important for us all in this place to understand that the issue for us now as a province is to ensure that we do nothing to interfere in any way with the investigation that is ongoing at Grandview and with the encouragement of those who may have been hurt in the process.

**Mrs McLeod:** Minister, let me assure you, there is no question in my mind what the issue is here.

Minister, last night on CITY TV your caucus colleague Will Ferguson said on a televised news broadcast that he had no intention of apologizing to Judi Harris because "At the end of the day, she'll be apologizing to me." Based on any evidence that you may have seen as minister responsible for justice, as minister responsible for women's issues, can you tell us, do you think that Judi Harris should be apologizing to Will Ferguson?

**Hon Mrs Boyd:** The Leader of the Opposition knows very well that there are actions in front of the court that will be determined by a judge, not by me and not in this place.

**Mrs McLeod:** Let me try and address a question to the minister that she can deal with very directly and very immediately. Minister, Judi Harris has been made a victim twice: once at Grandview school, as you have noted in your response, and once by the actions of this government. As justice minister you do have an opportunity to do something about that. Next Monday, a case is going to court to make a determination about the release of the report into sexual abuse at the Grandview school. The Information and Privacy Commissioner has said that this report can be released without in any way jeopardizing the police investigation. Let me stress that again: without in any way jeopardizing the police investigation.

Your ministry has obtained an injunction suppressing that report. People like Judi Harris, victims of abuse at the Grandview school, are looking to you to help them put this matter to rest, and I ask, will you undertake today to allow the release of the Grandview report and prevent a needless and expensive court case? Spare these women any more of the trauma that they have been experiencing as a result of your government's actions and inactions.

**Hon Mrs Boyd:** As the Leader of the Opposition points out, our ministry has a disagreement, as do the Waterloo Regional Police Force and the Ontario Provincial Police, that this would jeopardize the investigation. Our intention is certainly not to suppress the report, but



to allow it to be disclosed in the appropriate manner, in the context of the usual disclosure that's made during a legal action. It is absolutely essential, as I have explained, to the survivors' group of Grandview that we not interfere in that criminal process. It is our deep concern that in fact disclosure at this point would intervene in that criminal process. At the end of the day, the greatest protection for the Grandview complainants is to ensure that the criminal process is not jeopardized at all.

#### LABOUR RELATIONS

**Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham):** In the absence of the Premier, my question will be to the Minister of Economic Development and Trade. Today's OPSEU rally on the steps of the Legislature has refocused public attention on the issue of the government's so-called social contract. You and your Premier have embarked on a process of hacking up the civil service with a so-called social contract. Certainly we see the need for downsizing the civil service, but in a process that looks at a much bigger picture. Now, weeks later, since your government announced its plans with the social contract, talks already beginning to resume on Monday, no one has any knowledge about what we're getting. It's just a principle; we have no specifics.

Would you tell us what it is you want out of these talks? Some say it is to appease the unions by focusing tax hikes on the private sector, or is it just a hacking of some 18,000 jobs? Would you tell us what your game plan is? Maybe we can help.

1450

**Hon Frances Lankin (Minister of Economic Development and Trade):** May I first comment, because a number of members in the Legislature opposite have raised comments about the Premier's absence and I think that, although I know the House leaders and the leaders of the opposition parties have been informed, for the record it should be indicated that the Premier is in Hamilton at McMaster University, hosting and participating in the National Forum of Science and Technology Councils. It was scheduled over a year ago. His participation in it was scheduled that long ago, and I think that's important to the people of Ontario as well.

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Order.

**Hon Ms Lankin:** In response to the member's question with respect to social contract, I think that he's looking for some definition of what the scope of a social contract may be, what might be included in a social contract. May I say to him that, quite frankly, we've been very clear with our partners in the broader public sector and the OPS employers and employees and

their organizations that we think what we're going through now in terms of the process of discussions and negotiations will shape the final definition of social contract. We have asked them to be part of defining it.

What do we want? What are we coming at? We've indicated that as a part of an economic package we think that there is a very, very real need to deal with the fiscal situation of the government and we've identified the nature of that problem and we've identified three sources of a solution. One is revenue-raising through taxes and asset sales, the other is through looking at expenditure management measures within the OPS and the third is looking at sitting down with representatives of employers and employees in the broader public sector and looking at total compensation costs, job security, wage adjustment—

**The Speaker:** Would the minister conclude her response, please.

**Hon Ms Lankin:** —a whole range of issues that may help address the whole picture.

**Mr Cousens:** We have a \$17-billion deficit looming. We have a budget looming on the horizon, one that the Premier says will contain job-killing tax hikes. We have a government which is hanging its hat on some big bag of gas that they call a social contract. Minister, when will this process be finished, when will we get an update and how much do you hope to save? Give us some details.

**Hon Ms Lankin:** Let me tell you that I don't have to resist the temptation; it is no temptation. We're not going to negotiate here in the Legislature. We will be having these discussions with the social contract partners at the tables that have been established. Meetings and discussions have been taking place. Those tables will be pulled together beginning next week, and as discussions unfold there I'm sure that appropriate communiqués will be released by the negotiators involved.

Let me say overall the member identifies the problem of the deficit, and I know that his party has constantly referred to that as an issue that they think needs to be addressed. Our government has looked at the direction of the fiscal situation of the province. We have taken steps consistently over the last two years around expenditure controls. We have consistently said that our goals are to look at creation of jobs, at preservation of essential services and at controlling the deficit. We think the steps that need to be taken now are dramatic and are bold steps, we've engaged our partners in discussions about those, and we know that we need to do this in a way that is fair and that asks all parts of Ontario, including the public sector, to contribute to the solution that we're trying to find.

**Mr Cousens:** We're quickly into the situation where

it's not answer period, it's question period. We'll ask our questions and hope for some answers.

There were over 1,000 civil servants on the front lawn of Queen's Park, and OPSEU president Fred Upshaw was clear that they will not accept wage rollbacks or cuts. So your government has not made any other attempts to control its spending. I repeat: Your government has made no other attempts to control its spending. Tell us, do you have any other game plan if this process that you're calling a social contract fails? What other plans do you have if your discussions on Monday and any other talk fail? We want to know.

**Hon Ms Lankin:** You know, there's only a certain tolerance for what the member referred to earlier as things like a bag of gas; for example, comments that we have made absolutely no attempts to control expenditures. I think I could characterize that similarly.

Let's take a look at what has happened in this province. For the last couple of years I was involved in the Ministry of Health, and I can tell you that the kind of expenditure measures that we took there have been very effective, and the minister that's there now has continued that. We have gone from double-digit increases in the time of your government and the Liberal government to increases of around 1%. Tremendous efforts have been taken there. Last year within our budget we identified cost-saving measures that we wanted to achieve of \$480 million. We made that goal. We made that target, and in fact on top of that we saved an additional \$500 million. That's almost \$1 billion in expenditure savings throughout the course of the last fiscal year.

Our record on expenditure management is a very good record. The nature of the problem is one that we need to contribute more to solving the problem. We see that as having three parts to it, one of them being the social contract.

The members of OPSEU who are on the front lawn of the Legislature today, people whom I know very well, are people who are concerned about their members' jobs and job security and wage levels. They're right to be concerned and to bring those concerns forward. We will be entering into negotiations. We look to them for help in finding the solutions in these negotiations as well.

CARLTON MASTERS

**Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South):** In the absence of the Premier, I will address my question to the Minister of Economic Development and Trade. In case the minister is inclined to refer the question to a colleague for a response, let me stress that I'm addressing it to her because she is one of the most senior female cabinet ministers and because of her past respon-

sibilities for the Health and Management Board portfolios.

Yesterday, the Premier said I had my chronology wrong with respect to when he received the report on the investigation into the Masters affair versus when he made his decision to offer Mr Masters a job and a golden handshake. He did receive the report before offering Mr Masters a new job on the condition that Mr Masters apologize to the women involved. As a member of the inner cabinet, the minister will be able to answer this question: Exactly when did the government receive the report on the investigation?

**Hon Frances Lankin (Minister of Economic Development and Trade):** I will refer the question to the minister responsible for women's issues and the Attorney General.

**Hon Marion Boyd (Attorney General and Minister Responsible for Women's Issues):** The investigation team submitted its report on October 5, 1992.

**Mrs Marland:** Thank you for that answer. Initially, I could not believe that after receiving a report which found that Mr Masters sexually harassed seven women the Premier agreed to give him a new job.

Let's look at the chronology again. October 10 is the date of the report on the investigation. In November, Mr Masters met with the Premier in a Toronto hotel and was told he would be cleared of the allegations, and I quote Mr Masters: "The Premier said I had his full confidence. In fact, he hugged me."

The Premier also offered Mr Masters a new job as senior economic adviser. Later, Mr Masters was offered a less senior job, on the condition he apologize. Finally, Mr Masters was given a very generous severance package, which included his family's New York living expenses until the end of the school year, a second residence in Toronto, \$75,000 severance pay, travelling expenses and moving costs.

What does this say, Minister, after spending \$140,000 for an investigation, that the government will ignore its findings? Did the government reach its own conclusion on Mr Masters's innocence or guilt, or did the government think the investigation was flawed? Minister, what on earth happened? What are the people of Ontario to believe?

**Hon Mrs Boyd:** I'm not prepared to comment on the hearsay evidence presented by the member opposite. I was not present at the meeting that she describes, and so I am not prepared in any way to comment on what Mr Masters says happened at a meeting of which I have no knowledge.

I will say to the member that employers in situations like this, whether they are being approached through their own processes, as was done with us, or whether



they are approached through the Human Rights Commission or through other mediating agencies, are responsible to take account of their relationship with employees who are both on opposite sides of a case of sexual harassment. In this instance, the effort was made, as it is in all of these cases, to try and reach a settlement that was going to (a) protect the complainants, and (b) be fair to the accused person in the case. That was what was attempted.

I'm not going to go into any detail of the actual settlement, because that is the responsibility of the minister responsible for Management Board and government services. Management Board is the responsible agency for dealing with the sexual harassment policy. If the member has further questions about that, she should direct them to the member.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Would the minister conclude her response, please. Final supplementary.

1500

**Mrs Marland:** You know, Minister, you're the person in this House, for this province, who is responsible for women's issues, and I am very disappointed in your answer. As to hearsay evidence, I'm not talking about hearsay; I'm talking about documents on the public record and I refer you to those documents.

When you talk about employers, I'm glad you talked about employers because I want to talk about your government as an employer. Bill 100, which was introduced to amend the Regulated Health Professions Act to require that health professionals report when their colleagues have sexually abused patients: Sexual abuse, according to Bill 100, would include what we tend to call sexual harassment, such as remarks of a sexual nature.

Health professionals could lose their licences if found guilty of these practices, yet we have a case where one of the most senior government officials, someone with a deputy minister's status who reports to the Premier, was offered another job if he would simply apologize for his behaviour. Even when he would not apologize, he was still given a generous severance package.

Do you, as minister, approve of this double standard of your government's approach to sexual harassment cases? Do you think there should be one set of rules for the health professions and another for senior civil servants and friends of the Premier?

**Hon Mrs Boyd:** There is clearly a difference between the kind of law that regulates and licenses professions and labour law and the kinds of relationships that people have with employees. It is not a double standard and I reject what the member has said. When we are looking at these two issues, we are

looking at very different questions that must be answered by a regulatory board and by an employer. It is inappropriate, I think, for the member to suggest that when this—

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Would the minister take her seat.

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Minister.

**Hon Mrs Boyd:** Very clearly, the actions were considered serious by this government. There was an investigation, there was an effort to ensure that the behaviour would not occur again if the person remained in the employ of the government, and when that could not be assured the person left the employ of the government, with severance arrangements. That is very different than the kind of licensing situation that the member tries to make as a comparison.

**The Speaker:** New question, the member for Halton Centre.

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order.

#### BLOOD TESTING

**Mrs Barbara Sullivan (Halton Centre):** My question is to the Minister of Health, whom I'd like to welcome to her new portfolio. Mr Speaker, 375 people of 900 people in Ontario with haemophilia have been infected by HIV as a result of a delay in the implementation of appropriate blood screening programs in the early 1980s; 60 of those people have died. To date, 102 people have been identified with HIV-T; that is, they are HIV positive as a result of receiving blood or blood products associated with surgery during the same period, and of those, 49 have died.

The Minister of Health will know that the security and the integrity of the blood supply is vested, in major part, with the province of Ontario through the Canadian Blood Committee. I'm asking the Minister of Health if she will, today, assure the people of Ontario that the blood and blood products which are in use today are safe and that measures are in place to ensure that they are safe so that we won't have a repeat of the tragedy that we are now facing 10 or 20 years from now.

**Hon Ruth Grier (Minister of Health):** I can certainly hope that I can assure the member of that fact. As the member is well aware, prior to 1985 there was not the kind of testing of the blood that was donated that there is in place today, and that is why many people face the very tragic situation she has referred to. I feel that is a situation that cannot be repeated and it is certainly my expectation and commitment that all of the measures that can and have been put in place to prevent that from happening again will in fact do just that.

**Mrs Sullivan:** The minister will know that her government rejected my demands to the Treasurer and to the former Minister of Health, going back as far as November 1991, to deal with the issue of providing a compensation package to haemophilia patients who contracted HIV through a tainted blood supply.

Today, the Hospital for Sick Children—in fact, I believe the news conference has just ended—has agreed to contact family physicians and paediatricians of some 1,700 children who received blood during heart surgery that took place between January 1980 and November 1985, after which time the Red Cross began full screening of blood for HIV. Physicians will be asked to explain the potential risks to those children and to offer HIV testing for that particular group of patients.

People in Ontario, I believe, must know what the government's intentions are in dealing with this very important issue. I am asking the minister if she will respond and let us know what her response will be in terms of the implications and where her priorities will be. Is she going to continue to say no to people who've contracted HIV through the blood supply and not involve them in a contractual plan for compensation?

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Could the member conclude her question, please.

**Mrs Sullivan:** I am, Mr Speaker. Will she take an initiative and demand a federal-provincial agreement for a compensation plan for all who've contracted HIV through a tainted blood supply? Thirdly, will she herself, in Ontario, bring in a compensation package, once again, as her Nova Scotia counterpart has now done, for all victims to ensure that those victims who have received HIV through tainted blood will have some peace for the rest of their lives and will not be spending it taking the government on through the courts?

**The Speaker:** The question has been placed.

**Hon Mrs Grier:** The issues of subsistence and support for all sufferers of HIV infections are very serious ones and ones on which I'm very proud that this government and this ministry have taken leadership in this country. The issue of those who have received the infection by way of blood that has become contaminated is one that has been very much on the agenda of all of the ministers of health in all of the provinces, as well as our federal colleagues, for several years.

I suspect the member is well aware that by agreement among the provinces and the federal government, this was an issue in which the federal government had provided support and special compensation in a compassionate way for many of the people who are referred to by the Canadian Hemophilia Society and who are members of that society and for which the society is a spokesman.

The government of Nova Scotia just this week has decided to act unilaterally. In view of that decision, it is certainly my desire to review the situation. Later on today, I will be talking with my colleagues in other parts of the country to in fact examine the situation that the member raises and about which I too am very concerned.

1510

#### COMPENSATION TO AIDS PATIENTS

**Mr Jim Wilson (Simcoe West):** I too want to ask the Minister of Health a question on behalf of those innocent victims, the haemophiliacs in Ontario, some 305 people in number, who through no fault of their own contracted the AIDS virus in the mid-1980s through blood products that were approved by the Canadian Blood Committee. Ontario and all of the provinces along with the federal government are members.

The answer that the minister just gave the House I believe is not fully correct. The minister will recall that in 1989, the federal cabinet agreed to give all haemophiliacs who had contracted the HIV virus through the Canadian blood supply an extraordinary payment. At that time, there was no agreement from the provinces to also partake in compensation to haemophiliacs.

Yesterday, as the minister knows, the province of Nova Scotia had the courage to break the conspiracy that had been concocted among the provincial health ministers, had the courage to go ahead and with provincial dollars compensate the haemophiliacs in that province. Now that the conspiracy has been broken—

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Would the member place a question, please.

**Mr Jim Wilson:** —will this minister tell this House today that she believes Ontario has a role to play in compensating these innocent victims?

**Hon Ruth Grier (Minister of Health):** I reject totally the word "conspiracy" that the member is using and I'm surprised that a member of the Conservative Party would in fact accuse his federal counterpart of being part of any conspiracy. I thought that was the kind of accusation that was frequently made on this side of the House.

The federal minister showed some leadership and took a position that was supported by the provinces and has provided compensation over a period of four years. That compensation will soon be ending, and my colleague in Nova Scotia has, as the member had noted, taken unilateral action. In view of that, as I said in my response to the previous question, obviously the provincial ministers are now discussing their position, and I will be part of that discussion.



**Mr Jim Wilson:** My supplementary to the Minister of Health perhaps would be best started if I restated some facts; that is, that the federal government in 1989 unilaterally, without the support of the provinces, went ahead on compassionate grounds, without acknowledging culpability, to compensate haemophiliacs through an ex gratia payment through cabinet. Mr Speaker, 80% of Canadians believe that infected haemophiliacs should be compensated. More than 60 court cases remain unsettled involving the province of Ontario and infected haemophiliacs.

Over the objections of the government of Australia, the court there has ruled in favour of compensation, and in France, the minister of health was sent to jail because his government failed to deal with this issue.

Minister, I ask you very clearly: Will you redress this injustice that is occurring in this province? The federal compensation payments ended two weeks ago, as per the original agreement. It's now time for the government of Ontario to live up to its obligation and to compensate these innocent victims who are caught up in this terrible human tragedy. I ask the minister: Will you, yes or no, extend compensation to AIDS-infected haemophiliacs?

**The Speaker:** The question has been placed. Minister?

**Hon Mrs Grier:** I share the member's concern about this issue and about the people who are involved. I would point out to him that I was giving credit to the federal government for having shown compassion and acting. But the compassion is still required. The federal government has now cut off their extra payments and has said, "We are not prepared to do it any more."

Those people still need help. In view of the action of the federal government, I and my colleagues in the provinces are obviously considering what we can do in this situation. That is what I have responded, that is what I am doing, and that is what I will be speaking to some of my colleagues about later this very day.

#### LAND-LEASE COMMUNITIES

**Mr Gordon Mills (Durham East):** My question is to the honourable Minister of Housing. As she knows, several hundred of the constituents in my riding live in the community of Wilmot Creek in what is known as a home leased-lot development. Most of these individuals are seniors who are retired or on fixed incomes. There have been many concerns because of the nature of the relationship to the owner-operator of the development.

I know that the Minister of Housing is aware of the issues that concern these vulnerable people. They are fed up with unfair property taxes, unfair community rules set by their landlords, restrictions on the size of their homes and a lack of security of tenure. The

residents of Wilmot Creek have been hearing for several years that the province is studying the matter and they are understandably anxious for some action.

My question to the Minister of Housing is with regard to the status of the long-awaited solutions to the concerns of residents of leased-lot communities. What is the government going to do to provide protection for these residents and my constituents?

**Hon Evelyn Gigantes (Minister of Housing):** I thank the member for Durham East both for his question and for his interest in the concerns of people who live in land-lease communities.

One of the problems that has been a kind of umbrella of all the problems he's mentioned has been that, in many cases, people living in land-lease communities don't know the rights that exist now under legislation. As the member for Durham East is well aware, the changes that came to the Rent Control Act effective last August really do provide a breakthrough in terms of protection on many of the items which have been of most concern to people living in land-lease communities.

They do have rights under the Landlord and Tenant Act. In many cases, they don't know of those rights. They do have rights under the Rental Housing Protection Act in cases where there has been pressure to sell land-lease communities. In many cases, they don't know of those rights, and it is our intention, through the Ministry of Housing, to provide as much information as we can, particularly in those cases where there have been immediate pressures on people living in land-lease communities.

We are also going to be undertaking a broader educational effort that I know will be assisted by members, such as the member for Durham East, who care very much about the lives of people in land-lease communities in Ontario.

**Mr Mills:** I understand that there are many people in other leased-lot communities across the province who may be forced to move because of closures and conversions. Could the minister indicate today whether there are any measures which might be enacted quickly to deal with these problems, not only in my riding but in other ridings?

**Hon Ms Gigantes:** The member is quite right. There have been a number of communities in which the tenants have been under intense pressure, threatened by the co-optizing, if you want to call it that, by the owner of the park, threatened by a change in the use of the park. In all these cases, we have monitored the situation and provided information and assistance to the people involved so that they would know their rights and get what assistance is now provided under legislation.

We are also reviewing the report of an interministerial task force on this subject to make sure that if changes are required either in regulation or in legislation, we will be able to do that.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** New question, the member for York Centre.

**Mr Charles Beer (York North):** York North.

**The Speaker:** York North.

**Mr Gregory S. Sorbara (York Centre):** I'll ask one if you want, sir.

**The Speaker:** One question at a time.

#### EDUCATION POLICY

**Mr Charles Beer (York North):** My question is to the Minister of Education. Minister, I would also want to welcome you to your new responsibilities and, as our colleague the member for London North mentioned, to wish you well in carrying out your duties.

Minister, I know that since assuming the portfolio approximately three months ago, you, as I and many others, have been out talking with people in the province and have been hearing about the lack of confidence expressed by many in a whole series of areas of educational policy.

Since January at the very least, your predecessor and then you yourself have been talking about the creation of a commission as the primary approach that your government is going to take to resolving many of these issues.

Minister, we are now in the third day of this session. There was a brief passing reference in the speech from the throne about a Commission on Learning. What people who are concerned about education want to know is, Mr Minister, when are you going to announce this commission? Who will be the commissioners? What will be the mandate of this commission, so all of us will have an opportunity to determine whether or not you are really going to be dealing with the fundamental problems in the education system? Minister, when are you going to announce this commission and its mandate?

**Hon David S. Cooke (Minister of Education and Training):** Very soon. We're working on it. We've been going through a consultation process. The public forums we've had across the province have been part of it. We've been talking to parents' groups, the federations and student organizations. I think all those people and organizations needed to be part of the process to come up with the terms of reference, and I'm now bringing recommendations forward to cabinet.

1520

I should make sure that the critic for the official opposition knows that the commission will not be an excuse for inaction in the meantime. That's why also in

the throne speech we announced some very significant new measures that I believe will provide for some testing across the system, to evaluate the system and find out its strengths and weaknesses in certain areas so that we can move forward to improve curriculum and teaching methods and restore the confidence that I believe is declining in our public education system.

**Mr Beer:** Certainly, anything you do which is going to bring about greater confidence in the system you will find us supporting, but in dealing with particular issues and expressing the concern that the commission is going to continue through to the end of next year at the very least, there are two specific issues of concern, and I think it will be interesting to see what your response will be to them.

It has been rumoured that one of the items the commission would look at is this whole question of governance, of the operation of school boards and how we run our system of education. In the last few days, there have been comments in the media that you're going to be setting up a series of working groups to look specifically at school boards. We want to know, will the question of governance—how our system is run—be part of the mandate of this commission?

Second, there's the question of funding. You've had the report of the New Democratic tax commission. We've had a minority report in terms of the property tax. What people want to know is, are you going to deal with that funding issue: how our system is financed? Is that going to be part of the mandate of the commission? Can you make a commitment to this House that some action on funding, on the role of the property tax, is going to be taken in this session, in the Treasurer's budget?

Do we have to wait another year? Do we have to wait for the commission? When is your government going to act and how is it going to act with respect to governance and with respect to the funding of our education system?

**Hon Mr Cooke:** I don't want to start defining the mandate of the royal commission by question after question. I think you should wait a couple more weeks, and you'll see the terms of reference for the commission. There will be other items that we will continue to address outside of the commission, because I agree with you: We can't wait till the end of 1994 to take any action on some reforms in the public education system. So just be patient. It'll only be a couple more weeks.

#### MEMBER'S CONDUCT

**Mr Robert W. Runciman (Leeds-Grenville):** I have a question for the minister responsible for women's issues as well, based on the responses she's given to questions earlier today.



My question relates to the Ferguson matter, to Mr Ferguson and his conduct and how this minister, who is responsible for women's issues, is responding in this House and outside this House as well.

Our concerns centre on the fact that this minister has had a solid record of standing up on behalf of women throughout this province—I acknowledge that—for women's rights and especially women as victims, and I'd like to review her position with respect to how she's responding to this matter.

We have a colleague, a member of the New Democratic Party, a member of the government, who actively engaged—he has admitted this—in an effort to smear a woman who indicates she was a victim as a resident of Grandview some years ago. She has made very serious allegations in respect to the member for Kitchener.

There's no question about the responsibility. Mr Ferguson has acknowledged his responsibility in respect to that. As a result, a senior official in the Premier's office lost his job; he resigned. This is an appointed official. We have an elected official, someone lodged with the public trust, a member of the government caucus, who is allowed to remain.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Would the member place his question, please.

**Mr Runciman:** Minister, I'm asking you, as a long-time advocate for women, women's rights and women as victims, how can you justify defending the lack of action and the fact that Mr Ferguson remains in your caucus?

**Hon Marion Boyd (Attorney General and Minister Responsible for Women's Issues):** The member refers quite correctly to the resignation of the one person involved. He did not mention that Mr Ferguson also had his added responsibility removed from him as a result of the founded concerns.

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Hon Mrs Boyd:** I am not in a position and would not comment on what goes on in the privacy of our caucus, any more than I would expect the member to comment on the privacy of what goes on in his caucus.

**Mr Runciman:** Well, that's an extremely disappointing response. You know, when we look at this minister's record, I'm not sure how she feels she can continue to defend the lack of action on the part of her Premier and her colleagues within cabinet in respect to this matter.

We had a press conference some time ago with victims from Grandview, including Ms Harris, who were very concerned about the way this government and the police are dealing with this matter, and certainly a

member of her own caucus who is allowed to remain. I make a very clear distinction between an appointed official, Mr Piper, who has had his career ruined, his livelihood gone as a result of this incident, and you're making an analogy between Mr Piper losing a career and Mr Ferguson giving up a stipend but retaining his job as a representative of the public in your own caucus. It's not a fair analogy whatsoever.

My supplementary in respect to the minister, who says she doesn't want to respond to my concerns about Mr Ferguson and her lack of adequate response to that situation: Will she indicate today whether she's prepared to support a request from this side of the House and from many members of the public to have a full public inquiry into this Piper matter to see just how many members of the government, how many senior officials within the ranks of the NDP, were involved in this smear effort against an innocent woman in this province?

**Hon Mrs Boyd:** Yes, I'm quite prepared to say that, no, a public inquiry is not in the best interests of the public, of those who have been complainants in the case at Grandview. There has been a police investigation, which determined that charges would not be laid, there is court action that is currently going on in respect to the issues raised by the member, and no, I do not believe in any way that a public inquiry would in any way further the information that the public has.

We have been very clear that this incident is not an incident for which we have any kind of defence at all.

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Hon Mrs Boyd:** We are saying very clearly that we do not approve of the actions, and have indicated that from the beginning of this incident.

**The Speaker:** New question, the member for St Catharines-Brock.

UNEMPLOYMENT

**Ms Christel Haeck (St Catharines-Brock):** My question is to the Minister of Economic Development and Trade. Madam Minister, the Niagara Peninsula, as you well know, has been leading the province in its unemployment rate. Our manufacturing base, as all of us have probably informed you and predecessors in your position, is eroding, and those industries that are still operating are, quite simply, struggling to survive.

Layoff announcements are unfortunately becoming all too common in our local media, and Richard Brennan from the Windsor Star has in fact provided one again, beyond St Catharines, giving a clear understanding of the problems we're facing.

As you know, a group locally has been formed, and

it's called Fighting for a Working Future coalition. This coalition is sponsoring a purple ribbon campaign and is bringing together labour, business and political leaders in an effort to work cooperatively to find a made-in-Niagara solution to our economic woes. Madam Minister, what assistance can your ministry provide to this coalition and to Niagara as a whole in our fight to put our region back to work?

**Hon Frances Lankin (Minister of Economic Development and Trade):** I appreciate the member's concern and share with her the concern for the state of the economy in the Niagara region. Certainly we are willing to work with partners in the Niagara region towards economic development and trying to identify ways to strengthen area firms and encourage investment and innovation and in fact job creation in that area.

The member will know that we have recently made an announcement of a contribution towards the economic development initiative. The Niagara Region Development Corp is leading that, with other partners that are involved. There was a commitment of funding for that from the provincial government in cooperation with the region and with the federal government, and the efforts there will be to develop a made-in-Niagara blueprint for that region, where they can look together at the strengths and the weaknesses and the opportunities for renewal and use that analysis as an underpinning for an action plan for the Niagara region.

Let me just say that in addition to that, of course, there are ongoing programs of government, like ODC and the winery adjustment program, like the highway infrastructure building that's going on on the QEW.

1530

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Could the minister conclude her response, please.

**Hon Ms Lankin:** We'll continue to work with the people of Niagara to attempt to ensure that these programs are meeting their needs too.

**Ms Haeck:** I do want to thank the minister and a number of other ministers who've really made a number of contributions and grants to our ridings, the member for St Catharines, mine and the member for Lincoln, but what the coalition and other groups—there are about 50 different groups in the Niagara region that are looking at economic development, and one of the things that has come out from municipal government, as well as these coalitions, is that we're looking at a Premier's task force to be established to look at what is happening in the Hamilton-Niagara area.

I do concede there's been an awful lot of money and assistance that has come to Niagara, but there are still these problems and the coalition is looking for this task force. So can we ask at this point, will you and the

Premier consider setting up a special task force to look at the unique problems we face in Niagara?

**Hon Ms Lankin:** I'd be pleased to speak to the member further with respect to exactly what she has in mind and what has been suggested. May I say that I think there is an initiative under way and that the whole idea of supporting community economic development is an attempt to give the tools to the communities themselves so that they can develop their own solutions.

I think that if there are those involved in the coalition who feel somehow that their voices aren't being heard in the task force, we can work to try and broaden the partnership and we should be bringing people together as opposed to setting up parallel processes.

That would be my first response. I'd be pleased to have a further discussion with the member about that, however.

#### ASSISTANCE TO FARMERS

**Mrs Joan M. Fawcett (Northumberland):** My question is for the Minister of Agriculture and Food. Last spring the Minister of Agriculture proudly announced a five-part program called the agricultural investment strategy to help farmers facing financial difficulty.

The program was to spend \$20 million this past year to help farmers arrange financing. Farmers waited all summer for the application forms, they waited all fall for the application forms, they waited all winter for the application forms, but except for the small commodity loans component, application forms under the agricultural investment strategy are still not available.

Farmers want to know why the program is taking so long to get started. The Ontario Federation of Agriculture says the program seems to have fallen into the black hole of bureaucracy and is probably lost.

Would the minister explain how he justifies this delay and will he make a commitment as to when the farmers can expect to finally receive application forms, and will he be assured that the \$20 million of last year will not be lost and will be added to this year's?

**Hon Elmer Buchanan (Minister of Agriculture and Food):** It would be useful if we knew exactly which application form the member was referring to. There are five components to this program and there isn't one application form for all five; indeed they're separate programs.

The commodity loan guarantee program was out a year ago. It was a little bit late in coming but it was very popular with farmers, and we expect about \$100 million to be loaned out under that program this year.

The program that was announced, the details for that were announced a week ago. The private mortgage



guarantee program, the application forms for that will be available on May 8, I believe it is, in the local ag offices. Why haven't we had this out earlier? That's a good question. The answer is that we have had farm groups, their committees, which have been working on these programs with the civil servants to make sure we design these programs so that they work for farmers, that they're the kinds of programs they want and that the money that's being invested in these programs will be well spent and received by the farm groups.

When you work with committees getting meetings together, it takes a little longer than it does for one person to sit down and design or dream up a program which may or may not meet the needs of farmers. These programs are designed by farmers for farmers with the support of this government, and that's why they've taken a little bit longer to get out than they normally would like.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** The time for oral questions has expired.

**Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West):** On a point of privilege, Mr Speaker: We've spoken in the past about the fact that announcements are made outside this House at various times, and once again I have a news release from the Office of the Premier announcing a media advisory. I think my privileges as a member have been breached. It states:

"Cabinet ministers and officials will hold meetings this weekend, April 16 to 18, at the Metro convention centre dealing with options for spending reductions by ministries. The meetings are a step towards an economic package."

Let's take note of what's going to happen at this meeting at the convention centre. Please note that no final decisions will be taken, no announcements will follow the meetings and consequently no plans are being made for media availability by the Premier or cabinet ministers. In fact they're going to have a meeting—

**The Speaker:** And your point of privilege?

**Mr Stockwell:** —and they're not going to do anything, they're not going to make any announcements to the media, yet they announce a media advisory not in this House. Clearly nothing is being done, nothing is being announced. That's typical of this government; therefore they should have come to this chamber and announced that nothing would be done.

**The Speaker:** The member knows he does not have a point of privilege.

#### MOTIONS

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Government House Leader):** Mr Speaker, I believe I have consent from my colleagues in the opposition to move this motion without notice.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Do we have unanimous consent? Agreed.

#### STATUS OF BILLS 24 AND 89

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Government House Leader):** I move that Bill 24, An Act to amend the Education Act, and Bill 89, An Act to amend the Health Protection and Promotion Act, remaining on the Orders and Notices paper at the prorogation of the second session of this Parliament, be continued and placed on the Orders and Notices paper for the third session of this Parliament at the same stage of business as at the prorogation of the second session.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry?

All those in favour will please say "aye."

All those opposed will please say "nay."

In my opinion, the ayes have it.

#### PETITIONS

##### PENSION FUNDS

**Mr Hans Daigeler (Nepean):** I have here a petition signed by over 100 firefighters from the Ottawa-Carleton area. This petition is signed to oppose the use of their pension funds by the proposed Ontario investment fund. I've signed the petition.

##### SHELTERED WORKSHOPS

**Mr Noble Villeneuve (S-D-G & East Grenville):** I have a petition signed by 265 constituents and residents of eastern Ontario, to the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor and the Legislative Assembly of Ontario. It's addressed to the Ministry of Community and Social Services.

The ministry is presently implementing province-wide cutbacks to sheltered workshops, despite overwhelming criticism by agencies through their presidents, executive directors, the Association for Community Living, support groups, direct care service providers and unions. This is quite a lengthy one and I will abbreviate it.

"We, the undersigned, are gravely concerned and petition to you to re-establish present funding to sheltered workshops with the impetus placed on establishing community options, flow new moneys as they become available into agencies to further develop community options and finally conduct the proposed analysis and complete this process prior to any further decisions on service direction and ensure a full range of services remain available."

I agree and I've signed this petition.

1540

#### GAMBLING

**Mr Dennis Drainville (Victoria-Haliburton):** It gives me great pleasure again to rise in the House and

bring this petition from the good burghers of Victoria-Haliburton, who write to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the New Democratic Party government has traditionally had a commitment to family life and quality of life for all the citizens of Ontario; and

"Whereas families are made more emotionally and economically vulnerable by the operation of various gaming and gambling ventures; and

"Whereas the New Democratic Party government has had a historical concern for the poor in society who are particularly at risk each time the practice of gambling is expanded; and

"Whereas the New Democratic Party has in the past vociferously opposed the raising of moneys for the state through gambling; and

"Whereas the citizens of Ontario have not been consulted regarding the introduction of legalized gambling casinos despite the fact that such a decision is a significant change of government policy and was never part of the mandate given to the government by the people of Ontario,

"Therefore, we, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the government immediately cease all moves to establish gambling casinos by regulation and that appropriate legislation be introduced into the assembly along with a process which includes significant opportunities for public consultation and full public hearings as a means of allowing the citizens of Ontario to express themselves on this new and questionable initiative."

I'm affixing my signature with the good people of Fenelon Falls.

#### HEALTH SERVICES

**Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition):** I have a petition that reads as follows:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"We, the residents of Sault Ste Marie and Algoma district, request that a dedicated air ambulance be based in Sault Ste Marie on a full-time basis, properly equipped and with adequate staff available 24 hours per day;

"Sault Ste Marie be funded to have at least one neurosurgeon at a local medical facility with privileges at local hospitals;

"Sault Ste Marie be given provincial designation as an underserved area to help encourage more doctors to practise in Sault Ste Marie.

"We would expect an immediate review of our local health care system and corrective action taken within

the next six months."

This petition is signed by over 15,000 people and I have affixed my signature to it.

#### HOSPITAL FINANCING

**Mr Jim Wilson (Simcoe West):** I have a petition addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the government of Ontario has only transferred a 1% funding increase to hospital boards this year, resulting in the closure of over 1,500 hospital beds and the layoff of some 2,000 nurses and staff;

"Whereas Collingwood General and Marine Hospital has been or will be forced to close 20 beds and several staff;

"We, the undersigned, petition the government of Ontario as follows:

"That the NDP government make health care a top priority and stop closing hospital beds and laying off nursing staff."

Mr Speaker, I have affixed my name to this signature and I'm pleased to deliver two copies of it, one to the Premier and one to the Minister of Health. Please note that it's signed by some 400 people who are concerned about the plight and the difficulties experienced by the Collingwood General and Marine Hospital.

#### PINE GROVE FOREST

**Mr Jim Wiseman (Durham West):** My petition concerns the Pine Grove forest.

"Whereas the Pine Grove Forest is a significant wetland forest complex, a portion of which is designating an area of natural and scientific interest on the east bank of the Rouge Valley, a part of the Petticoat Creek watershed in Pickering;

"Whereas the Pine Grove Forest is an essential gateway to the Duffin-Rouge corridor, thereby providing a crucial link to the Altona forest, Petticoat Creek and Duffin Creek as well as the Lake Ontario waterfront and north to the Oak Ridges moraine;

"Whereas the Rouge Park advisory committee has recommended to the province of Ontario to include all of the Pine Grove Forest within the future Rouge Park,

"We, the undersigned, urge the Premier of Ontario and the ministers of Natural Resources, the Environment and Municipal Affairs to protect the Pine Grove forest by ensuring that the province includes this significant area in the national-provincial Rouge Park. We strongly oppose any urbanization of this area."

I affix my signature to this petition.

#### SKILLS TRAINING

**Mr John Sola (Mississauga East):** I have a petition addressed to the Honourable David Cooke. It reads as follows:



"We, the undersigned, students at the Peel Adult Learning Network and those who support this program, are very concerned about the possibility of the provincial government's funding cuts to the Ministry of Education literacy branch labour adjustment initiative.

"We believe that this type of retraining and upgrading program is critical to Ontario's ability to meet its long-term labour and economic objectives. As recently laid-off workers, we have found it necessary to improve our skills in order to cope with today's changing labour market demands. This program provides us with the basic skills that any worker needs and it would be unfair at this time for the government to discontinue it.

"We very sincerely hope that you will take serious consideration to this petition."

It's signed by 44 members of the network, and I will affix my signature.

#### MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES

**Mr Robert W. Runciman (Leeds-Grenville):** This is a petition signed by several hundred residents of Leeds-Grenville.

"To the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the Ministry of Health is proposing to reduce by \$45 million the budget for Ontario's provincial psychiatric hospitals without first establishing sufficient community programs or services for the severely mentally ill;

"Whereas we believe this move will create more problems than ever before for people suffering from such illnesses as schizophrenia and for their families, as well as being more costly in the long run due to the resultant numerous readmissions and/or incarcerations this illness often sadly leads to when left untreated,

"We, the undersigned, beg leave to petition the Legislature of Ontario as follows:

"We, the Leeds-Grenville chapter of Ontario Friends of Schizophrenics and others supporting our view, wish to petition the Ontario Legislature not to cut back funding to our psychiatric hospitals and their community services."

I have affixed my signature.

#### NIAGARA ESCARPMENT COMMISSION

**Ms Christel Haeck (St Catharines-Brock):** I am presenting a petition signed by 989 people from St Catharines and the surrounding area. This petition is addressed to the Minister of the Environment. The petition states:

"We, the undersigned, strongly object to any dismantlement of the Niagara Escarpment Commission. This is the only public forum whose mandate is primarily to protect our unique and beautiful Niagara escarp-

ment, which is so vital to the wellbeing of our fragile and threatened environment. We petition you, as the Minister of the Environment, to ensure that this will not happen and that rigid controls be maintained for its preservation."

I have affixed my signature.

#### SHELTERED WORKSHOPS

**Mr Michael A. Brown (Algoma-Manitoulin):** I have a petition which carries 832 names. It says:

"To the Parliament of Ontario:

"Whereas in June of 1992, the Minister of Community and Social Services announced a cutback to funding of sheltered workshops of \$5 million, with \$2 million to be flowed to supported employment services in Ontario;

"Whereas the Espanola and District Association for Community Living had its work-in-training budget cut by 4.1% in 1992-93 and is scheduled for an additional 4.1% cut in 1993-94,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Parliament of Ontario as follows:

"That whereas no consultation between ministry and agencies took place, we strongly recommend that the ministry end any further cutbacks until such time as real community consultation with the stakeholders has taken place, allowing agencies an opportunity to analyse the impact of current and future cutbacks."

I agree with this petition and affix my signature.

#### RETAIL STORE HOURS

**Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East):** I have a petition to the members of the provincial Parliament on the amendment of the Retail Business Holidays Act, proposed wide-open Sunday shopping and elimination of Sunday as a legal holiday. This is a petition from last fall.

"I, the undersigned, hereby register my opposition in the strongest of terms to Bill 38, which will eliminate Sunday from the definition of 'legal holiday' in the Retail Business Holidays Act.

"I believe in the need of keeping Sunday as a holiday for family time, quality of life and religious freedom. The elimination of such a day will be detrimental to the fabric of society in Ontario and cause increased hardship on many families.

"The amendment included in Bill 38, dated June 3, 1992, to delete all Sundays except Easter (51 per year) from the definition of 'legal holiday' and reclassify them as working days should be defeated."

That's 157 signatures and I've signed my name to it.

#### EDUCATION FUNDING

**Mr Mike Cooper (Kitchener-Wilmot):** It's my pleasure to introduce a petition on behalf of my col-

league in Beaches-Woodbine, and it's signed by 65 petitioners from the Notre Dame parents' guild. It states:

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to act now and restructure the way in which municipal and provincial tax dollars are apportioned so that Ontario's two principal education systems are funded not only fully, but with equity and equality."

#### RETAIL STORE HOURS

**Mrs Joan M. Fawcett (Northumberland):** I have a petition re the amendment of the Retail Business Holidays Act, proposed wide-open Sunday shopping and elimination of Sunday as a legal holiday.

"I, the undersigned, hereby register my opposition to wide-open Sunday business.

"I believe in the need of keeping Sunday as a holiday for family time, quality of life and religious freedom. The elimination of such a day will be detrimental to the fabric of society in Ontario and cause increased hardship on retailers, retail employees and their families.

"The proposed amendment of the Retail Business Holidays Act of Bill 38, dated June 3, 1992, to delete all Sundays except Easter (51 per year) from the definition of 'legal holiday' and reclassify them as working days should be defeated."

There are 17 signatures.

1550

#### JUNIOR KINDERGARTEN

**Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East):** I have a petition that says:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas we, as citizens of the province of Ontario and residents in the county of Simcoe, object to the imposition of junior kindergarten by the year 1994;

"We would ask the Minister of Education to consider a moratorium of a duration of at least two years or until there is some obvious improvement in the economic climate of this country.

"Funding arrangements, as proposed in Bill 88, while of some value to taxpayers initially, will leave the ultimate responsibility for all future funding with the municipalities. Many of these municipalities are already hard pressed to collect taxes as levied to date.

"We understand the proposed program may be of value to some. However, the majority cannot, at this time, afford any further tax increases."

That's signed by myself. There are 149 signatures on that petition.

#### CHILD SAFETY

**Mr Paul Wessinger (Simcoe Centre):** I have a

petition signed by over 400 of my constituents who are concerned about the safety of their young children in school playgrounds. They are asking to amend the Education Act to coincide with regulations included in the Day Nurseries Act for mandatory fencing around playgrounds used by children under the age of 6 years. I've affixed my signature.

#### POST-POLIO SYNDROME

**Mr Hans Daigeler (Nepean):** I have another petition. This petition is signed by some 60 residents of my constituency. The petition reads as follows:

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to establish a post-polio clinic in the Rehabilitation Centre of Ottawa-Carleton for the diagnosis, treatment and follow-up of patients and to disseminate information so that the estimated 1,000 known polio survivors in the centre's catchment area can receive adequate treatment and that the medical profession be educated regarding the post-polio syndrome."

I've affixed my signature to the petition.

#### HIGHWAY SIGNS

**Mrs Joan M. Fawcett (Northumberland):** "We, the undersigned, are opposed to the Ontario government's decision to re-sign Ontario's highways with a new sign system. We feel the signs on our highways are quite adequate and the taxpayers of Ontario don't need or want this outrageous expenditure at this time when fiscal restraint is needed and necessary. We request that this program be cancelled immediately."

There are 110 signatures.

#### WETLANDS

**Ms Christel Haeck (St Catharines-Brock):** I am presenting a petition signed by 830 citizens from Niagara-on-the-Lake. This petition is addressed to the Ontario government and it states:

"We believe that the swamp options"—that's a constructed wetland—"as presented by the Friends of Fort George are worthy of further study and expansion. The constructed wetland concept represents a viable alternative to the physical chemical plant proposed for Niagara-on-the-Lake and merits further consideration by Environment Canada, the Ministry of the Environment, Ontario, the Niagara region and the town of Niagara-on-the-Lake."

I affix my signature.

#### INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

##### HERITAGE DAY ACT, 1993

##### LOI DE 1993 SUR LE JOUR DU PATRIMOINE

On motion by Mr McLean, the following bill was given first reading:



Bill 2, An Act respecting Heritage Day / Loi concernant le jour du Patrimoine.

**Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East):** Just briefly, I'm reintroducing this bill that I've introduced before. It's because we are a community in Ontario, a community of people from many generations, many countries and many cultures and I feel there should be a special day designated to celebrate our diverse heritage. We're looking at the third Monday in February to celebrate it across Canada. In 1974 we introduced a week-long celebration; it was also introduced in 1986, so I'm introducing this so that we can have a further debate and have a holiday on the third Monday in February.

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY

#### THRONE SPEECH DEBATE

#### DÉBAT SUR LE DISCOURS DU TRÔNE

Resuming the adjourned debate on the motion for an address in reply to the speech of His Honour the Lieutenant Governor at the opening of the session.

**Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition):** I am very happy to be able to take part in this debate and to be able to respond on behalf of our caucus to this government's third speech from the throne.

It was just under two weeks ago that I stood in a meeting hall in downtown Toronto where 92% of voters in a by-election had rejected the NDP. This throne speech makes it clear why this stunning and unprecedented repudiation has happened. This throne speech makes it clear that the NDP government is incapable of leading this province into the recovery that it so badly needs. The lack of leadership becomes more apparent with every new throne speech and literally with every passing week.

Le leadership, c'est avoir une stratégie. Le leadership, c'est avoir une stratégie réaliste qui obtient l'appui de la population. Ce discours du trône n'est pas une stratégie qui peut fonctionner. Ce n'est pas une stratégie qui sera soutenue par la population.

After making a long slump longer and a deep recession deeper, this government's lack of leadership will make a weak recovery weaker. This throne speech proposes a 10-point plan for restoring the province to prosperity; last year, it was a four-point plan. I suppose that's 14 points, which, as every New Democrat who was thinking of running again will know, is almost enough to get your deposit back.

The math is actually quite simple. There are three things the government must do to allow Ontario to build a strong recovery: It must develop and execute a sound economic strategy; it must get its own house in order; and it must restore the integrity that makes governing possible. This throne speech meets none of these tests.

Ontario continues to face serious economic problems.

Some numbers represent stark reality. Over 550,000 people are out of work. Manufacturing production has declined almost 16%, with a loss of 25% of manufacturing jobs. For every job gained over the last two years, two have been lost. Together, these grim numbers paint a picture of immense human loss. This loss, this denial of hope and opportunity, has fallen perhaps most cruelly on the young people of this province. They are in danger of becoming a lost generation, crippled by bad times and a worse government that can't find a way to help them. For them and for all of us, these are the realities of Ontario in the spring of 1993.

What is this government's plan to better this state of economic affairs? What is the new plan outlined in this throne speech? Sad to say, this government has nothing more to offer than to continue with the failed visions, the blunted thrusts and the misconceived initiatives that have marked the first half of its mandate. It continues to lurch from crisis to crisis.

Les promesses continuent dans le discours du trône. Ce sont les mêmes que celles de l'an dernier et de l'année précédente. Cependant, entre les idées avancées dans le discours du trône et les réalités des politiques actuelles du gouvernement se dresse l'idéologie des néo-démocrates et leur incapacité à gérer.

The same fine promises we have heard before, but between the ideas of the throne speech and the realities of this government's actual policies falls the shadow of NDP ideology and incompetent management.

The throne speech calls for the creation of partnerships to generate economic growth. It's the same call that was made in the first throne speech. But two and a half years and three Industry ministers later, the trust between business and government that must be the basis of any partnership has been irretrievably lost. How can investors trust government by a party whose president solicits funds from its members by accusing business of plotting a conspiracy? How can employers trust a government that has created such a toxic climate for business?

1600

The throne speech promises to help small business, and again it's the same call the NDP has been making since it came to power, but two and a half years and a ministerial reorganization later, all that has been given to small business is more red tape, increased costs and pro-union labour laws.

The throne speech promises to get serious about education and training. It's the same call we've been hearing since 1990. But two and a half years and three Education ministers later, all we get is a commission to find out what the government should be doing, and in the meantime no one knows exactly what students will be learning when September comes around.

The throne speech calls for capital investment in the province's infrastructure. We've heard it before. But two and a half years, three Transportation ministers, three Government Services ministers, two Environment ministers and three capital corporations later, all we really see are accounting tricks designed to take capital spending off the government's books.

We have yet to see anything concrete, literally. Is the Red Hill Creek Expressway built? Is there more subway line in Metro? Has Highway 416 been built to Ottawa? Has the four-laning begun in northern Ontario? The answer is: none of the above.

This province needs a real economic strategy, one that is well-conceived and then acted on. That is the only way we'll get the jobs, the growth and investment the people of this province need.

We need to restore investor confidence. We need to ease regulations, especially on small business. We need to extend a hand to our young people. We need training programs that work and education programs that give students the skills they need. We need capital investment that will build a base for growth and jobs in the future. Most of all, we need a government that believes what it says about the importance of job creation and truly makes that a priority.

And yes, we do need to start by putting government's own house in order. Putting government's house in order is critical, not only to our economy but to people's faith that their government can again be part of the solution. The failure to do so, indeed the mounting chaos of government under the NDP, is one of the most signal failures of the past two and a half years.

This throne speech does nothing to bring a halt to the rising tide of chaos and mismanagement. The throne speech promises to control public sector payrolls. The proposal is, quite simply, too little, too late. This government has been in power for 922 days and it only figured out that it had a public sector spending problem 15 days ago. During those 907 days of blissful ignorance, they weren't just ignoring the problem; they were making it worse, increasing public sector spending by 14% in their first year of government.

We all understand that there are costs and expenditures that come with a recession, but the vast majority of those cost increases went to this government's attempts to spend its way out of the recession, a move that even now it does not understand to have been sheer folly. The Premier continues to boast in this throne speech of being right on track, saying that the budget of 1991 and the budget of 1992 actually made sense, and now they're trying to recover the ground that they so freely gave away.

If the Premier had spent more time negotiating investment contracts in his first two years in office, he

might not need to be negotiating a social contract now.

The throne speech promises to cut out unneeded programs. There are two reasons why this approach by this government won't yield the right results. Firstly, we have no faith in this government's desire to cut its truly useless programs, such as spending \$26 million to put private day care operators out of business or \$37 million on the new advocacy legislation that is unnecessarily bureaucratic and interventionist. Secondly, the only budget cuts that they seem to think about are across-the-board program slashes. There is no real thought, no real understanding and absolutely no plans on how to improve service delivery for greater cost-efficiency.

The throne speech does promise to raise taxes, and this is one promise we know the Premier is likely to keep, and in fulfilling his solemn pledge to raise taxes even higher, this Premier will postpone the recovery even longer.

The Premier has to recognize that he simply cannot go on like this, focusing on everything except the growth and the jobs, which will only come when this government abandons its anti-business ideology.

Lastly, the throne speech promises to control the deficit, and there are a number of questions that immediately arise in the mind of any observer. Which deficit? The one the Premier artificially inflates before the budget to lower expectations? The one that he and his government are likely to produce on budget day, which is shot through with paper transfers and accounting tricks? Or the one that actually has to be paid for by going to the markets with ever larger issues of debt?

The second question is, will he deliver? Will this government actually act to keep its deficit in check? Will it finally realize that without private sector growth, the deficit will continue to break all records? Will the Premier actually provide leadership?

When we look at a government that tries to downsize its cabinet by enlarging it, we highly doubt it.

This government should end the shell-game accounting techniques and give Ontarians the straight facts about the public finances. It should reorganize service delivery to increase efficiency and cut costs. It should hold the line on taxes to allow the recovery to take hold.

This government needs to show leadership. It needs to lead with a sound economic strategy, but in order to lead, it needs integrity. I am not surprised that this throne speech has nothing to say about integrity, because this government no longer has anything to say about integrity.

There is a tendency among my friends opposite to roll their eyes and to look at the ceiling when we in the opposition raise this issue, but may I remind the Premier



and his government of what the Premier himself said almost four years ago: "There are those who say, 'Haven't you got anything better to do than to deal every day with this question of scandal?'" He then added: "I think all of us recognize that it is a good question, but what I want to say is this: The question of the integrity of the democratic process is the first question in politics. It is the first question in government. It is at the foundation of everything else a government does."

What happened to that Bob Rae? What turned him into the apostle of that was then, this is now ethics?

The lack of integrity at the top levels of this government has a terrible, insidious effect on the whole government which is almost impossible to reverse, and it carries implications well beyond, for example, the careers of those immediately involved. A fixed parking ticket doesn't mean much in and of itself, but when a Premier excuses it and excuses slander of doctors and excuses smearing victims of the justice system, it creates a terrible tone in government.

1610

The damage spreads beyond these walls. How can a collective bargainer trust a government that has different budget figures for different occasions? How can a deputy minister trust a cabinet office headed by a career backroom New Democrat? How can the financial community trust budget figures that change faster than the metal index? Where does it end?

I'll tell you, Mr Speaker. The collapse of integrity ends up on the desk of a potential investor who is ready to create jobs and get something going here in Ontario, an investor who says: "How can I have confidence doing business with a government that I can't trust? How can I get a government that is always focused on damage control to focus on the problems that I need solved to get a business and jobs and investment going around here?"

Et comment faire cesser tout ça? Il n'y a qu'une façon de le faire. Les choses changeront lorsque les Ontariennes et les Ontariens en auront assez, lorsqu'ils voteront pour défaire un gouvernement en qui ils ont perdu confiance.

When does it all stop? It stops when over 90% of the people say that they have no confidence in this government and its abilities. It stops in places like St George-St David, where the people have expressed more eloquently than any in this House ever can their utter disillusionment with Bob Rae and the NDP.

That's what happened in St George-St David and that's what's happening all over this province. People are giving up on a government that cannot lead. They are giving up on a government that has no proper strategy

for generating jobs and growth. They're giving up on a government that cannot set its own house in order. They're giving up on a government that has fundamentally compromised its fiscal, economic and ethical integrity.

There is a recovery out there waiting to happen. There is hope out there looking for direction. There is a province out there looking for leadership. This government won't provide it and this throne speech does not provide it.

Having expressed some of my views on this matter, which I consider to be of importance in the conduct of our business, and having also expressed my profound dissatisfaction and disappointment with the leadership that has come from this government, it is my duty to move, seconded by the member for Renfrew North, this amendment to the motion.

I move that this House regrets that the speech from the throne only confirms the government's inability to provide a clear strategy to support the recovery of Ontario's economy, generate and encourage economic investment, create jobs and aid those who are unemployed and on social assistance to get back into the workforce, and condemns the government for:

Failing to understand the deep and lingering impact of the recession on the people of this province; refusing to recognize that government initiatives to encourage job creation have failed; failing to take action that would restore investor confidence and build lasting partnerships with the private sector in order to aid in this province's economic renewal; failing to see how increased taxation will hinder economic recovery; failing to provide a carefully considered program to control the deficit, and failing to provide leadership by recognizing that the continuing disintegration of the government's integrity is causing immeasurable harm and a loss of confidence in the government of Ontario.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve):** It has been moved by Mrs McLeod, seconded by Mr Conway:

"That this House regrets that the speech from the throne only confirms the government's inability to provide a clear strategy to support the recovery of Ontario's economy, generate and encourage economic investment, create jobs and aid those who are unemployed and on social assistance to get back into the workforce and condemns the government for:

"Failing to understand the deep and lingering impact of the recession on the people of this province; refusing to recognize that government initiatives to encourage job creation have failed; failing to take action that would restore investor confidence and build lasting partnerships with the private sector in order to aid in this province's economic renewal; failing to see how increased taxation will hinder economic recovery; failing to provide a

carefully considered program to control the deficit, and failing to provide leadership by recognizing that the continuing disintegration of the government's integrity is causing immeasurable harm and a loss of confidence in the government of Ontario."

Further debate?

**Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West):** In the absence of my leader, Mike Harris, I will adjourn the debate.

**The Acting Speaker:** The honourable member has moved adjournment of the debate. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried. This House now stands—

*Interjections.*

**The Acting Speaker:** The honourable government House leader.

#### BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Government House Leader):** The business for next week: On Monday

afternoon we will hear the response of the leader of the third party to the throne debate. Then we will move into rotation, continuing the debate on the throne speech, for the rest of Monday afternoon, Tuesday afternoon, Wednesday afternoon, and we will wind up the debate on the throne speech on Thursday afternoon.

Thursday morning, we will proceed with private members' public business, the items that will be debated to be announced once the consultation with the three parties has concluded around the ballot.

I move the adjournment of the House.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Villeneuve):** The honourable government House leader has moved adjournment of the House. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

This House now stands adjourned until Monday at 1:30 of the clock.

The House adjourned at 1617.

#### ERRATUM

No.	Page	Column	Line	Should read:
2	24	2	9	of this land is either in the Rouge or the Duffin





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## Legislative Assembly of Ontario

Third Session, 35th Parliament

## Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Troisième session, 35<sup>e</sup> législature

# Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Monday 19 April 1993

# Journal des débats (Hansard)

Le lundi 19 Avril 1993



Speaker  
Honourable David Warner

Président  
L'honorable David Warner

Clerk  
Claude L. DesRosiers

Greffier  
Claude L. DesRosiers



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Monday 19 April 1993

The House met at 1330.

Prayers.

#### MEMBERS' STATEMENTS

##### HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL DAY

**Mr Monte Kwinter (Wilson Heights):** Today is Yom Hashoah, the 50th anniversary of the uprising of the Warsaw ghetto. On this day, as people around the world gather to remember the people of the Warsaw ghetto, we in Ontario also remember those brave souls who rose to fight the Nazi threat.

Fifty years ago the Nazis moved into the Warsaw ghetto to try and cart the remaining 60,000 Jews off to death camps. On this day, many of the people in the ghetto began a heroic fight that lasted for over a month. These Jews accomplished the impossible, holding off an army which was larger, stronger and more resourceful for over a month.

The people of the Warsaw ghetto began a fight that carried over to other ghettos and towns the Nazis were trying to occupy. People began to stand up and fight the Nazis. Many people believed it would be better to fight to the death rather than die without a fight.

The Holocaust is an event that we must never forget. Through events such as the rally that took place here at Queen's Park yesterday and rallies worldwide, the memories of all those who fought against the Nazis are remembered. We also remember all of those people who were unable to fight and were herded like cattle and exterminated in the death camps.

The Holocaust is a black spot on the history of the 20th century but one which we cannot forget. We must always remember and ensure that it never happens again. On this 50th anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising we remember the people who fought the Nazi menace. We also remember all of those, over six million people, who lost their lives. It is our duty to ensure that all those who perished did not die in vain. We must make sure that an event such as the Holocaust never happens again.

##### ORILLIA PERCH FESTIVAL

**Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East):** Everybody is catching spring fever in the city of Orillia. For many anglers, spring is a time of great anticipation for the upcoming fishing season because it's time for the 12th annual Orillia Perch Festival, from April 24 to May 15. It's time to get the line wet again, get the kids out in the fresh air, win a few dollars or prizes and catch lots of the finest-tasting pan fish in all of Ontario.

Now in its 12th year, the annual perch festival, sponsored by the Orillia and District Chamber of

Commerce, has grown to become the largest registered derby of its type in North America. Perch fishing is easy for any age of angler, so the tournament has both adult and child registration.

Just fish to win one of over 60 tagged perch worth \$500 each plus five bonus perch worth a total of \$7,500 and there's even a perch that could win you a trip for four to Walt Disney World in Florida for a whole week.

There's over \$100,000 in cash and prizes to be won, including a motor boat and trailer, and we have other packages, as well as fishing equipment and tackle, camping gear, bikes, clothing and much more.

For more information, call the perch line, 705-326-4424 on weekends, or 705-327-FISH. Come and perch in Orillia; it's a great event for the whole family.

##### JOHN WINTERMEYER

**Mr Will Ferguson (Kitchener):** This past Saturday evening in my riding, over 600 individuals gathered to honour and pay tribute to a former member of this place, one John Wintermeyer. Mr Wintermeyer was honoured for his lifetime of service to the residents of my community as well as this province.

John Joseph Wintermeyer was born in Kitchener and educated at the University of Notre Dame and Dalhousie Law School. In 1952 he was elected to Kitchener city council, and then three years later John was first elected to this assembly.

In 1958 he was selected as leader of the Liberal Party, and in the election of 1959 he faced the Frost government. Although he did not succeed in becoming Premier, he did double the number of seats in the Liberal caucus to 22. In the election of 1963, the Big Blue Machine rolled across this province, and at the end of the day even Wintermeyer lost his seat.

Today, however, John takes much satisfaction that many of the ideas he promoted 30 years ago, such as universal medicare, improvements to general welfare assistance and full funding of separate schools, eventually became government policy.

Once out of politics, John has remained extremely active not only in his province but in his community as well. He has served as chair of the Metro Roman Catholic high schools and the Canadian Olympic Association, and he's assisted numerous community organizations, including the Working Centre and St John soup kitchen.

John has been described as a courageous individual and one who has received much satisfaction in serving others. Let me tell you, Speaker, that John Joseph Wintermeyer is a gentleman in every sense of the word.

## HEALTH CARE

**Mr Michael A. Brown (Algoma-Manitoulin):** I have an urgent situation in my riding which demands the immediate attention of the Minister of Health.

Last month, St Joseph's General Hospital, the local hospital in Elliot Lake, received word from the Minister of Health's office that its registered nursing assistant school will have to close at the end of May. That's this May. There was no warning of this ill-timed decision.

I say it was ill-timed because the 1993-94 class of students has already been interviewed and accepted for the program. It is too late for these students to be accepted in any other program. It is too late for the hospital to research other training prospects. I remind the minister, many of these students are already casualties of mine closures who have upgraded themselves and were looking forward to launching new careers in the health field.

Some of the RNA schools earmarked for closure have a full year to prepare. Why is the Elliot Lake program targeted for early windup? Where is the fairness in this decision? I've appealed this decision in a letter to the Minister of Health dated March 31. To date I have received absolutely no reply. So I want to urge her to respond now in the only reasonable and just manner that she can: by granting the Elliot Lake RNA program a one-year reprieve.

## COMMEMORATIVE MEDALS

**Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel):** I'm pleased to rise in the Legislature today to honour 24 people within my riding of Dufferin-Peel. Twenty-four hardworking individuals within my riding will be receiving the commemorative medal for the 125th anniversary of the Confederation of Canada.

The Honourable the Lieutenant Governor of Ontario, Hal Jackman, will be attending a reception this evening to present medals to the following individuals: Robert Burnside, Don Currie, Jean deGruchy, Glenn Grice, Glenys Houghson, George Ledson, Dr James Orbinski, Mary Phelan, Grace Cronin, Bliss Daley, Joan Donnelly, Delores Hannon, Pat Kalapaca, Linda Lockyer, Bill Parke, Jerry Proctor, Alex Raeburn, Anne Richardson, Nancy Stewart, Wayne Townsend, George Reid, Carole Seglins, Dr Walter Tovell and Betty Ward.

The 125th medal was struck by the federal government to commemorate Canada's 125th anniversary. There are always many worthy individuals who volunteer their time within their community and commit much of their lives to the benefit of others. It gives me great pleasure to host a reception this evening at the Hockley Valley Resort and Conference Centre and to introduce the Lieutenant Governor to some of the special people in Dufferin-Peel.

1340

## ONTARIO CLEAN WATER AGENCY

**Mr Donald Abel (Wentworth North):** Hamilton-Wentworth needs jobs. It also needs a psychological lift. The area's traditional job provider, the manufacturing sector, has declined dramatically, leaving the area's unemployment rate above the national and provincial average.

To help create economic rejuvenation in Hamilton-Wentworth, I and many other residents of the region urge the Ministry of Environment and Energy to locate the new Ontario Clean Water Agency in Hamilton-Wentworth.

There are compelling reasons why Hamilton-Wentworth would be a logical location for the OCWA. First, it dovetails with the region's initiative called Vision 2020, Creating a Sustainable Region, an initiative which sets out principles and guidelines for sustainable economical development.

Second, there are existing agencies, institutions and private businesses in the area which are already involved in research on water and aquatic sciences and can work with the new agency. There are the Wastewater Technology Centre, the Canada Centre for Inland Waters, the National Water Research Institute, the Inland Waters Directorate, the Canadian Wildlife Service, the National Laboratory for Environmental Testing, Bayfield Institute, McMaster University and Mohawk College, all able to provide resources the new agency could rely on.

I believe the request to have the OCWA located in Hamilton-Wentworth is a reasonable and modest request from a community that has been hammered by the recession and is in dire need of a boost.

## NIAGARA PENINSULA CHILDREN'S CENTRE

**Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines):** I'm rising to indicate my genuine concern and that of a large number of people in the Niagara region that the Niagara Peninsula Children's Centre has experienced a significant delay in obtaining the necessary approval from the Ministry of Health to continue its plans for redevelopment.

The Ministry of Health made a commitment in April 1990 to provide funding for the project. We understand the disappointment of the board and of the fund-raising committee when they were advised at the beginning of this year that there would be a possible further delay in that funding.

The Ministry of Community and Social Services has indicated that funds are available at this time, up to \$600,000, for that portion of the redevelopment for which the ministry is responsible and that these funds may not be available after two years.



The fund-raising committee has launched a major campaign which has received the overwhelming support of the community at large, and many of the pledges have been made in the knowledge that ministry approval would be forthcoming in the near future.

The centre looks after the requirements of more than 1,000 children with physical and communicative disabilities from a building which is designed for perhaps 400 to 500 children.

I'm urging the Minister of Health to give immediate final approval to the board of directors of the Niagara Peninsula Children's Centre to proceed with its redevelopment project. By doing so, you will be addressing the genuine needs of several hundred children in the Niagara region and assisting the construction industry in a part of the province that has long experienced an extremely high rate of unemployment.

#### SPECIAL SERVICES AT HOME PROGRAM

**Mr Ted Arnott (Wellington):** I would like to bring to the attention of the new Minister of Community and Social Services the desperate need in Wellington and the surrounding area for the services provided through the special services at home program.

As members of this House are aware, the special services at home program provides a contract worker to assist families with developmentally disabled children. This service is essential because it allows parents to keep their children at home and helps them to cope with their children's disabilities. The program makes a huge contribution towards a child's development, and the frustration and sense of helplessness that families are feeling when their allocation of hours is reduced substantially is very real.

Theresa and Earl Campbell of Moorefield have written about their daughter Tannis, who has Down syndrome: "Why are these services being denied to young handicapped children who have a permanent disability? Our daughter has a permanent handicap—Down syndrome. It doesn't go away. However, her abilities can be enhanced through early and necessary intervention."

Another family has written the Premier on this issue:

"Surely, you must realize what a disastrous plan you are creating by placing budget cuts on our handicapped children. This action will force many families to abandon their children to the care of the province—a far more costly situation for Ontario, and a disaster for the children."

As of the beginning of April, the Campbells have had their hours of service reduced from four to two per week. Many other families in Wellington have suffered a similar fate while others remain on waiting lists.

In the throne speech, this government stated that it

has "an abiding concern to provide for the vulnerable among us, including our children." If the government continues to turn its back on disabled children and their families, it demonstrates its heartlessness, and in light of the throne speech statement, its hypocrisy.

This is the fourth time I've raised this issue in the Legislature. I do not—

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** The member's time has expired. Thank you.

#### MEDIA REPORTING

**Mr Paul R. Johnson (Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings):** I rise today before the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to pose a question: Why are politicians held in such low esteem and with such disdain by the people of the province of Ontario?

It seems all politicians at all levels of government are broadly painted with the same brush, regardless of their political stripe. Certainly, during these difficult economic times, when there is a strong public demand for more jobs, less taxes and improved services from the respective governments, it is easy to understand why the public might want to blame their elected officials. Surely, all of the people's woes must be the fault of someone, and it appears collectively to be the fault of the "politicians."

How has this viewpoint come to be so widely accepted? Singularly, nearly all politicians I know are hardworking, credible, honest individuals. Indeed, all of the members of this august body known as the Legislative Assembly, in my opinion, could be characterized as such. However, when viewed collectively, we are not seen with such reverence.

I might suggest that the media have, at the very least, something to do with this. It is this member's opinion that reporters do not always accurately report the facts when covering political events. When they report their stories, they are often just that—stories—because of the way they have been editorialized. Headlines often state someone's opinion rather than fact in order to sensationalize the story. This occurs in all aspects of the media and it's most unfortunate, in my opinion.

The politicians are doing their best to improve the public's view both of themselves and of the political process. The media have helped to cause this problem and the media can help to resolve it, in my opinion.

#### RESIGNATION OF MEMBER FOR ESSEX SOUTH

**Mr Remo Mancini (Essex South):** Mr Speaker, I rise today to tender my resignation as the member for Essex South, effective April 30, 1993, and I do so with mixed emotions. I'm very pleased to have accepted a challenging position in the private sector which will

allow me to live full-time with my family in Amherstburg, but I regret deeply that I will no longer represent the people of Essex South. I would not have been able to serve as their member in this House for the past 18 years without their generous support and understanding.

More important, I would not have been able to carry out my duties without the love and support of my wife, Jo-Anne, and my children, Michelyn and Bianca, who are here in the Legislature sitting under the Speaker's gallery today.

I want to thank them and tell them that I look forward to spending a lot more time at home. Hopefully, all members of the Legislature will be blessed with the many good things that I've been able to have in my life: a wonderful family, healthy children. That's something that only God can bestow upon us.

I also want to thank the many local officials and the community groups I've had the pleasure of dealing with throughout the years. I'm very proud of what we've accomplished together to make our corner of Ontario a fine place to live, work and raise a family in. There's now a modern four-lane highway to link with Anderdon, Malden and Amherstburg. Much work had to be done to help the people of Harrow to recover from the devastating flood of 1989 that everyone recalls.

The downtown areas of Amherstburg and Leamington have been revitalized with beautiful waterfront parks to take advantage of the natural waterfronts in both communities. The same was done in Colchester South.

Our farmers, particularly in Mersea township and Gosfield South, have had to combat drought and we've tried to help; working with the greenhouse and fishing industry to save jobs has always been a priority of mine for my 18 years that I've tried to serve them. New infrastructure for Kingsville and Essex so that they can remain viable communities. Across the riding, we had to fight to protect our public and separate schools from amalgamation. As the member for Essex South, I am proud to have played a role in so many community issues.

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During my tenure in the Legislature, I've had the pleasure of serving under four Liberal leaders, all people of great talent and ability. Bob Nixon was one of the greatest legislators ever to serve in this House. Stuart Smith brought a sharp intellect and a passion for politics. David Peterson gave Ontario five years of unprecedented growth and opportunity. I also want to thank David Peterson for giving me the honour of serving in cabinet as the minister responsible for disabled persons and as the Minister of Revenue.

I have nothing but the greatest respect and admiration for my colleagues whom I served with in cabinet and in

the Liberal caucus. It has been my great pleasure to serve under our new leader, the member for Fort William. She has brought a new approach, I believe, to politics, and in my opinion, if I may be allowed one partisan moment, I believe that Lyn McLeod will become the first woman Premier in the history of Ontario.

After 18 years, not only have I had the opportunity to get to know each and every member sitting in the House today, and all the members who sat previously, but each member has a history, and each member has something special about him. I've made some very special friends in the Liberal caucus: Joe Cordiano, Alvin Curling, Hugh O'Neil, Steven Mahoney, people whom I consider very close friends.

Where else but in politics could you meet a guy like Jim Bradley, who can come up with lines like, "The government needs a third hand to pat itself on the back"? Only in the Legislature could we find a person with that type of wit. Where else could we find the oratorical skills of a Sean Conway? Where else could we find the business acumen of a person like Monte Kwinter? Where else could we find the warmth of a person like Yvonne O'Neill? I could say something personal about each and every member of my caucus, and I could say something for each and every member of the House.

I particularly am proud to have served with a person like the honourable Treasurer, a man of substance, a person who was a gentleman at all times. The fact that we see eye to eye has nothing to do with my opinions about the Treasurer.

I got to know Ernie Eves really well when I served as the official opposition House leader. I thought I was tough, I thought I was a difficult negotiator, but I think Ernie Eves is probably the best I've seen, and I can see why he sits at the right hand of his leader.

Mr Speaker, I want to take this last moment to say that it was an honour and a thrill to have been elected for the first time back on September 18, 1975, with you. I know that you've had a very colourful career and I know that you are presently serving with distinction as Speaker. It's been my pleasure to have got to know you not only as a colleague and as a Speaker but as a friend.

I want to wish each and every one of my colleagues here in the Legislature, the people who work in this building who serve us, and all who come into contact with politics, God's blessing. Thank you very much.

**Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition):** With the permission of the House, may I take advantage of this unique, non-partisan moment in order to recognize the contribution of the member for Essex South.



It seems to me that it's truly remarkable that at the age of 41, the member for Essex South is one of the longest-serving members of this House. It's remarkable that at a time of great volatility in politics, the constituents of Essex South have so consistently recognized the effectiveness of the representation that Remo Mancini has provided.

It's remarkable that Remo Mancini was just 23 years old when he was first elected to the Legislature in 1975, and it's even more remarkable that he was already a seasoned political veteran, having served as an elected official as reeve of Anderton township and as deputy reeve of Essex county.

There's one phrase that has been used consistently throughout all those years to describe Remo Mancini: He has always been a very determined individual. Some might add a little bit of embellishment to that, particularly if they happened to have been on the other side of the issue from Remo. "Pit bull" is a term that I have heard used from time to time, and a picture of Remo with a megaphone comes very readily to mind, although I can assure you that neither in committee nor in this House did Remo Mancini ever need any kind of amplification.

Remo has always been a very determined fighter for his constituents and for the issues that he cared about so passionately. He worked tirelessly and effectively in his cabinet portfolios, as minister responsible for disabled persons and then as Minister of Revenue.

I speak for all Liberal members when I say that we will miss Remo's contributions in our caucus and in this House, but I also speak on behalf of our members in wishing Remo well in his new career. After 18 years in the Legislature, and an entire career devoted to public service, a new and exciting opportunity has forced a decision that I know Remo found difficult to make.

He has earned the respect and the appreciation of his constituents over these past 18 years and they will, I know, be pleased that he is going to be able to stay in their community. He will continue to make important contributions to his community, and he will certainly have more time to spend with his family.

On behalf of all of us in the Liberal caucus, I want to express appreciation to Remo Mancini for his 18 years of service as the MPP for Essex South, and we want to offer him our very best wishes for great success in his new career and for much personal happiness.

**Mr Norman W. Sterling (Carleton):** On behalf of my caucus, I would like to say a few words about Mr Mancini and his contribution to this Legislature. It's somewhat coincidental that there are few members who have been here longer than I, and perhaps the only two that I can recall right now are the Treasurer and Mr Mancini. Just coincidentally, they are the only two

members in the Legislature who are shorter than myself as well. It says something about the stature of men in this place and how long they can stay around this place. You might want to include—never mind, Mr Speaker.

**Hon Floyd Laughren (Deputy Premier and Minister of Finance):** I used to be six feet tall.

**Mr Sterling:** For the record, the Treasurer wants to indicate that he was six feet when he was first elected to the Legislature. Times are tough.

I think Mr Mancini's record in the former Liberal cabinet bodes well for his new job as president of this new Fantasy Land. I believe that Remo would only wish that we continue our partisan positions, as he has always held a partisan position in this Legislature. No one was ever surprised, when they were in committee or in this Legislature, by the stance Remo Mancini would take in this Legislature. One of the things perhaps people do not understand in politics, as we hear from time to time people talk about free votes in this Legislature and all of those kinds of good individual stands—I think Remo Mancini perhaps, outside of his constituency, which he stood up for I think admirably during the time he was here, was a loyal party supporter and could be counted on by his party in this place and in committees, and he did a very good job for them there.

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I want to say that some of my colleagues who had experience with him during his period as a minister of the crown found that from time to time he would go against his civil servants and let the political will prevail. We in this party appreciated that as a cabinet minister, a politician, he would stand up for what he thought was right in spite of what the bureaucrats around him might have told him, and his decisions sometimes prevailed in those circumstances. The member for Leeds-Grenville was relating a story to me briefly about that before I stood up.

I always found that, when I was on a committee with Mr Mancini, before 1981 and during the last previous Parliament, he always participated; that, as his leader has said, he's a good fighter, and political parties appreciate good fighters to send into committees for committee work, because fighting is necessary in those particular committees.

I would like to wish him well and wish his family well. For a period of time, as you may know, Mr Mancini was ill in this Legislature. I can remember that period, when the many members of this Legislature prayed for his full recovery because of his tremendous participation in this Legislature and how much he gave to it. We were so happy to see his health return; we were happy to see him serve as a minister; we are happy to see him now go on to another stage of his life. I'm sure he will be equal to the challenge. Our best to

you, Remo, and our best to your family, who I know have been extremely supportive of you through all of your tremendous career here at Queen's Park.

**Hon David S. Cooke (Minister of Education and Training):** I'm tempted, as Remo's going to work with an amusement park facility down our way, to say something about him now really taking his constituents for a ride, but I wouldn't dare say anything about that.

**Mr Gregory S. Sorbara (York Centre):** How much did you pay for that one?

**Hon Mr Cooke:** It's the speechwriters in the Ministry of Education.

**Mr Sorbara:** Well, that's one civil servant who can go.

**Hon Mr Cooke:** When I read the article and was contacted by our local paper that Remo was going, my first reaction was, "Oh, great, another by-election." They've been a lot of fun so far.

**Mr Steven W. Mahoney (Mississauga West):** Are you running out of deposit money?

**Hon Mr Cooke:** They'll probably take it out of my riding.

Now I don't know what to say. Well, I do have some kind words to say about Remo, and they weren't produced by the Ministry of Education. Many of the members wouldn't know of Remo's reputation back in our area as well as those of us who come from Windsor-Essex. It is really true to say that Remo has over the years developed an incredible reputation down our way of working with individuals, but even more than doing the constituency work on individuals, it's the community networks working with the municipal government and with the school boards down that way that I think have earned him a reputation and, quite frankly, is the reason he got re-elected in the last election at a time that was difficult for his party. He survived that time when southwestern Ontario went a completely different way, and it's a personal tribute to the member for Essex South that he was re-elected because of his hard work back home.

I also know that many people down our way and elsewhere in the disabled community very much appreciated the leadership that he showed when he was in cabinet in the office for the disabled and I think was responsible for bringing many of those issues to government at the provincial level.

But there's one particular time when Remo and I got together that I think is important to repeat, because I think Remo would probably have the reputation in this place as being one of the more partisan members of the Legislature, as would I, I hope. But just before the 1985 election call, after the Catholic school funding had been announced by the then provincial government, there was

a very major meeting down in Essex county and Remo and I were invited to represent the provincial Legislature, not something that either of us looked forward to, since the people we were going to see were very much opposed. Considering the fact that an election call was only days away, I must say that the working relationship we developed to explain the government's position, the opposition's position, and no political rhetoric at all, was very important and I think a tribute to the approach Remo can take and will take on very difficult issues in our communities when it's the best thing for the community to proceed and deal with it in a non-partisan way.

Again, very respected in the county, very respected in the city, I know that Remo has for quite some time wanted to spend more time in Essex county with his family. This is completely understandable, and I know that Jo-Anne and his kids are going to very much appreciate the fact that he's going to be able to spend more time with them.

So I personally and on behalf of the government caucus wish you well, congratulate you on your 18-year record of service to the people of our area and the province, and good luck.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** In accepting the resignation from the honourable member for Essex South, may I say to him that he has served with distinction on both sides of this chamber for some 18 years. He has made friends. I will always value his friendship.

I think, perhaps more importantly, through the friends that he's made in all parties, he has demonstrated that he is a friend of Parliament, and that's a living legacy for the member for Essex South. My very best wishes for your future. Thank you for serving this House with distinction.

It is time for oral questions and the Leader of the Opposition.

#### ORAL QUESTIONS

##### LABOUR RELATIONS

**Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition):** Thank you very much, Mr Speaker. I will direct my first question to the Treasurer. Today the government began negotiating the so-called social contract. At least we think it was the beginning; we're a little unsure, with recent news reports. But on the very day that negotiations were scheduled to begin, or have begun, we are no closer to understanding what the social contract is and exactly what it is meant to achieve than we were two weeks ago. The press report suggests that even the Premier himself says that the social contract can't be defined until it is negotiated.

I would ask the Treasurer this: Taxpayers, public sector employees, want to know what you intend to



accomplish through the social contract. Can you tell us, how much money do you expect to save? What jobs are on the chopping block? Do you have any idea of what you are trying to do?

**Hon Floyd Laughren (Deputy Premier and Minister of Finance):** Perhaps I could answer the last part of the question first. Yes, we do have a pretty good idea of what we want to accomplish through the social contract negotiations. I hope the leader of the official opposition has been following the way this whole issue has unfolded, because what we said from the beginning—if you would allow me, Mr Speaker, to go back a bit—when we brought down our budget last spring, we said we had three priorities. One was to preserve the essential services of the province, the other was to do something on job creation, the best we could, and the other was to keep the deficit in check.

What we are saying now, to her and to everybody else in this province, is that there are three components to making those things happen. One is that we're able to continue to provide investment and encourage investment in this province, the other is that we have an obligation to raise revenues, and the third is that we must contain the expenditures of this province.

By putting those three components together in what I hope will be an equitable way, a way which will allow us to achieve our targets while at the same time being as fair as possible to the employees of this government and to all of the taxpayers all across this province, I hope that will be the result of the social contract, the negotiations we'll be entering into almost as we speak.

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**Mrs McLeod:** The Treasurer attempts to put as fine a face on this as he possibly can, but the reality is that this month the Premier emerged from your caucus retreat and discovered he had a financial crisis. Since then, this government has done absolutely nothing except create utter chaos and confusion.

Let me remind you of what has evolved in the last couple of weeks, Treasurer. There was first talk about 18,000 layoffs, the next day there was talk about wage rollbacks, the day after that there was some mention about the suspension of collective bargaining and then there was discussion about sitting down to negotiate something called a social contract, which nobody including the Premier can even define.

The fact is, if you wanted to get cooperation from unions, you should have sat down with them a year ago, when you could have discussed some plans and acted on some of the ideas. You didn't need to wait until the crisis hit.

Treasurer, you've got to bring in a budget one month from now. You know what the bottom lines for your

budget have to be. I ask you, is it not true that you're prepared to back up your budget decisions with legislation and that you have already hired legal counsel to begin drafting that legislation? Is it not true that this entire social contract negotiating process is a sham?

**Hon Mr Laughren:** I very much hope that in the dark recesses of the mind of the leader of the official opposition there isn't lying there perhaps a somewhat repressed hope that we will fail in this venture, because we are determined to make it work.

For the first time I think in the history of this country, we are prepared to sit down with the people who deliver very important services all across this country—employees all across this province and employees and employers in the broader public sector as well. I suspect the official opposition or the third party would simply have come in with some kind of sledgehammer and said, "This is the way we're going to do it." That's not the way this government operates.

What we are saying is that we are going to do the best we can to sit down with those people whom we consider to be our partners and see if we can work out the right combination of expenditure reductions and compensation in the public sector to see if we can arrive at a final product called the budget, at which point we will share it with everybody in the province.

**Mrs McLeod:** In the deep, dark recesses of my mind, I actually once had a little glimmer of hope that you would have figured out you had a problem in time to do something about it.

I would suggest that those very people whose cooperation you are now seeking to help you solve your problem are as confused about the process you've embarked upon as we are. You are well aware that the unions are threatening this province with an across-the-province strike if job cuts and wage rollbacks are part of the social contract. Now we have Michael Decter, who is your chief negotiator, apparently prepared to offer the unions greater control over government policies and government programs in return for their cooperation in cutting a deal. This only adds to our confusion about what in fact is going on.

I would ask you very specifically, as an example, is it now the government's intention to allow the Ontario Public Service Employees Union to stop decisions about government relocations to communities like St Catharines, Peterborough and Brantford? Is it your intention to hand over the decision-making powers to unions? Is this government so desperate for short-term, quick-fix solutions that you're actually prepared to hand over your long-term accountability?

**Hon Mr Laughren:** Nothing could be further from the truth, absolutely nothing. That is really silly talk coming from the leader of the official opposition.

I can tell you that what we are trying to do is sit down with the people who deliver the services in this province, both employees and employers, who know a great deal about the best way to deliver services and how to do it more efficiently than is being done now. We think we're the first government in the history of this province that has ever had the sensitivity to sit down with employees and say: "Is there a better way to make the whole system work? Because we want you, the employees of this government, to be a part of the solution to the problem in which we find ourselves."

I can tell you that from what I hear the leader of the official opposition saying, her idea of industrial relations is in some kind of time warp and, as far as her ideas of alternatives to the dilemma in which we find ourselves are concerned, I find that they are—are you ready for this?—completely bereft of substance.

**Mrs McLeod:** The time warp is the suggestion from the Treasurer that you could undertake the most extensive intervention in the collective bargaining progress we have ever contemplated and do it in a month, in time for his budget.

#### GOVERNMENT SPENDING

**Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition):** I will direct my second question, although on the same subject, in this case to the Chairman of Management Board. In a statement on the social contract, the Premier talked about the need for sacrifice and for restraint, but it seems to us that the Premier's vision about sacrifice and restraint begins everywhere except at home.

The Premier has talked about restructuring government. All we've seen are eight more MPPs on ministry payrolls. Meanwhile, the NDP has also increased its political staff since it took office by over 14%. Far from showing restraint, executive assistants to ministers, as an example, are now paid up to \$84,000, 17% more than they could have been paid when the NDP took office.

I simply ask the minister, is this your idea of getting your own house in order?

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Chairman of the Management Board of Cabinet):** The process that's gone on since the election of 1990, as the Leader of the Opposition has pointed out on a number of occasions, is a process that has involved discussions with the whole of the civil service in this province. There have been negotiations in 1990, 1991 and 1992 with the public sector. We have done the same with our own employees and, as we move into the kinds of discussions we're moving into with the public sector, we'll do the same with our own.

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Order. Supplementary.

**Mrs McLeod:** It is a little bit difficult to know how to frame a supplementary when the minister has responded to something entirely different from the question I asked, which was a question about political staff, entirely within the government's direct control, not a subject for negotiation with the union.

It seems to me that a reorganization in which you end up with more people and more costs is not exactly the model that this government would want to go into negotiations on the social contract with. The Ministry of Education and Training alone now supports six NDP MPPs. There is one superminister, one junior minister and four parliamentary assistants. The Premier's office numbers have increased by 54%, representing some additional 20 staff people.

Again I ask the minister, what message does this give to the people—

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Mrs McLeod:** —with whom you are now trying to negotiate cost restraints and rollbacks?

**Hon Mr Charlton:** I simply repeat my answer to the Leader of the Opposition's first question, that we'll deal, as we deal with the public service in this province, with our own employees with the same expectations.

**Mrs McLeod:** It seems to me that this government's credibility is in real question as it now sits down to talk with people about cost savings and spending cuts. If you're serious about cost cutting, it is important to consider all spending, both the big things and the little things. So let me ask the minister the most simple and most basic of questions.

It seems to me that it would have been so easy not to spend more taxpayers' dollars on meeting rooms when existing government facilities are available at virtually no additional cost to the taxpayers. We know that over 100 people attended the secret cabinet meetings this weekend, where no decisions were to be made, and that this cost the taxpayer something between \$7,000 and \$18,000. Now, Minister, I acknowledge that is not a big sum of money in relation to a \$17-billion deficit, but that kind of expense certainly flies in the face of everything this government keeps saying about cost restraints and trying to control expenditures.

I simply ask you, if your government wanted to cut spending, why didn't you start by holding the meeting in the Macdonald Block next door, where there were rooms available at virtually no cost?

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**Hon Mr Charlton:** There are no facilities where there are no costs. We held the cabinet meeting over the weekend in a facility that we happen to own.



The member likes to ask about cost-cutting. In the political staff to which the Leader of the Opposition has referred, there have been cuts. We went through cuts just two short months ago, cuts that reduced staff and saved dollars to the tune of \$250,000 in terms of salaries and wages.

**The Speaker:** New question. The leader of the third party.

**Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing):** My question is to the Treasurer, Minister of Finance—I'm not sure of his new title. I know there are so many.

Treasurer, you've been making the claim that in a no-change scenario, if you don't take any action, you'll have a \$17-billion deficit. However, Treasurer, that figure is arrived at only if you spend next year 9.1% more than you did in this current year.

Surely with inflation running 1.5% to 2%, you don't intend to increase spending by that amount. For example, your own numbers indicate health care spending will go up 4.9%, compared to less than 1% last year. I'm sure that number serves Mr Decter well in the discussions he's about to undertake and puts him in a rather embarrassing position. Spending on education last year fell 3%, but you say this year it's going to go up 9.2% according to your projections.

How can you justify these massive increases in expenditures at the same time as you're calling for cutbacks?

**Hon Floyd Laughren (Deputy Premier and Minister of Finance):** We can't; that's exactly the point. I'm glad to have the leader of the third party reinforce it. We cannot have those kinds of increases in expenditures for 1993-94. We understand that. That's one reason we spent the weekend at the government-owned facility just this past weekend dealing with the whole question of expenditures and expenditure reductions.

**Mr Harris:** Well, why would you print those numbers?

**Hon Mr Laughren:** What we're trying to tell you is that that's the direction we were headed unless we take these actions. That's exactly where we were going to be. There's nothing mysterious about it.

**Mr Harris:** What Minister of Education said they wanted 9% more?

**Hon Mr Laughren:** If you'd let me answer the question, if you think that we would have anything to gain by jacking up our numbers on expenditures, I don't know what you think it would be. I don't know wherein you think the gain would lie, because that would inflame you, for example, if we were to announce that we had expenditure increases of 9% next year, and we're saying that's completely unacceptable. That's one point.

Second point: We say that the deficit level is unsustainable at those levels and we are determined to get those deficit levels down—

**The Speaker:** Will the minister conclude his response, please.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** —so that we can put that money into job creation and the protection of services in this province.

**Mr Harris:** You still didn't tell me whether it was the Minister of Education who said he wanted 9% more. Was it the Minister of Health or Michael Decter who said he wanted 4.5% more? Where did the numbers come from? That was the simple question.

Now, will the Minister of Finance agree with me that if total expenditures for the province of Ontario were not cut but flat-lined—if you didn't cut, but you flat-lined the total expenditures from last year—the budget deficit would be \$12.6 billion, not \$17 billion? Those are your figures, not mine, if you just flat-line the expenditures instead of going up 9.1.

So if you work downwards from there, from your figures, flat-lining—the Conference Board of Canada projects provincial tax revenue increases of 7%. I know you disagree with them, but, you know, given your record over the last three years—and I know how tough it is to forecast—I think the Conference Board of Canada has a little more credibility than you do, Mr Treasurer, if you check the numbers. Given that if you have an increase of 7% and you flat-line expenditures, without actually cutting, just flat-lining, you are starting your negotiations from a deficit position of \$9.2 billion.

Can you explain to me why you're running around this province telling the unions, telling financial institutions, that your no-change scenario is \$17 billion, when in fact, if you would flat-line your expenses, take the conference board figures, the deficit's \$9.2 billion? Can you explain that?

**Hon Mr Laughren:** I'm not sure I can the way the leader of the third party has put his question, but I'm also not sure whether he's saying relax, there's not a problem out there, which is very strange coming from the leader of the third party.

**Hon Gilles Pouliot (Minister of Transportation and Minister Responsible for Francophone Affairs):** He wants to spend more. You have to be prudent, Mike. You can't go on, spend, spend, spend, Mike.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Order.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** We believe we cannot sustain—  
*Interjection.*

**The Speaker:** The member for Etobicoke West.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** We believe we cannot sustain the growth in expenditures that in many cases has been

built into the system. It really has become a structural deficit, keeping in mind that year after year after year programs were layered one on top of the other and nothing was lopped off the bottom. That was done by governments going right back to the Tories and the Liberals.

What we are saying is enough is enough, the time has come to get our house in order because we think that our priorities should be the creation of new jobs in this province and the protection of essential services. There's nothing mysterious about that. We think that for the long-run health of this province, this is the kind of action that we simply must take.

**Mr Harris:** I agree \$9.2 billion is unacceptable. It was just two years ago 5,000 people stood on the front lawn and said your \$10-billion deficit was unacceptable, that it needed to be cut. Now \$10 billion seems to be your target. I agree, there's built-in spending in the programs that the Liberals irresponsibly brought into this province through their five-year tenure. We agree with all that.

But, Treasurer, if your target is only \$9 billion, and I suggest to you it should be lower than that if you want to actually cut, can you explain to me, given the Conference Board of Canada projections, given you don't have to cut a nickel, just flat-line, why you're talking about tax hikes to get below \$10 billion? Can you explain that?

**Hon Mr Laughren:** The leader of the official opposition has been around here long enough to know—

*Interjection.*

**Hon Mr Laughren:** Long enough, period, yes—to know that flat-lining isn't as simple as he puts it. What do you do with entitlement programs? What do you do with increases in enrolments in our post-secondary institutions? What do you do with the increases on the public debt, because even a small deficit adds to the total debt and increases the interest on the public debt that we have to pay. You cannot get away with a simplistic analysis that says that if you just flat-line all programs you don't have to take any cuts. That is simply ludicrous.

**Mr Harris:** I'll tell the Treasurer this: I wouldn't put up with a Minister of Education who says, "I want to spend 9% more money next year," and I wouldn't print it. I wouldn't even print it to embarrass him.

#### LABOUR DISPUTE

**Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing):** My second question is to the Chairman of Management Board. I have a copy of an interest arbitration award made on June 29, 1992. It concerns a dispute between Sudbury Youth Services and OPSEU. On page 6 of the award, the chair of the arbitration board specifically points to

the "involvement of various government ministers in ending the strike."

Minister, can you tell me why the Treasurer, why the Minister of Northern Development, why the MPP for Sudbury and why the former Chairman of Management Board were interfering in a process of dispute resolution between the management and the employees of the Sudbury Youth Services?

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Chairman of the Management Board of Cabinet):** No, I can't.

**Mr Harris:** As the Chairman of Management Board and given the very strong condemnation written right into the judgement by the panel, I am astounded that that hasn't been brought to your attention. I'm astounded it hasn't been brought to your attention, but let me bring it to your attention.

The arbitrator states that the government—this is in quotes—"effectively abandoned its role as a neutral third party, usurped the prerogatives and the bargaining rights of management, utterly compromised the next set of negotiations; the government destroyed management's credibility."

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Minister, given these comments, would you not agree that the Treasurer, the Minister of Northern Development and the former Chair of Management Board acted improperly in a labour dispute?

**Hon Mr Charlton:** Based on the information that was passed to me this afternoon, I can't conclude that but I'm certainly prepared to look into the matter.

**Mr Harris:** I appreciate your looking into the matter. Interest arbitration, you know, is an alternative to collective bargaining that was chosen by management and by employees.

Certainly, the Treasurer and the former Chair of Management Board knew better than to interfere. The ministers had to know that they were violating, if not the act, potentially the conflict of interest act and certainly the spirit of the Ontario Labour Relations Act.

In summary, the arbitrator in this matter concluded, "The government was an officious meddler and as such must bear the consequences of its actions."

Minister, I would ask you, as the Chair of Management Board, and in the absence of the Premier, who doesn't set any standards anyway: How many more times will you as Chairman of Management Board allow members of your government to intervene in places where they have no business intervening and before—"before," because the Premier will not set any standards for that—we have even more negotiations under your government's control and your ministry's control compromised in the province of Ontario? Can



you tell me that?

**Hon Mr Charlton:** I have given my assurance to the member that I'll look into the matter and I'm not going to comment any further until I have.

#### LABOUR RELATIONS

**Mr Gerry Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt):** My question is to the Minister of Finance. Minister, the purpose of the question is to try to get a better idea of the goals you have and your government has for the budget and the negotiation process that's ongoing right now.

Our understanding is fairly clearly that your target is now a deficit of between \$8 billion and \$10 billion, and that's a combined what you would call operating and capital deficit—between \$8 billion and \$10 billion.

We understand that the compensation package for the public sector and broader public sector is about \$43 billion, from your documents. We further understand, from media reports, that it is your intention to reduce that by the range of \$2 billion to \$3 billion. That, I understand from published reports, is the target.

Can you confirm for the House today that that is the goal the government has set for itself as it opens this round of collective bargaining?

**Hon Floyd Laughren (Deputy Premier and Minister of Finance):** I think the member for Scarborough-Agincourt would not want me to engage in collective bargaining in the Legislative Assembly in case somebody's watching, and I wouldn't want to confirm or deny that. All I can say to the member for Scarborough-Agincourt is that we do see the necessity of sitting down with the employees and employers out there in the public sector and seeing what kind of solution can be arrived at in order that we are able to achieve the goals that the member refers to, which are accurate.

**Mr Phillips:** The reason I raise it is that I think that unless you clarify that—and we've had the Premier apparently indicating it's \$2 billion to \$3 billion—the problem is that we have—and all of us have been through this in talking to individuals on the week-end—extreme rumours. We have people thinking there's going to be a 20% reduction in the public service; we have others who believe they're going to have a 15% wage rollback; there's also talk about a six, six and six program.

The problem is that with those kinds of rumours it makes it very difficult for both sides to enter this process if you don't put some walls around your goals and objectives. And if you want to leave it to rumour rather than allowing the parties to deal as well as they can with fact, and you've laid out your targets for your budget—you know what kinds of revenues you're going to get. You know what revenues are coming in. You

have a window. You know the numbers. I would say to you, Treasurer or Minister of Finance, and I'd say to the Premier that you can make this process proceed far better if the two sides have some idea of what your goals and your objectives are, rather than allowing rumours to run rampant.

I wonder if you would undertake to commit to the people of Ontario and the members of the House that you will outline today—ideally today; if not, very shortly—what the goals are that the government has set for itself as it heads into this important collective bargaining process.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** First of all, Mr Speaker, I don't think the member would want us to sit down with people to engage in a collective bargaining process, maybe not collective bargaining in the way many of us have seen it in the past, and go in and say, "This is it; our way or the highway, and nothing is negotiable." I mean, it is a negotiating process that we're engaged in and to foreclose that aspect of it really wouldn't make any sense at all.

I would make a commitment to the member for Scarborough-Agincourt, though, that we will be sharing more information with the assembly, with the public at large and with the people at the social contract table with the kind of decisions that we have to make and that they can help us make; at least, I assume that they will help us make those decisions.

#### WAGE PROTECTION

**Mrs Elizabeth Witmer (Waterloo North):** I would like to ask the Minister of Labour to confirm that it currently takes one year to 18 months for claims filed with the wage protection program to be processed and paid.

**Hon Bob Mackenzie (Minister of Labour):** To the best of my knowledge, that is an extensive time frame. I think at the moment, it's between five and six months to finalize a claim.

**Mrs Witmer:** Minister, you should check your facts with your officials, because when I called them last week I was told that it was not at all unusual for claimants to wait 12 to 18 months for their claims to be validated and paid. Indeed, a group of 88 workers at Waterloo Industries in Waterloo filed a claim 14 months ago. When my office called to check on the status of that particular claim, we were told that despite the fact that the claim had been filed in February 1992, nobody—if you can believe this—has yet been assigned to investigate and validate the claim.

Minister, this is another example of your government's mismanagement. This wage protection program is a cruel joke that's being perpetrated by your government on the workers of this province. It fails to promote

economic renewal, and yet in a news release that you issued October 16, 1991, you said: "This program is a key initiative to promote economic renewal in Ontario. It is important that employees who have worked and earned these wages receive their money in a timely way."

Minister, in order to avoid economic hardship for workers and their families, why have you personally not taken steps to become aware of what's going on to ensure that these claims are processed more quickly?

**Hon Mr Mackenzie:** I think the member across the way should know that we've paid out more than \$83 million already to workers who—

**Hon Gilles Pouliot (Minister of Transportation and Minister Responsible for Francophone Affairs):** You didn't even support the bill.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Order.

**Hon Mr Mackenzie:** It's their own money, what they're entitled to. We have covered more than 39,000 workers. We started with a delay period that was close to a year and worked that down to about five and a half months. That does not mean there may not be individual cases that will go longer than that, but we are simply paying out money to an extent and to the number of workers who are not getting it anywhere else in North America, and it's not within the time frames that the member is raising.

**The Speaker:** The Minister of Housing with the response to a question asked earlier.

#### LAND-LEASE COMMUNITIES

**Hon Evelyn Gigantes (Minister of Housing):** I would like to correct the record of last Thursday's question period, in which I was responding to a question from the member for Durham East on the subject of land-lease communities.

I indicated at that time that the Rental Housing Protection Act applied to those communities. It does not. But I would like to underline what I said in that response, which is that we are anxious to help people who live in land-lease communities in mobile homes—

**Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West):** You can't even get your plant questions right. Holy smokes.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Order.

**Hon Ms Gigantes:** —to take full advantage of protections that are provided them under the Landlord and Tenant Act and the rent control act.

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#### LABOUR RELATIONS

**Mr Steven W. Mahoney (Mississauga West):** My question is to the Minister of Labour. Minister, you will have heard the Treasurer's response earlier with regard

to a question asked by my leader on the social contract negotiations that are going on. He said that his goal was "to preserve services, to create jobs and to fight the deficit."

Minister, from what we hear, the social contract plan is already in a shambles. In fact, the latest information I have is that the negotiations have been postponed; we're not sure until when. The civil service, of course, is threatening job action across the province. Minister, it seems to me that you're going to be left with one choice: You're going to have to bring in legislation to override the existing collective bargaining agreements between the public sector unions and your government.

You, sir, are the minister, entrusted with ensuring harmonious relationships. In fact, from your own government publication it says, "The Ministry of Labour's mission is to advance safe, fair and harmonious workplace practices, which are essential to the social and economic wellbeing of the people of Ontario." That's your ministry description of your role. Legislation to override existing public sector agreements would violate that collective bargaining process, which you above all members in the government are dedicated to supporting. Would you, the Minister of Labour, support legislation that abrogates the existing public sector collective agreements and flies in the face of collective bargaining in this province?

**Hon Bob Mackenzie (Minister of Labour):** I want to say that we're sitting down in an effort, as we call it, at a social contract with the workers in the province of Ontario because we have simply recognized that the current expenditures of the province of Ontario cannot continue at the same rate they have. We have decided that rather than just deciding we're going to do a wage freeze or a rollback or something unilateral, it makes a lot more sense to sit down, put the situation in the province of Ontario on the table, put some of the options we've thought of and say to our colleagues across the table: "Have you got other ideas? Can you give us some better answers? Will you sit down and discuss the kind of problems we have in the province of Ontario?" We think that is the essence of collective bargaining in this province, which we are prepared to do, and it's not any prejudged route that we've gone.

**Mr Mahoney:** There are many labour leaders in this province who I think would be somewhat shocked to hear particularly this minister, a former active member and organizer for the United Steelworkers, standing up in this place and in essence saying that he will be prepared indeed—that's what I heard—to take away their rights to collective bargaining. Further to that, what he's saying is that the new way for the NDP to bargain in good faith is to do it through the media with threats of rollbacks and layoffs.



*Interjection.*

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Order. The member for Chatham-Kent, come to order.

**Mr Mahoney:** Instead of sitting down with these people in a reasonable way, through economic terrorism they're challenging all the unions to get involved in the political fight of their lives, forcing them to threaten province-wide cuts.

**The Speaker:** Would the member place a question.

**Mr Mahoney:** Can Bob Mackenzie really be the Minister of Labour that is supporting these tactics? It's astounding to me. Minister, is this why you became the Minister of Labour in this government, to take away workers' rights? Do you feel that this is a fair use of government power against the public service unions? Will you answer that question directly?

**Hon Mr Mackenzie:** I want to say that the fight I've had all my life is to see that workers and their organizations do have a say in the decisions that are made. Many of the decisions that have been made in the past in this province have not given them any credit or recognized that they may have a contribution to make to our future. When we're faced with the kind of problems we're facing, we want to involve the workers of the province of Ontario; that's exactly what we're trying to do.

#### ACADEMIC STREAMING

**Mrs Dianne Cunningham (London North):** My question is for the Minister of Education and Training. Mr Minister, with the new destreaming initiative that your government is implementing, all students will be in one class, regardless of their ability. We know that all students should be challenged on a regular basis. With destreaming, neither our gifted students nor our learning disabled students can receive the individual stimulation that is needed for them to develop their true potential, which is a principle, Mr Minister, that you worked very hard for during those long and hard debates around special education legislation in this province. Your party knows it as well as ours does.

If schools are no longer able to offer advanced, general or basic level classes designed to meet the particular needs of our students, how will our special students be challenged on a regular basis?

**Hon David S. Cooke (Minister of Education and Training):** I appreciate the question, and I think it's important for the member and all members of the House to take a look at some of the evidence and the discussion that took place in the select committee of the Legislature on education that looked at the question of streaming and destreaming and came to the conclusion that grade 9, and in fact grade 10, should be destreamed.

I don't think it's appropriate or a fair description of what the government is doing to say it is anything terribly radical. We already destream at the elementary level. All we're suggesting is that grade 9 be destreamed so that kids are not streamed off and opportunities and alternatives closed off to them at the end of grade 8.

Much work has gone into this, not only by our government but by previous governments. We know that the current streamed system in the province does not serve working-class kids and kids of immigrant families and other disadvantaged families very well at all; in fact it serves them very poorly. This government is absolutely committed to equity in education, and equity will be served with a destreamed system at the grade 9 level.

**Mrs Cunningham:** The minister is absolutely wrong when he says all elementary classes are destreamed. That's not in fact the case. There are many streamed classes in our elementary schools, especially to meet the needs of our special education students, and many of our ongoing English-as-a-second-language classes will have to be destreamed at the secondary level in order to meet the needs.

But we have a specific example for you, Mr Minister, that we hope you'll listen carefully to. Chippewa Secondary School in North Bay currently offers a grade 9 University of Waterloo mathematics contest class. These special contest classes are being implemented around the province and the universities look very closely at how the schools do in these contest classes in order to encourage women and men to enter into engineering, science and mathematics studies at the university level.

In 30 contests held over the last six years, the school has received 21 firsts and has been the top finisher among North Bay secondary schools some 24 times. Students cover the same material as their peers but at a much quicker pace. These students significantly benefit from this type of challenge, and it's the kind of focus the universities are putting on mathematics classes as pre-engineering requirements.

Since we are striving for excellence and the principal of this school was told by an assistant deputy minister—

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Would the member place her question, please.

**Mrs Cunningham:** —that this class will no longer be offered under destreaming, my question is this: How can we justify, given our objectives, the deputy minister's comments around this class? Why will this particular class and classes like it not be allowed? At the same time, I have to tell you that I am a member of one of the subcommittees of the Premier's Council which is recommending those kinds of classes, and I'm asking for a clarification here.

**Hon Mr Cooke:** I'll have to take a look at the specific class the member is referring to, but I can say that one thing I do not support as Minister of Education would be an approach that only a certain number of classes and a certain number of students get the best education in the province. If there's a problem with the regular classrooms in this province, if we need to improve those classes, then it's our position that we should be doing that for all the students of the province, not just a few. That's our goal, to make the entire system excellent, not just part of the system excellent.

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#### PAY EQUITY

**Mrs Ellen MacKinnon (Lambton):** My question is for the minister responsible for women's issues, and if I may, I'd like to take a moment to congratulate the minister on the position she has accepted and give her my best wishes.

Statistics Canada, as you know, released a report on April 15, 1993, which states that the number of women in the highest-paying occupations has increased by 53% in the five-year period between 1985 and 1990. While this is fine for those women who have made these significant gains, most women still remain in traditional occupations which are low-paid. My question, Madam Minister, is, what is the government of Ontario doing for the women who account for 72% of all people in the 10 poorest-paid occupations?

**Hon Marion Boyd (Minister Responsible for Women's Issues):** I'm pleased that the member has raised the question, because as a government we certainly recognize that although women have made significant inroads into the highest-paid occupations, we still earn on average 61% of what men earn in the same occupations. That's why our pay equity bill is so important to us. All women should be earning the amount of money that adequately compensates them for the true value of their work. Our legislation will add over 400,000 women to the legislation that now covers pay equity.

In addition, we've developed some creative projects to introduce young women into non-traditional trades. One of the examples would be the women's access to apprenticeship program. The Jobs Ontario Training fund is also another program that is geared to help women in the lowest-paid sectors access long-term and better-paying jobs. It helps them to break their dependency on social assistance by providing child care subsidies in addition to the training subsidy that's provided by the private sector job.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Could the minister conclude her response, please.

**Hon Mrs Boyd:** Of course, then, employment equity is the other issue to encourage women to fully partici-

pate in the labour force.

#### TRANSITIONAL ASSISTANCE FUNDING

**Mr Charles Beer (York North):** My question is for the Minister of Education and Training. Minister, as you know, there are several major problem areas that are facing your ministry. We've already heard from our colleague the member for London North around the mismanagement of the whole destreaming issue. I now want to raise the question of funding.

Minister, it's now over six months since the government announced that there were going to be some \$53 million provided for transition projects, and a very elaborate system was set out. Much was made by the government of those funds. The minister must recognize that any commitment of dollars to school boards is precious because of the very difficult financial situation they find themselves in.

It is my understanding that as of today, of those \$53 million that were promised, that were committed by your government, only \$20 million have actually gone out to school boards. Minister, can you tell us, will the remaining \$33 million actually get to school boards, and when will you be announcing that those moneys are going to flow?

**Hon David S. Cooke (Minister of Education and Training):** I believe it's a little higher than \$20 million that went out before the end of the last fiscal year, and the balance of the money was carried over to the new fiscal year. But as with all expenditures of the government, that expenditure and those dollars are being reviewed and a final decision hasn't been made.

**Mr Beer:** The minister's answer leads me then into the second part of the question. If, as is clear from what the minister has just said, it is quite possible that a commitment which the government made last year to school boards is in fact not going to be met, let me then ask the minister about the strange 2% figure, the \$99 million which this government stated last fall was going to flow to school boards. Remember again that this is a government that said, "When we make a commitment on funding, we are going to honour it." That 2% turned out to be a \$99-million fund which, if the boards were good girls and boys, might just flow and might not.

In the month of March, you sent out a series of memoranda to school board chairs and then directors of education which indicated that the \$99 million would flow in July 1993. Minister, the question is, can you state to this House today that in fact every cent of those \$99 million, of that sum, will actually flow to school boards, or have you already said that this money is now off the table and no such funding will be provided to the school boards, whether in July or in any other month of this year?



**Hon Mr Cooke:** I can tell the member that there are a lot of difficult decisions that are facing this cabinet and the Minister of Education and Training. Priorities are going to have to be set. Yes, he's correct that a letter went out in March indicating that the \$99 million in transitional funding would go out in July. But I cannot make an absolute commitment, in view of the falling revenues and the difficulties the government finds itself in, that this money will still go out. No decisions are final at this point.

#### INTERIM WASTE AUTHORITY SPENDING

**Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel):** I have a question for the minister responsible for the greater Toronto area. Your ministry gave the Interim Waste Authority \$25 million last year to set up, operate and find three dump sites to serve the greater Toronto area. That money, as I understand, has been spent in the first year of operation. Mr Minister, I would like you to clarify to this House exactly how much the Interim Waste Authority is going to spend for the entire process of establishing three dumps in the greater Toronto area.

**Hon Ed Philip (Minister of Municipal Affairs):** I'll let the Minister of the Environment respond to the member.

**Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West):** What's the answer?

**Mr Tilson:** Do I understand the minister's saying it's not his ministry? I'm shocked. I think he's dead wrong. If he looks at his portfolio, he is responsible for the greater Toronto area. The Interim Waste Authority money came from your ministry. I'm shocked that you don't know what's going on over there. You have no idea what's going on. I must confess, you're giving this Interim Waste Authority a blank cheque to write unbelievable amounts of money and you have no idea that it's coming from your ministry.

I'm going to ask the minister again the question whether he has any idea whether he's responsible for the funding of the Interim Waste Authority. Talk it over with your colleague; you're responsible.

**Hon Mr Philip:** The honourable member should know that it's an arm's-length authority. I do not have an up-to-date figure on that at the moment. I said that I would get the information for him. The member obviously didn't listen to the answer to his first question or he wouldn't have asked the second question in the way in which he did.

#### ONTARIO ECONOMY

**Mr Donald Abel (Wentworth North):** My question is for the Treasurer. In a recent edition of the *St George's Lance*, the member for Brant-Haldimand, in his Queen's Park report, made some very interesting comments. In his report he wrote, "In addition to the rising unemploy-

ment figures in the province of Ontario, the deficit is running out of control." He also put in his Queen's Park report, "Since the NDP took power in 1990, the province has gone from a modest surplus of \$100,000 to an astonishing deficit of over \$13 billion." He also put in his report, "By the end of Bob Rae's term of office, he and his government will have more than doubled the total debt of the province to well over \$80 billion." He concluded, "Lack of fiscal responsibility will surely encourage or discourage our recovery."

My question to the Treasurer is, are these comments valid or is the member for Brant-Haldimand merely on a flight of fantasy?

**Hon Floyd Laughren (Deputy Premier and Minister of Finance):** Did the member for Brant-Haldimand really say that? The member for Brant-Haldimand is not far off when he talks about the increasing size of the total debt. That is a very major problem, and it's one reason we're going through what we're going through now. So I don't have any problem with that.

However, I would urge all members of the Liberal caucus to be very careful in their criticism in order that they don't embarrass themselves, because I would remind you that in the 1980s, when we had record growth in the economy in this province, at the same time we had record tax increases brought in by the Liberal government. Despite those two factors, that government increased the public debt by 33% in five short years.

**Mr Gerry Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt):** Baloney.

**Hon Gilles Pouliot (Minister of Transportation):** You didn't even budget for it.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Order, the Minister of Transportation.

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#### NIAGARA PENINSULA CHILDREN'S CENTRE

**Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines):** This question is for the Minister of Health. Everyone in the House knows that the Minister of Health has been allocated a certain amount of money within the budget that has been provided last year by the Treasurer, and that she will have a certain amount this year.

From within that allocation that she will be given by the Treasurer for the purposes of expenditures in the province, would the minister assure the people of the Niagara Peninsula, specifically those who have children who receive services at the Niagara Peninsula Children's Centre, that she will be giving the final approval for construction to commence on the redevelopment project, which will at long last give an opportunity for those children to be adequately cared for by the very dedicated staff which is in place at this time?

**Hon Ruth Grier (Minister of Health):** I'm sure the member for St Catharines, given his long interest in this subject, will know that the planning for the project about which he is concerned has been going on for much longer than the last couple of years. I know I heard his statement this afternoon in members' statements. I have undertaken to ask my ministry for an up-to-date status report on the project. Other members in the Niagara Peninsula have already indicated to me their interest in seeing this proceed, and while I cannot give the member a definite yes or no at this point, I can assure him of my interest and that I will follow up on the subject.

**Mr Bradley:** The original approval to move forward with this project was in April 1990, and we are now in April 1993, some three years later. The centre looks after the requirements of more than 1,000 children with physical and communicative disabilities from a building which is designed for perhaps 400 to 500 children.

In light of the fact that the fund-raising committee has been raising funds sometimes based on the fact that the project will be moving forward expeditiously, and in light of the fact that the Ministry of Community and Social Services has indicated that it has \$600,000 for part of this project but that that may disappear after a two-year period of time, would the minister not agree with me that since they've gone through all the steps, since they have sent communications to the ministry, as I have in March of this year and previous to that, it would be advisable to move forward immediately with this project to provide those essential services for disadvantaged children in the Niagara region?

**Hon Mrs Grier:** I am well aware of the very good work that this centre does and of the importance to it of having a decision on its future. I'm also aware of the amount of volunteer effort that goes into this centre and the amount of fund-raising that the community has undertaken, and I commend them highly for that support and for that work. But the member will also realize that we have to begin to plan and to manage our health and social services systems in a way that the minister in his government suggested needed to be done and that our government has in fact begun to do.

All of the children's centres are under review. I understand that review is almost completed, and I can undertake to him that I will have him an answer just as soon as I possibly can.

#### COUNTY RESTRUCTURING

**Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East):** My question is for the Minister of Municipal Affairs, and I hope he's more briefed on municipal affairs than he is on the IWA.

Last weekend, I had the chance to attend many functions in the riding, and the conversation very

strongly talked about this county restructuring.

There's a resolution coming before county council next week asking them not to proceed with county restructuring. If the resolution carries to stop county restructuring, I would like to know what your reaction would be, and if the resolution fails, do you plan on bringing in legislation this session to proceed with county restructuring?

**Hon Ed Philip (Minister of Municipal Affairs):** I can tell the member—indeed I've offered him and other members in Simcoe a briefing on restructuring in Simcoe—that my staff and the local government representatives have been working very hard at bringing about some understanding of what can be done in terms of restructuring. Tiny township and Midland have concluded some differences they had concerning the issue of compensation, and that was a major breakthrough as we move towards a restructuring.

I've told all the parties concerned that I am prepared to move with legislation provided that they can reach a consensus on what has to be done in that area. My staff continue to work with them, and the moment we are able to develop the kind of consensus that will allow us to introduce legislation, we'll be happy to proceed.

As I said, my staff are in the process of contacting all the MPPs who are interested in this issue to come to a meeting, and we'll give them an update on exactly how our deliberations are going on this important issue.

**Mr McLean:** Thank you, Minister, for the invitation, and yes, I'll be there. But many of the reeves—I wanted the issue raised as soon as possible so they would have some input in that resolution they're going to deal with next week. A lot of them, I know, have sent a letter indicating that they want to know what your position is, and we want to find out whether you're going to proceed or whether you're not.

County council sent a resolution to your previous minister with regard to section 33 within that proposed legislation. It's very concerning to them to have that removed. Your previous minister said he would not remove it. The question I have is, in order to proceed with that legislation and to try and get some cooperation from this side, would you remove section 33 from that?

**Hon Mr Philip:** I've told all municipalities that I will review the status of all the outstanding issues, including those in Simcoe, and I intend to review all of the issues.

Again, my staff are working with all of the parties to try and bring about a consensus on all of the issues. Hopefully, with the help of the honourable member and other MPPs as well as some understanding and cooperation of all of the elected representatives in the area, we will arrive at some kind of consensus and can move



with legislation that'll be satisfactory. Without that consensus, then I don't think we will be proceeding.

#### GOVERNMENT SPENDING

**Mr Mike Farnan (Cambridge):** My question is to the Treasurer. Over the past year, I've heard members of both opposition parties rise in this House and put forward questions to ministers of this government that demand additional spending. One would get the impression that the opposition parties in this House are intent on a policy of "Spend, spend, spend."

Now, Treasurer, we are trying to take a responsible direction of fiscal restraint. Is it possible, Treasurer, that you could provide, let's say, the approximate cost of the spending proposals that have emanated from the opposition benches over the last 12 months?

#### *Interjections.*

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Order.

**Hon Floyd Laughren (Deputy Premier and Minister of Finance):** We could, but we're not prepared to invest in a computer that will take numbers up that high. I would say, however, that what the member for Cambridge refers to is absolutely true.

You know, last week, I must confess, I was on my sickbed and I was watching television. I was watching the opposition members demand more and more spending. They haven't stopped. They're still demanding more and more spending, and they never say, "Why don't you end this program if you're going to introduce a new one?" No, no, they just keep saying, "Spend more and more and more." Those days are over, despite the fact that the opposition would like them to continue.

#### PETITIONS

##### DEVELOPMENTALLY DISABLED

**Mr John C. Cleary (Cornwall):** I have a petition signed by 1,495 residents of Cornwall and Stormont county. It's addressed to the honourable Minister of Community and Social Services and the Legislative Assembly.

"We, the undersigned, call on the government of Ontario to reverse its decision to cut funding to community services for people who have developmental disabilities.

"The effect of such cuts will result in unacceptable hardship to vulnerable people and their families. In Cornwall and Stormont county, hundreds of citizens depend on their services and rely on the government to ensure their continuation through the commitment of an annualized budget that reflects the realities of escalating costs of living."

I also have signed this petition.

#### LANDFILL

**Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham):** This is a petition signed by residents from Unionville and the town of Markham.

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas on October 24, 1991, the NDP government introduced Bill 143, the Waste Management Act, and tried to force the Legislature to pass the bill before Christmas 1991 without public consultation or notification to affected municipalities and residents and without naming the candidate landfill sites; and

"Whereas the NDP were forced into five weeks of public hearings and listened to over 200 presenters, all recommending amendments to Bill 143; and

"Whereas the NDP refused to listen or to pass any opposition amendments to Bill 143 which would protect and secure individual and municipal rights to full environmental assessment hearings on waste alternatives such as rail haul; and

"Whereas the NDP used their majority to pass Bill 143 on April 23, 1992, with the full support and endorsement from Jim Wiseman, MPP, Durham West, Larry O'Connor, MPP, Durham-York, Gordon Mills, MPP, Durham East; and

"Whereas the NDP named 57 candidate landfill sites on June 4, 1992; and

"Whereas Ruth Grier and the Premier refuse to meet with groups opposing the dumps and refuse to consider the alternatives like rail haul, contrary to Mrs Grier's support of rail haul in January 1991; and

"Whereas Mrs Grier refused to meet with the residents and mayor of Kirkland Lake to review the Adams mine proposal and proceeded to ban rail haul without considering the impact on the northern economy; and

"Whereas the NDP government created the Interim Waste Authority to find a solution to GTA waste and operate independently from the Ministry of the Environment, but at the same time the IWA must adhere to Mrs Grier's ideology and her ban of waste alternatives such as rail haul and incineration; and

"Whereas the IWA and the NDP government refuse to conduct an environmental assessment on the alternatives and remain firm on subjecting communities in the regions of York, Durham and Peel to a process that ignores their fundamental rights to a review of alternatives and employs a system of criteria ranking that defies logic and leads to the selection of dump sites on environmentally sensitive areas, prime agricultural land and sites located near urban areas;

"We, the undersigned, want Bill 143 revoked and replaced with a bill that would allow a full environmental assessment on all waste management options."

So submitted and signed by myself.

#### GAMBLING

**Mr Dennis Drainville (Victoria-Haliburton):** Of these petitions I have today, again on the casino issue, none of them are from Dunsford or Bobcaygeon, but many people from Tottenham and Palgrave and Peterborough. They say:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the New Democratic Party government has traditionally had a commitment to family life and quality of life for all the citizens of Ontario; and

"Whereas families are made more emotionally and economically vulnerable by the operation of various gaming and gambling ventures; and

"Whereas the New Democratic Party government has had a historical concern for the poor in society who are particularly at risk each time the practice of gambling is expanded; and

"Whereas the New Democratic Party has in the past vociferously opposed the raising of moneys for the state through gambling; and

"Whereas the citizens of Ontario have not been consulted regarding the introduction of legalized gambling casinos despite the fact that such a decision is a significant change of government policy and was never part of the mandate given to the government by the people of Ontario,

"Therefore, we, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the government immediately cease all moves to establish gambling casinos and that appropriate legislation be introduced into the assembly along with a process which includes significant opportunities for public consultation and full public hearings as a means of allowing the citizens of Ontario to express themselves on this new and questionable initiative."

I'm glad to affix my signature to it and to join this with the many thousands of signatures that have already come in on this sorry policy.

#### ACCESSORY APARTMENTS

**Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South):** I have a petition signed by about 60 residents of my community and more to follow. It's addressed to the Legislature of Ontario:

"Whereas the Minister of Housing and the Minister of Municipal Affairs have released Draft Legislation for Apartments in Houses, Granny Flats to permit accessory dwelling units "as of right" in all residential areas and to permit granny flats;

"We, the undersigned, object to the Draft Legislation for Apartments in Houses, Granny Flats for the follow-

ing reasons and petition the Legislature of Ontario as follows:

"(1) That the province examine the implications that the proposed legislation may have on the rights of property owners, landlords and tenants with respect to their expectations of zoning authority and the neighbourhoods in which they live;

"(2) That the province not entertain this proposed legislation removing the right of local government to regulate development without adequate public notification and opportunity to review and comment on the draft legislation;

"(3) That the local municipality be granted the authority to regulate, license (or register) accessory apartments;

"(4) That the province, in consultation with local and regional authorities, examine methods of compensating the municipality for increased costs of servicing new residential growth (accessory apartments);

"(5) That right of entry for bylaw enforcement officers to inspect accessory apartments during reasonable hours be incorporated into the legislation;

"(6) That representatives from the Ministry of Housing and the Ministry of Municipal Affairs be requested to conduct a public meeting in Brampton to discuss the draft legislation with the community; and

"(7) That the city of Brampton supports granny flats as a form of housing intensification subject to the ensurance that the units will be removed at the end of their intended use."

I have affixed my signature to this petition.

#### HUMAN RIGHTS

**Mrs Dianne Cunningham (London North):** I have a petition addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, reading:

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows," and it's specifically addressed to Mr Alok Mukherjee, Acting Chief Commissioner, Ontario Human Rights Commission, 400 University Avenue, Toronto, Ontario:

"It has come to our attention that the Ontario Human Rights Commission is making a proposal to ban any landlord's right to ask whether prospective tenants have sufficient income to pay their rent and service any other obligations which they may have. This has aroused serious concern on our part with regard to the financial stability of future prospective tenants who possibly cannot afford to pay rent in this building which we, the resident tenants, call home." This is 1000 Huron Street, London, Ontario.

"Also, we feel that it is unfair to ban the right of a prudent business person to ask the most basic questions



of a prospective tenant. After all, it is the prospective tenant's wish to enter into a written, 12-month tenancy agreement, promising to make lawful rental payments on a monthly basis for the period of a minimum of one year. How can a person make that promise when in all sincerity they know that they cannot keep their promise? And how can the Human Rights Commission encourage financially insecure individuals to make such a promise? That in itself is very unfair.

"So, as concerned tenants of 1000 Huron Street, London, Ontario, we are sending this petition to request that you refrain from putting this totally unreasonable proposal into the legislation."

I have signed my name to this petition, which is also signed by some 800 families at 1000 Huron Street in London, Ontario.

#### HERITAGE CONSERVATION

**Mr Robert Frankford (Scarborough East):** I have a petition about a topic of considerable interest in my riding of Scarborough East, and it's signed by 200 people who put a great deal of work into it just over this last weekend. It's about the Guild property. It reads:

"Whereas the Guild is an important historical, cultural and environmental asset for Scarborough and the province and

"The current state of upkeep is causing widespread concern about the maintenance of its unique heritage,

"We, the undersigned, call on the Ministry of Municipal Affairs in cooperation with the government of Metropolitan Toronto to immediately take steps to ensure that the preservation of the Guild envisioned in provincial legislation is maintained."

I'm pleased to sign my signature on this as well.

#### LIQUOR STORES

**Mr Frank Miclash (Kenora):** I have a petition and it's signed by 346 residents of the community of Ear Falls and sponsored by the Ear Falls Promotional Association. It reads:

"Whereas the businesses are dependent on tourism during the summer tourist season;

"Whereas economic times have adversely affected all businesses in Ear Falls;

"Whereas the LCBO liquor store is the only business closed on Mondays,

"We, the undersigned, request that the LCBO liquor store be open on Mondays during the tourist season of mid-May to the end of October."

I have signed my name to that as well.

1520

#### POST-POLIO SYNDROME

**Mr Noble Villeneuve (S-D-G & East Grenville):** I too have a petition addressed to the Honourable the

Lieutenant Governor and the Legislative Assembly of Ontario. I have signed it and it is signed by a number of residents in southeastern Ontario. It reads as follows:

"Whereas post-polio is a new phenomenon to attack survivors of polio; and

"Whereas the Ottawa and District Post-Polio Association has been formed to help survivors of polio; and

"Whereas most family practitioners do not have the specialized knowledge to treat post-polio symptoms effectively; and

"Whereas we the members and friends of the Ottawa and District Post-Polio Association wish to emphasize to the Ontario government the need to fund a post-polio clinic in Ottawa; and

"Whereas a formal request was presented by the Ottawa and District Post-Polio Association to the Ottawa-Carleton Regional District Health Council in May 1988 and received top priority at that time; and

"Whereas the rehab centre of Ottawa-Carleton has presented a proposal to the Ministry of Health for funds to establish such a post-polio clinic; and

"Whereas there are at least 1,000 known polio survivors in the catchment area of the rehab centre who need the immediate services of a clinic; and

"Whereas there are at least 5,000 survivors in Ontario; and

"Whereas there is only one formally constituted post-polio clinic, which is in Toronto and which has a lengthy waiting list; and

"Whereas the cost and difficulties of several trips to the Toronto clinic and staying overnight each time are often insurmountable for disabled persons; and

"Whereas polio survivors who had no paralysis from the initial attack of polio are not immune from developing post-polio symptoms of varying severity; and

"Whereas research indicates that 80% of polio survivors may develop post-polio symptoms anywhere from 7 to 71 years after the initial attack; and

"Whereas post-polio symptoms are not related to the aging process; and finally

"Whereas because of immigration, the post-polio population will not diminish,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to establish a post-polio clinic in the rehab centre of Ottawa-Carleton for the diagnosis, treatment and follow-up of patients and to disseminate information so that the estimated 1,000 known polio survivors in the centre's catchment area can receive adequate treatment and that the medical profession be educated regarding the post-polio syndrome."

I endorse and have signed this petition.

## ANIMALS FOR RESEARCH

**Ms Christel Haeck (St Catharines-Brock):** I am presenting a petition signed by 96 members of the Niagara Action for Animals. Their final statement reads as follows:

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to declare an immediate moratorium on the sale and use of municipal pound animals for the purposes of research, and further, that the Minister of Agriculture and Food be directed to prepare amendments to the Animals for Research Act to permanently prohibit the sale and use of pound animals for research."

## RETAIL STORE HOURS

**Mr Michael A. Brown (Algoma-Manitoulin):** I have a petition signed by a number of residents of my riding:

"We, the undersigned, hereby register our opposition in the strongest terms to Bill 38, which will eliminate Sunday from the definition of legal holiday in the Retail Business Holidays Act.

"I believe in the need of keeping Sunday as a holiday for family time, quality of life and religious freedom. The elimination of such a day will be detrimental to the fabric of society in Ontario and cause increased hardship on many families.

"The amendment included in Bill 38, dated June 3, 1992, to delete all Sundays except Easter from the definition of legal holiday and reclassify them as working days should be defeated."

I will sign this petition.

## ORDERS OF THE DAY

## THRONE SPEECH DEBATE

## DÉBAT SUR LE DISCOURS DU TRÔNE

Resuming the adjourned debate on the amendment to the motion for an address in reply to the speech of His Honour the Lieutenant Governor at the opening of the session.

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Government House Leader):** Mr Speaker, just before the leader of the third party starts his comments, I believe we've reached an agreement that when he has finished his remarks we will move into the rotation on the throne speech and that today and on each day the throne speech debate continues, the time between the finish of his speech today and tomorrow the calling of the orders of the day, we will split that time in three equal packages. That also means the dropping of the rule on time of the half-hour speeches and also that there will be no questions and comments so that we can hear from as many of the members as possible.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Is that agreed? Agreed. I'll recognize the leader of the third party.

**Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing):** Thank you very much, Mr Speaker. I appreciate the opportunity. The only problem with that deal of the House leaders—that's assuming I finish today and that I don't carry on tomorrow, Wednesday or Thursday. I assure those who are now getting up and ready to leave that in fact it will not be the case. I do not plan to speak, certainly, at that length on the throne speech.

What I'd like to do is perhaps a little different. I really don't plan to refer too much to the specific throne speech because I think the whole thing is a waste of time and effort anyway. I think the government has missed the point.

They would have been far better off had the throne speech been one page that simply said: "We're very sorry, people of Ontario, for the mistakes of the past two years. We thought we could spend our way out of a recession. We took that tack. We thought it was the right one. We now recognize that everybody else in the province virtually and in the rest of the country was right and we were wrong and we're sorry. You can't spend your way out of this recession, particularly now, and we plan to change course."

You could then in a second paragraph have said: "We are a little bit embarrassed as we've read all the comments that our leader and our now Premier had to say about integrity in government; about calling David Peterson a liar at the start of the last campaign; about all the comments that we made. Truly, we found out in opposition it was a lot easier to sniff out every wrongdoing that we possibly could. In government, we apologize. We've not been able to live up to the standards we set for ourselves and we're very sorry.

"Thirdly, given our abysmal track record in the last couple of years, we would like to signify, by way of this throne speech, to the Legislature and the people of Ontario that we do plan to take a different tack, that we do plan to listen a little more, that we do plan to consult, that some of the suggestions from other members—there is a better way to proceed. We're taking those seriously and we will do our very best in the year or two years remaining to us."

Had that been the throne speech, that would've been a throne speech of integrity. That would've been a throne speech that accurately, I believe, portrayed the first two years of the mandate. I think every individual member of this caucus, in the NDP, the cabinet and the party would honestly look in the mirror and say, "That reflects our first couple of years." I think it would've reflected an honest intention to do better, do the best that you possibly can, never mind these lofty expectations that, "We're the most caring, compassionate, honest people in the whole world and nobody else but us could possibly meet these standards."



I think that would've met with some credibility. It would've met with some credibility with me, and I think it would've met with some credibility with the people of the province of Ontario. It might have brought some goodwill among the significant partners into what has to be accomplished in the next year or two if we're going to get this province back on track.

I wanted to put on the record what I think the throne speech should have said. It did not say that and I regret that. I think what it did say was some platitudes that really bear no resemblance either to the track record of what the government has done and accomplished, which has been a backward step for this province, and as such I was very disappointed.

Many will recall that I had praised the Premier for some of his statements over the last couple of months leading up to the throne speech in recognizing deficits matter. It's a serious problem. We can't carry on with this spending track. All the things that throne speech after throne speech from various governments, including Progressive Conservative governments way back—I mean, I don't apologize; I think a lot of those programs were appropriate 20 years ago and 10 years ago, but times have changed—and particularly the spending of the five years of the Liberals that built into the system those programs, those promises that have been made in elections and in throne speeches and in budgets which could not be sustained. The Premier seemed to indicate some of that, and I applauded him for that.

1530

He talked about a social contract, and it was time to sit down with the public sector unions and employees and say, "Hey, Harris was right, 2% was just about right for our first year," not the 12%, 13%. "We're not going to say that, because we still believe in this whole political notion you never admit you were wrong." But that's the facts of the matter.

So I supported that, but now, just today, we've heard coming out of the first initial meeting that the Premier and the government have already guaranteed job security for the life of the social contract to the unions. This is on the table already. So what we're going to have, I fear, is we're going to have some short-term gain for a year or two, with a long-term even bigger problem.

The social contract talks look, the way they're starting out, like the government still doesn't have the message. It still does not understand. The fundamental problem with the size of government and the bureaucracy and what government says it can do for people—ie, socialism, government knows better than the private sector, civil servants and politicians can set priorities better than the marketplace, can spend your money better than individuals and families or businesses can—they haven't grasped that that does not work. It

never worked anywhere in the world it was tried, it never worked in any city, any town, any country anywhere, and it is a disaster here in the province of Ontario, and in fact it is government that is in the way of recovery here in this province. It is government that is in the way of Ontario benefiting from the hundreds of thousands if not millions of new job opportunities that are happening all around the globe. As Third World countries are emerging, as they're getting more money, as they're turning to the marketplace and raising their lifestyle, as they are becoming—I mean, hundreds of millions of new consumers are out there and happening every day, and Ontario's being left behind.

#### *Interjections.*

**Mr Harris:** I was devastated, actually, when the throne speech came out, not as devastated as the lack of understanding and smarty-aleck remarks from the members of the NDP caucus when the truth comes back to them, but I was certainly devastated that the Premier and the cabinet did not seem to grasp the fundamental change that's happening in North America, that's happening around the world and how ill prepared we are to deal with it.

I also, before I just get to a few of the directions we should move in and then leave the rest of the time for other speakers, want to comment about the comments from the leader of the Liberal Party. I mean, the leader of the Liberal Party now says that we shouldn't be hiking taxes. That's a little bit like Donald Trump saying, "Don't open a casino in Ontario." If you look over the five years of the massive tax increases the Liberals brought in to this province and the programs that were unsustainable, quite frankly, that was a worse disgrace than even the bungling you've had, because you are incompetent and we expect you to bungle. You do not appear to believe in the marketplace. We expected that some of the Liberals would have. So perhaps their failure is even greater than yours, in that they might have known they shouldn't have been doing what they did but they did it anyway, for short-term political gain, for political expediency. In your case, the NDP, and in Bob Rae's case, I think it is more incompetence and a lack of understanding of how the marketplace works and what you should do. If I'm wrong and you are smarter than I think, then shame on you too for being as bad as the Liberals, but I think I've correctly portrayed it fairly accurately.

As well, the leader of the Liberal Party says, "This government needs to show leadership. It needs to lead with a sound economic strategy," they say, "but in order to lead, it needs integrity. I am not surprised that this throne speech has nothing to say about integrity, because this government no longer has anything to say about integrity."

That's very true, but I'll tell you, it was the Liberal Party that started the slippery slope down to cabinet minister resignations, to violation of conflict-of-interest guidelines, to making them meaningless. You guys simply fulfilled the process that there are absolutely no standards left and that in fact we don't expect to hold our people accountable. The Liberals violated them time and time and time again. At least after several investigations and after being hounded for 80 or 90 days in a row, they would finally accept it and somebody would resign. You guys just carry on and say it's okay to lie and slander. Those are the new standards à la NDP. I really am surprised, though, that the Liberals talk about that.

I was looking at the Globe and Mail today—while I'm talking about the Liberals, then I'll move on to what this government should do. It talks in the business section about, "Rae Government Confronted by Hard Truth." There's an interesting little chart in today's Globe and Mail, in the Report on Business, that you might want to look at. It talks about welfare economics; it talks about the jobless rate in Ontario from 1980 through to 1992. That's half of this jobless chart. The second half is Ontario's social spending. This is welfare spending.

Welfare spending in 1981-82, when we were in the middle of a recession, when in fact unemployment and the jobless rate was just about the same as it is now, was about \$2.5 billion or \$3 billion. Today, welfare spending is about \$13 billion. The province was in difficulty then; unemployment was about the same. Welfare spending has gone from about \$3 billion to \$13 billion in 10 years.

**Mr Anthony Perruzza (Downsview):** Where did you get those numbers?

**Mr Harris:** This is your chart from a government source—sorry, the Statistics Canada Financial Management System. It's in the business section of the Globe. There is another section to the newspaper, you know. There's the sports, the news and the comics and then there's the business section that tells you the business facts. This is from the Statistics Canada Financial Management System. This is the total amount spent on what we call welfare spending. So there's \$10 billion more being spent.

Inflation over that period of time has not even doubled. It's gone up about 60%. So what has happened in that period of time? This chart is very interesting, because it says in 1983 welfare spending goes up to almost \$4 billion, and then the Liberals took over. The recovery was coming because a foundation had been laid in the late 1970s and the early 1980s because our education system had adapted, because we kept our spending under control, because we had a tax and a

regulatory climate that said that when we come out of the recession, Ontario will be yours to discover once again. Plants will want to come here; manufacturers will want to be here; investors will want to be in the province of Ontario, and they did and they came. And welfare spending went up.

In 1986, welfare spending hit \$5 billion; in 1987, welfare spending hit \$6.5 billion; in 1988, welfare spending hit almost \$8 billion. These were the boom years. The money was rolling in. Ontario was booming. They were good times. Why was welfare spending doubling over the good times? Welfare spending should have been going down. People should have been going off welfare and getting jobs and working. Why? Because there was a restructuring taking place and the Ontario Liberals didn't notice it.

This Agenda for People, this accord that was signed was all for wealth redistribution. Everybody wants a bigger piece of the pie. The money's coming in; "We want it." "We want it." "No, we want it. We'll distribute it here," without a cent being invested back into the infrastructure and the education system and the skills required for the new jobs that are coming, for the information age.

The number of manufacturing jobs is declining dramatically. They are all over the world. Inco now produces three times the nickel with a third of the employees. There will be fewer auto workers producing more cars. The number of jobs in direct manufacturing are going down as technology advances, as computerization comes into place, as we get more efficient, as we start having to compete internationally and globally. But there is a massive increase in the number of information jobs or service jobs or idea jobs or thinking jobs, of high-technical jobs and we did not adapt; we did not invest five cents for these new jobs. Those countries and jurisdictions that did are just now beginning to boom. They're beginning to boom. They're now yours to discover, and Ontario is lagging behind.

1540

So it was the 1985 Liberal-NDP accord, saying: "Let's see what we can promise; let's distribute. There's some more money coming in. Where did it come from? We don't know; we don't understand. The money's rolling in. Well, let's spend it. Let's give it away. Let's redistribute it. That's what we got elected for, to redistribute money."

Now the engine that creates the money, the marketplace, the economy of the private sector, has been taxed, when the Liberals left office, to the highest in North America. So anybody who was concerned about if you made a nickel and you could keep it and reinvest it and put it back into planning the next job said, "Well, Ontario's not a good place; the government thinks it can



spend it better than we can; it wants to tax it all," the regulatory framework and all the wealth redistribution schemes, and then we elected a government that said, "We're not finished yet; we've got to redistribute even more."

So you're trying to redistribute a smaller and smaller pie, and the criminalness of this, the tragedy of this, is that, thanks to the changing global economy, thanks to the GATT discussions, thanks to the free trade discussions, there are unlimited opportunities for jobs here in Ontario, and there are unlimited opportunities for prosperity, but not as long as government taxes at the level that you are, regulates at the level that you are, indicates that its goal is to try to get that last five cents away and tries to dream up another tax. This discussion on a wealth tax, this discussion on corporation taxes, the signal that sends out is that if somehow or other, through all this recession and this restructuring, you manage to make five cents or save five cents, just rest assured that we're sitting here dreaming up ways of how to get that last nickel out of you too.

What you don't seem to understand is that if there's any money left or any ability to borrow any money left in the private sector, it is in the hands of those people who, if they invest it in Ontario, will create the jobs and the economic activity and the future prosperity. If you take it away from them and government tries to spend it, you'll be making the same mistakes the Liberals did, and it will be disaster.

If you threaten to take it away from the people that have it, if you threaten you're going to bring in even higher taxes, they will then invest it in provinces like New Brunswick, where Frank McKenna has shown at least he understands the marketplace. You might disagree with him on a number of things, but he has that understanding. He's trying to move his taxes to a regulatory climate where he could compete. Alberta, British Columbia for a while; they're not near as bad as Ontario, but they're not moving in the right direction—we've got a Premier there who seems to have missed the boat—or other countries, the United States. This is in fact what's happening.

We prospered when the government of the day took a reasonable amount out of the economy and took that money and reinvested it into new infrastructure, into new education and into new training that allowed you to earn money the next five years or the next 10 years or the next 20 years. We didn't do that from 1985 to 1993. We haven't done that, and that's why we're going to pay a price over the next five or 10 years, because we're behind other provinces and other jurisdictions. We took it all and we tried to redistribute it.

When you look at the new jobs, there are some astounding figures that if you really stop and think

about it explain what's happening as we lose manufacturing jobs. Last year, the increase in manufacturing, by the way, in Ontario went up 7%. Did you know that? But there were fewer jobs. It's called the jobless recovery because we've got more machines and more technology improving the efficiency of our manufacturers.

There are so many new jobs. I was astounded. Let me give you three. More Canadians now work in the telecommunications and the communications industry than in all the pulp and paper and forest industries. That's in British Columbia as well. When you think of British Columbia, you think of the forest industry. It's not as significant as the telecommunications and communications industries are in British Columbia.

Think about this: There are more jobs, more workers in Quebec in health and in medical care than there are in all of these combined: construction, textiles, clothing, furniture, automobile, forestry and mining. Add them all up. Combined, there are more people in Quebec working in health and in medical care, in research and development of new drugs and new health care technologies.

Here's one: More Americans work in the movie industry than work in the entire automobile industry. There are more in the movie industry than there are in the entire automobile industry. The new jobs are changing. They're high-tech, they're high value added, they're good-paying jobs. Are they going to come to the highest-taxed province in all of North America? No, they are not. The new investment will not come here, particularly. They know. They want to see a signal, they want to see a sign that the government understands that, and that new jobs are global.

It doesn't matter now whether you make a movie in California or in Toronto or whether you make it in Europe. It doesn't matter. The new high-tech jobs: You look at some of the investments. I couldn't believe this. In Singapore they invested in some of the communications technology, where it's now cheaper, faster, better to send information from Toronto to Edmonton via Singapore. Why? Because in Singapore they made some of the strategic investments instead of frittering the money all away as the Liberals did.

I mean, what the Liberals did to my children, what they did to laid-off workers in this province is criminal. What your throne speech demonstrates to me is that you don't even understand all the mistakes they made and you do not understand the direction we have to go in, where the solutions lie. You have missed the boat and you don't seem to understand this.

That's why my caucus colleagues and I have done something very different than most opposition parties, certainly than any others have done in Ontario and in

Canada. We've criticized, but we've said: "Look, these guys don't understand. We're going to have to tell them. We're going to have to lay out the policies. We've got blueprints that would give you the throne speech. We've got a direction that you need to move in. If you'd have taken it, this province would have been better off."

Not only are we here in our role as opposition to oppose when you move off in the wrong direction; we've taken our role one notch up, a step beyond. We've now said: "They don't even understand. We're going to have to show them a way to. We can't wait for a general election to get rid of them. We can't wait that long. It's too important for the unemployed, for those who are being doomed to a lifetime of welfare, and their children. It's too important for our children."

We have, I think in a very responsible way, said: "Do you want to know what to do, because you're moving in the—here, do this." We offered you a 2% solution—I mean, no opposition party does that—two years ago. Opposition parties wait until you take away this, or you condemn this or you arbitrarily say, "Two per cent," and then they criticize you. The questions from the Liberals are all: "Tell us. You've got a bill ready, haven't you? You've got a bill to limit workers' rights, to limit bargaining."

Of course, you do. Every government has. I understand that. The Liberals understand that. If you don't have, you are using the threat of it and the clout of it because they all know you have got the power to do it. Of course, that's not the issue. Those are not the questions. They are the solutions.

1550

So we went on the record two and a half years ago and said, "Yes, we would limit the total cost of government to 2%." If you'd done that, you'd have saved \$3.5 billion that year alone. I heard from some civil servants that year because they were reading all the propaganda, the misinformation that the government was giving them, and they said: "Mike, that's not fair. We don't like you. You say we should only get a 2% increase."

You know what they're saying to me now? You know, I've had to cut six inches off the bottom of my door for all the brown envelopes to get in underneath my office door. Now they're saying: "You were right. Two per cent would have looked a lot better than being fired, or uncertainty, or now rollback, or not knowing why we're going into work, and the incompetence that we've had."

I'm proud of my caucus colleagues. I'm proud of the fact that we have presented alternatives. We've given you solutions. We continue to do that. It's really not that complicated. You've got to get the deficit under control. We agree with that. Your Treasurer said that.

Your Premier said that. But you can't increase taxes or you will drive away more investment and more jobs.

The way to get more money is to have more people working. If you want more tax dollars from income tax, you've got to have more people working, and to do that you've got to have the private sector investing and creating jobs. If you want more in sales tax, you must then have more sales. You can't get more sales by taking more money out of the economy. You've got to have more private sector people. It's really quite simple. If you want more money from corporations and businesses, you've got to have more businesses and more corporations making more money. You can't do that if you're going to hike their taxes even higher. You can't do that through your regulatory changes, this wealth redistribution you still want to engage in. You can't do it that way either.

We've said we'll sit down and work with you. We've asked you to empower all-party committees to make the fundamental changes in even how we operate as a Legislature, to take some of the partisanship out. We'll go on the record. We'll go with you in some of these very tough and difficult decisions that have to be made. We're offering to not sit back and you make it and then we'll criticize every little picayune part of it. We're saying we'll work with you, and yet you've even failed to acknowledge that the public is fed up with the political process. They're fed up with the partisanship. They're fed up, and you refuse to put into place structures to allow us to work together.

You don't even allow your backbenchers to work together. They don't know what's going on either. I know because I talked to a number of them. They say, "Well, we don't know what they're doing," and maybe it's because the Treasurer and the Premier don't know either. But I tell you that you've missed the boat, fundamentally, on how Parliament should operate and how the public expects it to operate in the future and how we can get it working better. You've missed the boat on bringing together the partners, both the taxpayers and those receiving services. You've missed the boat with the civil service, particularly the front-line workers. They are so frustrated and fed up with some of the decisions that are coming out. You didn't acknowledge that and recognize that and try and move in the right direction in this throne speech.

We won't support this throne speech. My caucus colleagues and I will be voting against it. We think it's a very, very sad, missed opportunity, a missed opportunity to fundamentally change the direction that the Ontario government's been moving in for the last eight years and put it on the right footing. We're distressed with that. We're discouraged. We're disappointed. Some of my colleagues weren't surprised. I was. I thought, I really thought inside here, when I heard some of the



comments over the last couple of months, that a light had gone on and you'd recognized some of the things that had to change, but this throne speech fails to deliver on that expectation. If I was quick to applaud some of the directions, I apologize to Ontarians. I thought Bob Rae understood. He clearly does not.

I would like to move an amendment to the motion. This is an amendment to the amendment that was moved by the leader of the Liberal party, the member for Fort William, that it be amended by adding thereto the following:

"Failing to understand that government cannot create private sector jobs, only the private sector can; failing to create a tax and regulatory climate that will encourage the private sector to do so; failing to recognize that eight years of high-spending, high-taxing governments have only deepened the impact of the recession on Ontario; failing to act decisively in the area of education and training in order for us to provide the best possible foundation for our children and workers to prepare for the technical and restructured jobs of the future; failing to control expenditures and deficits in the province of Ontario."

I would so move, Mr Speaker, and indicate that we cannot support this throne speech.

**The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin):** Further debate, the member for Norfolk.

**Mr Norm Jamison (Norfolk):** I am pleased to stand on my feet here today and basically inform the House what my opinions are on the throne speech. I'm pleased also to lead off the government's point of view on the throne speech.

After listening to the leader of the third party, I believe his time would have been better spent defending the record of his federal counterparts and the devastating effects that have taken place here in Ontario by virtue of some of the initiatives—I'll call them initiatives with my tongue in cheek—of the federal government: high interest rates; the high dollar; the GST; free trade, which doesn't provide fair trade; downloading, where as a province that contributes so much to the wealth and the fabric of this country through taxes gathered by the federal government, we find ourselves in a position where the remuneration given by the federal government is down around 29 cents on what used to be a 50-cent dollar. The federal government still provides an economy similar to ours in Quebec 50 cents on the dollar.

It's tremendous when I think about the type of rhetoric that's gone on here today in this House. We realize that we're in much different times. I don't believe there's anyone in this House that doesn't realize that these times are different than the times any previous government has had to experience. There are tough

decisions, and we know there are tough decisions, that automatically go along with tough times.

It must be much to the surprise of the leader of the third party that although investment levels are down, Statscan figures indicate that 55% of all the new investment taking place in Canada is taking place here in Ontario. That's some of the figures that the press or the opposition simply ignore in their rhetoric.

Investment is down worldwide. I see countries like Japan, for instance, investing heavily in their infrastructure because they feel that is the best way to address the recession they're in, a global recession that every industrialized country in this world is experiencing.

I wonder where the opposition rhetoric is really based and is really coming from.

1600

I can tell you that we have a plan to put Ontario back to work. The focus is a long-term strategy, a plan to invest in jobs and people. This plan consists of programs and policies that are already working here in Ontario. Over the last seven months, 110,000 jobs have been created in this province. These plans include new initiatives in economic development and in education.

The constant goal is to put Ontario back to work, to ensure a robust and sustained recovery, to facilitate the creation of secure and well-paying jobs. It is a plan that will bring about fundamental reforms not only in how we do business but in the delivery of government services. The goal is to reform the way we do business here in this province.

Investing in our infrastructure: I just mentioned a moment ago about Japan investing heavily in its infrastructure. This government has launched more than 1,700 infrastructure projects through the Jobs Ontario Capital fund, creating more than 9,000 jobs across Ontario.

**Mr Charles Harnick (Willowdale):** You keep telling us that.

**Mr Jamison:** Total capital spending by our government last year created about 75,000 jobs. In partnership with municipalities and the private sector—to the surprise of the third party—we will invest \$6 billion over the next decade to build new highways and public transit, improve water quality in this province and conservation, and expand telecommunication networks; directly related to the quality of life, long-term, of the people who live in this province, not to cut and slash for any reason whatsoever, but to make government more streamlined. We have to do that in a fair way, fair to the people who work for us, fair to the residents of this great province.

We have to put an emphasis on education and training. Since last summer, the government has helped

create more than 19,000 new job opportunities through our Jobs Ontario program. That training program is growing at the rate of 1,000 jobs per week. Jobs Ontario Training is getting thousands of people off welfare and into jobs. The new Ontario Training and Adjustment Board will complement that success even further.

Building partnerships and strengthening industry is important. This government will continue to develop partnerships with the private sector to help Ontario industries to grow and to compete while providing more and better jobs. This government's industrial policy is designed to promote new high-wage and environmentally sustainable jobs.

A strategy to expand and upgrade Ontario's telecommunications capacity is under way, and that strategy is again vital.

Supporting communities is important, and supporting small business. Small business provides 80%, at this present time, of all the new jobs being created in this province. We are acting in a manner to enhance and support our communities and small business. We are acting to bring economic renewal into the heart of our communities, particularly in rural and northern Ontario. The budget will contain details of our community economic development initiative.

This session, new community investment share and loan programs will also be established to give small and medium-sized business better access to money. One of the major complaints of the business community has been that the banks have disappeared during this recession. When the banks are most needed, they've disappeared, they've gone, they've refused to loan money, they've lessened credit lines. It's simply a case of them not helping, and we plan on helping.

A commodity loan program, a loan guarantee program, has been initiated by the government, using provincial guarantees to provide farmers with lower-cost working capital. Over the next year, this program will give farmers access to \$100 million in funding.

I can tell you that when I listened to the rhetoric, knowing the havoc that has been placed here on the people of Ontario through the federal government in its initiatives on free trade, freer trade—we have the steel industry now saying: "What did you negotiate? You didn't negotiate access. You didn't negotiate fair trade. What is it that was negotiated?" Our industrial heartland has been seriously affected by these initiatives.

I'd like to touch on reforming health care. I think it's obvious to people that we have contained the cost of welfare and contained the cost of health care. The initiatives must carry on from here. We must support families and communities in getting back to work and working in a direction that is fair but recognizes at the same time the severe difficulties that any government in

this situation would be having.

The rhetoric indicates that someone from one of the two opposition parties could have avoided this recession. I can tell you that is simply not true.

So as I stand here, I would like to tell you that I think the speech from the throne does map out a direction, a direction for this government, a direction that will ensure that as we evolve from the recession, we're best positioned, certainly best positioned of all the provinces, in growth.

We are hearing figures that economists are putting forward. I'm not so sure I've learned to agree with economists, because in my experience in sitting on the finance and economics committee, I've had economists tell me that this recovery was just around the corner for a number of years. But now that we seem to be into a recovery, I believe that the initiatives we're taking, the direction we're taking, is one we can be proud of and that will put us in the position to encourage, as is happening right now, most of the new investment that takes place in Canada to occur here.

We had heard a tremendous amount about the effects of such things as the OLRA, and it simply hasn't panned out. It was total rhetoric. When you look at the figures again, you see that the vast majority of investment in Canada is taking place in Ontario, and those are the facts. If we'd only stick to the facts more often here, we'd be far better off for it.

Having said that, I would say that I'm proud of my Premier and I'm proud of the cabinet for taking the direction they are now headed in. I'll tell you, the difficult decisions that are ahead of us, we will not shirk that responsibility. When anyone reads the speech from the throne, it's very simple to discern that we have a plan that will work, work for this province and for the people of the province.

1610

**The Deputy Speaker:** The member for Brampton South.

**Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South):** In the short time I have available, I'd like to concentrate on a couple of things. There's a lot of rhetoric thrown around this House. Throne speeches in fact, with all due respect to the Lieutenant Governor, perhaps are becoming an anachronism. They're going to go the way of the dinosaur, because they really don't say anything.

I'd like to speak on behalf of young people. There are young people in this province who have lost hope. They've lost hope because they've gone out, worked hard and gotten themselves educated, and they can't find a job. They're staying at home longer. Some people say that's because they like living at home. It's not because they like living at home, because now when the



interest rates are at their lowest level in a long time they could perhaps be going out and buying homes and getting married. I suggest a part of this is that they don't feel there's a future. They don't feel that governments, particularly this government, have any concern whatsoever for their future. Their future means nothing.

When you look at the situation here with this government, it was almost like a feeding frenzy, sharks in the water. Over 30 months they've increased the deficit by two thirds. They cry in their campaign slogan, "Make the rich pay." In fact, the effect of their policies is that the rich are making money on them. They're clipping their bond premiums as a result of the deficit that's been driven up by this frenzy of spending by this government. In three years in office, they will have almost doubled the deficit.

And then they come into the House and won't even tell it as it is to the young people of this province. They won't tell them what the deficit is; they play games with it. They say it's going to be \$17 billion, but they know it's lower than that. They try to play games with the unions, making it look like they're going to do something tough with the unions. Any government that gave a 14% increase to them and then comes before us at this time and says, "We're going to cut back or we're going to reduce or freeze the wages," I don't believe that government, frankly, and I don't think the young people of this province do either.

We owe it to the young people of this province to give them a future, to make them feel they can achieve whatever they wish in this province. We're not doing that.

How can the public possibly believe that a government or a party that is committed to public ownership of everything and feels it can do a better job than private enterprise—how can one ever expect that the deficit will ever get under control or will ever be reduced? If you've got government doing everything and nobody out in private enterprise doing anything, that means everybody is going to work for government. I find this absolutely incredible.

Just look at private day care: They've literally eliminated private day care. They were going to buy it up. We haven't seen that carried out, but they were going to expropriate it, as it were. They were not going to leave jobs open for people who are early childhood care workers; they're all going to have to work for the government. Perhaps that might be a great idea, because it's a secure job, and judging from the way they increase their wages, that might be the only place that young people of this province will have any security.

We look at the things they bring in: the labour legislation, just the leaking of that from cabinet. They don't understand this, they don't understand what goes

on, how the engine of the economy is driven. They don't realize that just by leaking that document, we probably found people who were about to invest in the province of Ontario saying, "No way, Jose." Those were jobs our young people could have had, those are the opportunities that have been missed.

And we continue to see that happen. We see it happening in our educational system. We see cutbacks to the school boards; in fact, young people with learning disabilities will not have the same opportunities they had before.

The problem with this government is that it's suddenly wakened up just like Rip Van Winkle and discovered that it has overspent. So what do they do? They don't come up with a reasoned plan for trying to reduce that deficit. What they do is go on a feeding frenzy like sharks: "In three days, we're going to settle the whole problem. We're going to solve the problem."

How do they solve it? They solve it on the backs of our young people. They solve it on the backs of our seniors. They cut drugs out of the formulary. They don't bother to find out what those drugs are for or whether more expensive drugs are going to have to be included, whether those drugs are needed by seniors. They don't bother to do that. They simply say to their ministry people, "We want you to cut 10% or 20% out of that," and it's done.

If that's not the worst type of smoke and mirrors, it's really understandable why the people of this province look with great askance at politicians. They see the scandals that go on, that have been revealed over the short course of this government. Those scandals I don't think bother them as much as the sort of not playing the cards open on the table but holding them close to your vest. I think young people are fed up with that.

The next thing we have is the Treasurer saying we're going to have increased taxes in the next budget. That has to send shock waves through the young people of this province. They may have been thinking about buying a house, even though it's a tenuous operation with jobs disappearing every day and not knowing whether or not, even if they get the mortgage and they buy the house, they're going to be able to afford the payments. But more taxes on the horizon, surely to heaven, that has to have an impact on them as well.

They have to say: "We were going to get married and buy the house," or whatever, "but we'll have to put it off now. We'll have to put it off until the year that this government is thrown out of office and we don't face these potentials of jeopardy in our jobs, not being able to pay the tax increases."

I find it incredible that these people who came to power saying they cared about the little guy, they cared about our young people, can in fact follow a course so

foolish and without any planning whatsoever. It's almost as though the only people who are making any decisions in this whole place are down on the second floor. You've got the Premier and about four cabinet ministers and about six or seven unelected spin doctors who put their foot in the water, test the water, find out what's politically sexy and then they implement it. Nobody has any input into it.

We've got all those members over there, all you people who are collecting big salaries, not just as MPPs, but they're collecting extra salaries in terms of their parliamentary assistant emoluments, and how much are they doing? How much is being done in terms of looking after this province?

#### *Interjections.*

**Mr Callahan:** It's interesting that when you speak in this House and try to address that issue, it becomes a shouting match. You have to shout over members of the government who can't have the decency and courtesy to listen to a speech and perhaps take a few of the thoughts that are being presented to mind, if they had some guts and they were prepared to look at the question of reforming this whole place.

I find it interesting that the people of the province of Ontario have not been down here at Queen's Park to take our heads. The fact that they elect 130 members of this Legislature and the fact that they pay 130 members of this Legislature and the government and the power is shared by such a few, small number of people is very interesting.

I'll tell you, I think the people out there are like a good jury. They may not have their concerns about politicians based on fact because they may not understand why they don't like us but I suggest to you, Mr Speaker, that if it was examined under a microscope, one would find that they have this feeling that they are not represented, that their views are not represented.

Just look at the casino situation. You've got one member back there from Peterborough who's got the guts at least to stand up and say no casinos. The rest of them are joined at the hip and they're prepared to vote for anything. I think that gives a sense of insecurity to young people. Instead of giving them jobs and instead of giving them opportunities to have a future, we're going to tell them to get a good right arm or a left arm so they can crank a slot machine. That's their future.

I often wonder if in the cabinet room they haven't already got a slot machine and perhaps it's geared every day to the present polls and the sexiness of the polls and the Premier and the Treasurer pull the slot machine once each day and say, "Aha, this is what we'll do to the people of Ontario today." It is absolutely irresponsible.

The throne speech, I would submit, says nothing. It's a rehash of everything they promised since 1990. There's very little new money involved. Basically, the number of initiatives that they refer to in it, it must have taken them about five minutes to write this throne speech. It was on the word processor and has been on the word processor since 1990 when they were elected and they just make a few minor changes here and a few minor corrections here and they present it. They have the audacity to have the Lieutenant Governor come in here and have to read that piece of diatribe.

1620

Finally—because of the short time I have, and I'd like to share with my colleagues—when we look at the number of government appointments that have been made and increased by this government, it is absolutely incredible. I would suggest that probably every New Democrat in the province has had a job made available to him. That's unacceptable. That would be unacceptable if it was a Liberal government or a Conservative government. We can no longer afford to create jobs for the friendly groups that support us.

If you look at all of the boards that have been set up, and the interference with doctors carrying out their functions because of these boards and these advocates and all the rest of the stuff, it's simply a pork barrel that's created by the government to create jobs for its friends.

I think the taxpayers of Ontario are fed up with that. I think the union people, when they're told that their wages have to be rolled back or frozen, should say the same thing. "Why should we do that? You've got buddies on boards and commissions where they're appointed by the Lieutenant Governor in Council." Sounds good, but I think the people of this province should understand that the Lieutenant Governor has nothing to do with it. It's the Premier appointing his buddies and other buddies. I suggest that's unacceptable.

In the final analysis, I submit to you that this government had better get to the point where it starts planning, where it reviews all its programs and makes certain that those programs are providing effective services to the people of this province. Don't create these extra jobs.

I found it interesting that the cabinet was reduced—big headlines. The net result was the cabinet wasn't reduced at all. All they did was they moved it around—smoke and mirrors again—and the people of this province, particularly the young people of this province, are not prepared to accept this kind of circus where these things are done and made to look like they're being done and are not being done.

I think they should look in the mirror and review the fact that "integrity" is probably the watchword of the day and will be the future of all political parties in this



province and in this country.

**Mr Harnick:** There's nothing that upsets persons more than saying to them, "I told you so." But I can tell all my friends sitting opposite that if they had listened to the message of the member for Nipissing, the leader of the Ontario Progressive Conservative Party, and they had listened to what he said about big spending and big taxing and not following the lead of the Liberal Party of Ontario, who taught this government the intricacies of big spending and big taxing, then I wouldn't be able to stand here today and say I told you so, because they have fallen into the same trap and they're taking this province down the same slippery slope that the Liberals started us on.

The Liberals tried to spend their way to prosperity, and when the Liberals were voted out of office in September 1990, there was no prosperity. The cupboard was bare, and despite their best abilities to add and subtract and to look over the books of the government, they ended up with a \$3.5-billion deficit.

Then the NDP took over and it cried, "The cupboard is bare, the cupboard is bare." So what did they do? They ran that same deficit up to \$10 billion before you could blink, and the Ontario Progressive Conservative caucus said to them, "Don't do it, don't do it, because the province cannot sustain the debt you're driving us into."

But they laughed. They thought that was funny, because they said: "You know, the Liberals spent their way to prosperity. They only had a \$3.5-billion deficit and we're going to do the same thing." Even today, I don't think the NDP government understands that you can't spend your way to prosperity.

All you have done, all the government has done is put people in this province in the position of having to pay for Liberal and NDP mismanagement. That's exactly what they've done. When you ask the school teachers who teach our young people in our communities what they think about the social contract that's about to be rammed down their throats, when you ask the person who works for the public service and makes \$40,000 about the social contract that's going to be rammed down his throat, you know what they're going to say? They're going to say, "We are now paying for the mismanagement of the Liberal and NDP governments since 1985." That's exactly what they're going to say, and the tragedy is that the government of the day still doesn't understand what it has done wrong.

It all started out with this nice, cosy accord where the NDP and the Liberals got together and they were going to do all kinds of great things for people. You know the net effect of what they did? They spent a lot of money and they have nothing to show for it. There's not anybody in this province, not even people in the Liberal

caucus today, who will say what there is to show for those four or five years of NDP-Liberal accord and big spending and big taxing, because the Liberal caucus spends all of its time trying to distance itself from the record of that five years of mismanagement, that five years of being in bed together with the NDP.

And the NDP comes along and takes over, and they still don't understand the mistakes of their predecessor. They just carry on spending and taxing, spending and taxing, and it dismays me to no end when I see in the speech from the throne that they're going to raise taxes again. You know, 33 times Liberals raised taxes in this province; 22 times the NDP has raised taxes in this province. We're finally coming out of the recession, people are finally starting to become a little more confident, and what are the NDP going to do? They're going to raise taxes.

Not only are they going to raise taxes, they're talking about more corporate taxes. They're talking about a wealth tax. Tell me, does that make everybody in the province of Ontario comfortable, waiting to see how they're going to tax a wealth tax? I mean, after all, this is the government that said, "Boy, if you don't make more than \$53,000, the tax cuts won't hurt you."

**Hon Gilles Pouliot (Minister of Transportation):** Lawyers should pay taxes. Talk to members of the fraternity.

**Mr Harnick:** Let me tell the Minister of Transportation, lawyers do pay taxes and doctors do pay taxes, and they also consume goods and services in the province, and if you overtax them, they'll stop buying goods and services, and you know what'll happen? This recession will take us a lot longer to come out of.

At any rate, they're talking about a wealth tax. They're talking about more corporate taxes. How does that sit in a province where the Premier has said that the whole exercise is about creating jobs? How does raising taxes create jobs? For a government that is so intent on trying to create jobs, it's pretty difficult with the record that you have.

You've got Bill 44. How many jobs did Bill 44 create? Did Bill 44 create any jobs? I haven't seen the Minister of Labour come into the Legislature and say to us, "By the enactment of Bill 44 we've created thousands of new jobs." They have still not done an impact study to see how many jobs are in fact going to be lost.

What about higher hydro rates? How many jobs do you think higher hydro rates have created? Do you think higher hydro rates have created a single job?

**Mr Gordon Mills (Durham East):** —Darlington.

**Mr Harnick:** What about pay equity? Pay equity's a very, very noble program, but in the middle of a recession do you institute pay equity? How many jobs

will pay equity create? How many jobs, I ask the member from Durham. How many jobs is that going to create in a recession, when we're trying to get the economy going?

What about your brilliant policies to hike the minimum wage? I haven't heard much about that, but that was in that—what was that document called? Oh, the Agenda for People, that's right. I remember the Agenda for People. They were going to raise the minimum wage even higher. How many jobs is that going to create, I ask you.

There's not too much that this government has done to inspire confidence in the creation of jobs, and now I read in this throne speech that you're going to raise taxes. I, for the life of me, can't believe that you haven't learned from what happened to the Liberals, that raising taxes and doing what they did is not the way to get the economy moving.

1630

I looked at the throne speech very carefully. I noticed that of all of the announcements there was a 10-point plan in the throne speech to get the economy going and create jobs, but you know, when I looked at it I saw that five of them were old plans that were already going that haven't created any jobs. And then there are five new programs to create jobs.

We're going to have another Commission on Learning that's going to report within a year. That'll make, I think, number five or number six in terms of learning commissions since 1986. Nothing new about that one except the timing may be bringing it back and recycling it, but I don't think that's going to create any jobs.

Province-wide testing of grade 9 students later this year: You know, I remember the member for London North begging the government two and three years ago to start testing so that we'd have some idea of whether the education system in the province of Ontario was effective. I saw two or three ministers of Education—because we've recycled a few of those—and they all said, "No, we don't need testing," but finally there's going to be some testing. I give the credit for that to the member for London North, not to the NDP government.

I see we're going to have \$25 million for Jobs Ontario Youth to create 10,000 summer jobs. That's a new one. I mean, I think we've been doing that in the province of Ontario for probably 25 years. But I don't see that as a plan that's going to create any permanent jobs. It's a very noble thing to do, and it's the right thing to do, but I don't think it's going to create any permanent jobs as part of this 10-point program.

I see a community investment share and loan program. That is a good idea. I'm quite prepared, as members of my party are, to encourage worthwhile

initiatives, and that is a worthwhile initiative.

Then I see another white paper on social assistance to be released this summer. We've had the SARC report sitting on the shelf for how many years now? How many years has that been sitting on the shelf? It continues to sit and we're going to have another white paper and probably another commission following that.

I don't see the throne speech, quite frankly, as offering the solutions that the Premier's promised. He says this is all about creating jobs, and what does he do? He raises our hydro rates, he brings in Bill 40, he's going to implement pay equity at a difficult time in terms of the economy, he's going to try and implement employment equity at a difficult time. At the same time, each of those things is going to cost us jobs, and I don't see anything in the speech from the throne that's going to create jobs. All I see is a negative effect of slowing down the recovery from the recession by raising taxes.

Big taxes and big spending are the order of this government; they were the order of the Liberal government. It just amazes me, it boggles my mind, that the government has not learned to dissociate itself from the programs and the direction of its Liberal predecessor. Big spending and big taxing and big debt have hurt the province of Ontario, and the very idea of another tax coming along to slow the recovery is absolutely the kind of thing that I would expect a Liberal government to embark on, and I see that the NDP is just going to follow suit.

The other aspect of this is that we've also had a spate of spending by this government. We've had a spate of spending. We've had \$200 million in expenditures to drive the private sector out of child care, and we haven't created a single, solitary new child care/day care space. We've just spent \$200 million and we've bought out the private sector.

We've spent \$20 million this year on the Interim Waste Authority, and we learned today that the minister in charge of doling out the money didn't even know it was coming from his ministry; \$20 million, and he didn't know it was coming out of his ministry. The minister responsible for the greater Toronto area, \$20 million of expenditure, how can we ask him whether we got value for the money? He doesn't even know he spent the money.

As a grant to de Havilland: \$95 million. I don't know if it created a single job. The cost of the Fair Tax Commission: \$3 million. Since it has been created, all I see is it's a convenient way to avoid answering any questions about where the government's going in terms of developing a tax program. "Well, it's before the Fair Tax Commission," and ultimately we'll see what it says about it.

The Advocacy Commission and the advocacy system



created by the recently passed advocacy and consent bills will, according to government estimates, cost \$30 million to run. I can tell you that your stakeholders, as you're so fond of calling them, say that it's going to cost closer to \$100 million to run that. We're coming out of a recession. Expenditures like this will not help us get out of the recession.

In 1991 we paid, by wage settlements negotiated with OPSEU, \$250 million in increased salaries and wage packages for members of OPSEU; \$250 million at a time when the economy was turning and everybody else was getting 2%, and we were giving out \$250 million. That \$250 million compounded over three years at the high interest rates that we had in 1991 and following through to today is probably \$1 billion. Then we went ahead, to compound that, and we spent another \$8 million so that senior managers could get an 11% raise in 1991.

The government spent \$5 million to fund 64 destreaming pilot projects, according to the OSSTF, and another \$2.8 million on in-service training to implement the policy. They don't even want the policy, but they're your stakeholder, and they say that you've now spent close to \$10 million on the program.

You spent \$4 million, in the middle of a recession, to put bilingual signs in the Golden Horseshoe region. You spent \$4 million to revamp the Ontario Labour Relations Board to meet its mandate under Bill 40. The list goes on and on and on. You spent \$20 million to update assessments for a policy that you didn't even carry through, that you pulled out of the Legislature before we rose in December. The list goes on and on and on, and it's not long till you get it up to a couple of billion dollars; just wasteful, wasteful spending.

My time is very short, Mr Speaker.

**Mr Pat Hayes (Essex-Kent):** So is your memory.

**Mr Harnick:** Well, my memory might be short too, but I'll tell you something: I remember long enough in the past, I tell the member across the way, that we said, "Don't spend your way to prosperity; don't run up the deficit; don't do it, because all you're going to do is hurt the very stakeholders that elected you," and that's what you're now doing.

It's important for opposition members to be constructive, to offer the government alternatives. I was heartened by the fact that just the other day the Premier recognized the contribution that our caucus is making in terms of offering solid alternatives. I also note that he also noted the lack of alternatives coming from our friends in the Liberal Party, because they don't have any policies.

In the standing committee on finance and economic affairs, my colleague from Oakville prepared recommen-

dations in a dissenting report. He prepared recommendations that read like the blueprint for a new government that could take over and run this province, and I recommend to every person in this Legislature to read those recommendations, because they are sound policies and they present a future for the province if they're followed.

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Opening a casino might be a lot of fun for the people who are going to visit it, but it's not going to solve the economic problems unless we're going to have such a big casino that that's where the 9,000 jobs are going to be. That's going to be one big casino with 9,000 blackjack dealers, but I don't think that's the intention.

If that's the best this government can do to create jobs and bring back prosperity, that and raising our taxes, then I think, truly, this government doesn't understand where it's going. They're merely following the lead of their Liberal predecessors. They don't know where they're going and they don't know where they've come from. I tell you, I recommend to you to read this blueprint and to follow it, because it would be helpful to the people in the province of Ontario.

My time is limited, and I appreciate this opportunity to try and be constructive, to try and indicate that we as an opposition, our caucus, the Ontario Progressive Conservative caucus, has alternatives, and we beseech the government to follow them.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve):** I wish to thank the honourable member for Willowdale for his participation. Further debate?

**Mr Mills:** I'm going to have a few things to say about the speech from the throne, but first of all, I can't carry on if I don't address some of the comments made by the member for Willowdale.

I mean, how anybody in his right mind can get up in this Legislature and talk about taxes, when that party instituted a three-month tax increase on cigarettes, on tobacco, on gasoline, on diesel fuel, every three months, and you know, they did it in such an insidious manner that it didn't come before this Legislature; it wasn't debated in here; it was introduced very cunningly and the public was unwittingly twisted out of a tax increase every three months.

The member for York North is sitting there. He's the only Liberal member who's here this afternoon to listen to this. They had the courage that when they got into power, they did away with that ad valorem tax immediately on their election, and I give them credit for that. But those people didn't do it, and they have the audacity to stand here and talk about tax increases. You should be downright ashamed of yourself. It's awful.

Now we get to the speech from the throne. This is a

challenge. It's a challenge for all of us, and perhaps the most important challenge is the control of the deficit. Yet we have to raise taxes to satisfy the public and the people of Ontario, who for ever want more and more and more.

Back in the 1930s when we had a recession, the people used to get on a train and traverse the country looking for jobs, on the trains, but that doesn't do in the 1990s. People today in Ontario expect the government to stand for them and to help them, and that's what this government's doing.

But we stood alone. We look at the federal government, how it's devastated this province of ours. Welfare has more than doubled, to \$6.2 billion, a figure we've come to really worry about, by the federal offloading. Federal limits imposed on health, welfare and education transfers mean that this year in Ontario we will receive \$4.5 billion less than we did last year. And then they talk about why don't we reduce the deficit.

The government in Ottawa has devastated this province of Ontario, and I can tell you that when the election is called in June it will be history and there's no doubt about that.

Tax revenues continue to lag and that's a very severe problem in this province. We've got corporations claiming losses for past years against current gains and they're not paying taxes now. That doesn't help.

Another big problem that's hurting every one of us here and hurting every one of our constituents is the underground economy. That's a situation that is hurting everybody. You couple the underground economy with the widespread cheating—that's another thing that's hurting our economy, and a friend despises that word "cheating," but I can tell him, and I'm going to talk about this, today I have an article in the *Toronto Star*, "Smuggling Booze Is Big Business."

They're going to have to lay off a lot of workers with the LCBO, and that's a crime. The workers who work in our liquor stores are decent human beings like us. They contribute to the community, they run the hockey games, they're coaches, they go to work, they support their churches, they support charities, and here we are: Andy Brandt, one of your members who we appointed to the LCBO, says, "If we aren't able to raise as much, the liquor board has to reduce its workforce."

I say to you that everybody who is smuggling, when you go across to the United States and bring it back in, it's cheating. You're hurting liquor control board workers in your riding. Listen, you're hurting them all. It doesn't matter where you live; there are liquor control board store workers in your riding and you are hurting them and don't you forget it.

Illegal alcohol and the smugglers and the cheaters are

hurting all of us. Every dollar they cheat us in taxes is costing you and me and our constituents \$1 to make up that shortfall.

There's another big problem, and I want to talk about cigarettes. Now, this is really unbelievable. It's costing the taxpayers and you and me millions and millions of dollars in Ontario—millions. But these people who do this think they're pretty smart, and I suspect that those very people, front and centre, condemn this New Democratic government for running the province. I suspect they're the ones. The ones who are cheating, the ones who are smuggling are the very people who have the audacity to stand and go around and attend these meetings and condemn this government. These are the ones.

I can talk at length about the cheating on gasoline and diesel fuel in this province. That's my specialty. I worked for the Ministry of Revenue. The tax that is avoided on gasoline and on diesel in this province is costing us millions. I suspect that the tax would pay a great, big chunk even towards our health care costs. But you know, these people who do it are a phoney bunch of entrepreneurs. They run all over the country in Jags. They've got numbered companies and they rip off the taxpayers of this province. Yet those very people are the ones who no doubt funded those great, big billboards on Bay Street that condemn the New Democratic Party for turning towards Bill 40 and making this province right for workers, the very people who turn around and cheat everybody in this province on their taxes.

What about all the people in this province who are so sanctimonious that they stand there and condemn this government? They say we can't run a peanut stand, that we don't know what we're doing. But they have gasoline in their backyards that they get, supposedly, to run off-road equipment. Now, I ask you, there's the tank, there are the cars, and what do you think happens? Well, you know what happens; I know what happens. These people use gasoline that they're not paying any taxes on to run all over the province, and these same people are the first in line to say: "This government shouldn't raise taxes. We don't want any tax increases. We've had enough." But they're not paying their fair share now, they're not playing the game, believe you me, Mr Speaker. You know that.

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And what about the receipt game, the big business, the entrepreneurs who've got the fancy seats in the SkyDome, who go around collecting receipts at the liquor store? "I want that, because I'm going to use it. I'll keep the bill for the restaurant; I'm going to use that. Let's go to the SkyDome and have a wonderful do, and we'll write that off." This is all agreed to in Ottawa. You can write off 80% of all the business



expenses, and you and I, we go out, we take our friends for lunch, and we can't claim a penny. We can't claim a blinking thing, but all these people can do this. This is what's costing Ontario.

What about the phoney guy who—this has happened to me. I wanted a bathroom put in. The guy comes to my house and he says, "Well, Mr Mills, we've got two ways of doing it." I say, "What are the ways?" He said: "Well, there's the cash way and there's the receipt way. What way do you want?" I said, "Do you know what I do for a living?" He said, "I don't care what you do for a living." I said, "Well, I want a receipt," because I believe we live in Ontario, we've got the benefits of health, we've got the benefits of education, we get all these benefits, and we all should stand up and pay our fair share.

I say to all those people that are looking in, you worry about tax increases and the deficit that we are facing. Examine yourself and say to yourself: "What have I done? Have I taken one of these no-receipt deals?"

Why do you think the Minister of Transportation had to bring in some sort of legislation to control car sales? Because everybody was selling the car with a phoney receipt. That's a fact. We were losing millions. That's why the minister who sits there this afternoon had to introduce that.

**Hon Mr Pouliot:** Now I can't afford a car.

**Mr Mills:** Now he can't afford a car, he says.

All of these things I've outlined are costing all of us in Ontario very dearly. The Conservatives think it's fun; they're laughing. It's not fun, it's serious, because every one of these people who are beating the system, be it gasoline, diesel, cigarettes, liquor, or whether it be the phoney receipt or no receipt for having something done in your house or your driveway or your garden, every dollar that those people do not pay, it costs you, me, even the member for Willowdale, who's not here. He speaks a good yarn but then he clears out.

**Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West):** That's unfair, Gordon.

**Mr Mills:** Well, it's true. We stand here, we listen to you and you do not listen back.

*Interjections.*

**The Acting Speaker:** Order.

**Mr Mills:** All of these people, every dollar that these jackals and these misfits do away from us is a dollar that you and your constituents have to repay. That's why we're in the jackpot that we're in, because people have not got the uprightness or the fortitude to pay their way in this province. Those people who dodge taxes, I venture to say, are the very first ones to be

shouting the blues about tax increases and about the New Democratic government.

In closing—some of my friends want to talk; my time's limited—before we blame the government, before we condemn the speech from the throne, before we keep on about how we don't know what we're doing, I appeal to everyone in Ontario to do some self-evaluation: "Do I cheat? Do I pay my fair taxes? Am I playing the game with my fellow Ontarians?" If you can honestly say, "I'm playing the game with my fellow Ontarians," I think that's very commendable. But strangely enough, so many people out there are not playing the game, and I find that very distressing in these times of need, when we need to sustain our health care, need to sustain education, which is the best investment we can make in our young people, when we can provide child care for young mothers who want to get back in the workforce, when we can provide opportunities for people who are on welfare to get back in the workforce. All of these wonderful programs have been hindered to a large, large extent by these types of people, the underground economy, the cheaters, the smugglers et al.

With that, Mr Speaker, I thank you for listening to me and I thank the members, and I will give the floor over to another member, another colleague.

**The Acting Speaker:** I wish to thank the honourable member for Durham East. Further debate?

**Mr Charles Beer (York North):** It is a pleasure to rise and join in this debate. Before talking about some of the specific areas that appeared in the throne speech and talking about where it is that we need to go in this province, there have been some things, a number of things, said today which warrant response.

Some of you will remember that the former Treasurer, Mr Nixon, when he was here, used to look over. One of his comments he had about the Premier was that he said he was always operating under a halo and that one of the problems the New Democrats had was a disease he called haloism. But as I've been sitting in this House since the beginning of this session, and particularly as I've listened today to the leader of the third party and to the leader of the member for Willowdale, I have a sense that that halo is starting to shift, and that there is some incredible view the Progressive Conservative Party has that somehow everything it has ever done, every position on fiscal-financial matters, has been pure and pristine. Surely we all know that nothing could be further from the truth.

If we go back to the period from 1981 to 1985, it would be interesting to learn, among other things, that the percentage growth in spending was well over 11%, well above that of the period from 1986 to 1990 when the Liberals formed the government; that the average

per cent of growth for the debt under the Conservatives from 1981 to 1985 was 11% and under the Liberal administration was 5.1%.

It was the Conservative government that—dare one say it?—gave us, the taxpayers of this province, Suncor, and how long did it take us to pay that off? If you were looking at the press only last week, you saw that that \$400-million boondoggle was something that the taxpayers of this province were still having to finally resolve.

It was the Conservatives as government who brought us Darlington, and we're still dealing with that.

So let's be very clear. We can sit here and argue about actions taken by any government and it'll be interesting and we can have a very enjoyable afternoon, but let's remove the halos. Let's admit that we are today in very different circumstances, and that it is probably fair to say that every government in the 1980s, through to and including the government of the 1990s—every one of us would say there were things we wish now we had not done, things that we ought not to have done. But it is today, 1993, it is April, and we must deal with the world we have.

We must not fool ourselves in thinking we are all perfect, and it is what we have done in the past and how we are going to proceed that will also be perfect. That is not going to get us anywhere, and it is time, frankly, for the Conservatives to put that away and to join in the real debate and not go on in a kind of negativism, nagging, raising issues that, in terms of what we're dealing with today, no longer matter. If they want to go back and look at their record, all one has to do is to say that for 15 straight years when they were the government, the deficit went up—15 straight years.

But that is the past. Our government is the past. We are dealing now with April 1993, and that's what we've got to go on and discuss.

1700

I want, in looking at the throne speech, to focus on three things: education, children's services and then, in a very specific way, the proposed environmental bill of rights and the issue of waste disposal.

As one goes around the province, and as the education and children services' critic I have doing that, talking with parents, with trustees, with students, with taxpayers, we all recognize that there is, right now, a real crisis in our educational system.

Unfortunately, it is the kind of crisis that the Minister of Education today furthers when he is not prepared to live up to the commitments that were openly made to school boards around the funding of the system. Because it is one thing to recognize that we are in difficult economic and financial times, but if all one is

doing is offloading that debt to another level, then we have not solved anything. Again, it is something that all governments have done, but in this new period we have to recognize that it cannot be done again.

What the government tells us is that there is going to be a Commission on Learning. But we've got to make sure that just because there's going to be a Commission on Learning we don't stop dealing with real and immediate problems. One of the things that we've got to determine is, what is it that our schools are supposed to do? What is it that we want teachers to do? What are the expectations that all of us are placing on our educational system?

I would say that the expectations that we've been placing on that system over the last 10 years have changed dramatically, that when you walk into the classroom today you see young people with far more problems, whether they're behavioural or learning problems, a whole series of things that have happened simply because our society has changed so much during that period.

We've got to recognize it in saying, "What is it that we want the school system to do?" Because school boards, in effect, now are also boards of health; they're boards of social work, they're boards of recreation. What is the role of the school and what is the role of the teacher within it? If we don't answer that question, we're not going to solve the problem around the funding of the system.

We had the Fair Tax Commission, which has made its report with respect to property taxes. We don't know. I asked the minister here in the House, "Is funding going to be part of the royal commission's mandate?" It's a very critical question and one that we have to have a straight answer on, because we can't wait until the end of 1994 to get solutions to how we are more adequately going to fund our system of education.

It's interesting that every party in the last decade—Conservative, Liberal, New Democrat—has promised to shift the funding for our educational system to 60% on provincial taxes and 40% from the local share and every one—Conservative, Liberal, New Democrat—has not been able to live up to that commitment.

I suggest to you that the only way we're going to be able to really resolve this issue of how we can properly fund our educational system to meet the needs of the kids who are out there is to take the work that has already been done, bring together the boards, bring together those who are most directly involved in the funding of the system and say, "We must, prior to the next budget, bring about real and fundamental change to the funding of our school system." I think the minister is going to have to get on with that on a parallel basis,



if it's not within the Commission on Learning, but we've got to move on that and we've got to move on it very, very quickly.

The other issue that parents in particular are asking is: "What about the quality of the system? How do we know that what our young people are learning is going to provide them with the education and the skills that they need for the jobs that await them?"

Again, we have looked, over the course of the last 10 years, at a whole series of proposals and propositions to make our schools the best that we can. I think we have to say that on balance we have a very good system of education, but in order for us to compete in this new world we've got to make it even better. In order to do that, we can't be saying that the blame lies only with the trustees or the blame lies only with teachers or only with parents. The only way we're going to get out of this situation is if we all work together.

Part of the blame we have to accept as citizens of this province is the demands that we have made on that system itself. But if we want to have meaningful programs in our schools, then as parents we have to be involved. One of the biggest problems facing the educational system today is the difficulty of getting parents to participate so that we have their full involvement.

In looking at the question of governance, I would suggest, whether it's the Commission on Learning that does this or whether we have to do that independently, we've got to make a much greater effort to put more control at the local level. I think it's time that we looked at school-based management of the school system.

I believe we're always going to need, between Queen's Park and the school, some form of local government accountability, but I think within that scheme we can ensure that the principal, the teachers and the parents in particular community school areas are going to be able to have a much greater impact on how that school functions and runs, and really try to meet the needs of the children, the young people who are within that school system.

As we look forward to this session, it is in really seeing if we can make progress on defining what it is we want schools to do, defining what we want teachers to do, making clearer how we are going to fund that system and responding to parental concern around standards, around ensuring that there is true and real accountability in the system. If we want to do that, we are all going to have to work together, not simply in this Legislature but with all the various groups that are outside of this place.

Within that, there is another area which, because of the recession, because of the economic difficulties, we

have to focus on, difficult though it may be, and that is the whole field of children's services.

I think it is imperative that this government move the discussion outside of the interministerial committees and a whole variety of other jargon mechanisms that exist and bring it to a legislative committee or to some very clear focus area where we can sit down and recognize what is happening in terms of child welfare, in terms of children's mental health, in terms of a whole series of things that we're seeing at the secondary schools, where more and more young people are living outside the home, where we recognize that there is more abuse, whether physical or sexual. We've got to put that out in a public discussion to look at how we're going to organize the children's services system so it can be much more effective than it is today.

I don't care where you go in this province, if you sit down today and talk with child welfare workers, if you talk with those in children's mental health, they are frightened by what they are seeing, and when we talk of deficits, that is one that is there and that will continue to be there unless we really say, as legislators, government opposition: "We've got to deal with this. We've got to come to grips with it."

I think we were given a guide book in the report on Children First. I think the government made a great mistake in not making that a more public document and seeking response to it so that we could then really begin to address the question of children's services. What I'm saying is that it's not addressed in the throne speech. It is a critical need and it's something to which this government must respond, and must respond now.

Je veux aussi dire et souligner que, dans le domaine des services de langue française, dans le domaine de l'éducation en français on attend toujours des actions du gouvernement. J'ai deux choses à dire, et je suis content que le ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones soit ici cet après-midi.

Premièrement, il est extrêmement important que le gouvernement prenne une décision sur le collège du Nord. On dit chez le gouvernement que c'est la faute du fédéral, et chez le fédéral que c'est la faute de la province. Mais, durant tout ce temps, ce sont les jeunes francophones dans le Grand Nord qui attendent leur collège. Je pense qu'il est très important de terminer ces discussions pour assurer l'éducation aux francophones au niveau postsecondaire.

Deuxièmement, il y a la tutelle qui existe à Ottawa où le conseil public francophone est sous tutelle. Peu importe les raisons il y a deux ans pour la création de cette tutelle, c'est très clair qu'aujourd'hui ça ne marche pas et que nous devons, ensemble, trouver une solution. Mais la tutelle, ce n'est pas la réponse qui va vraiment répondre aux besoins des jeunes francophones.

1710

Cette semaine, on a vu les jeunes en grève parce qu'ils veulent voir une solution. Alors, je suggère au Ministre que la chose à faire, c'est dire soit au ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones soit au ministre de l'Éducation, c'est dire aux personnes, au conseil, aux parents: «Écoutez. Il faut s'asseoir pour régler cette question.»

There is not too much time left and there is one other issue which I want to address and where I feel in many ways this government has failed most miserably, and it is repeated in the throne speech. I find, coming from the area of the province that I do, when I see in the throne speech the reference made to an environmental bill of rights, it is difficult not to choke, because we have had visited upon us by this government, by their body that arose out of Bill 143, the Interim Waste Authority, the most ludicrous process imaginable, the end result of which is to say: "You lucky people in the region of York, you are going to have the largest dump in all of North America, and we are not going to allow any other options or alternatives to be examined, to be studied. You are going to have that dump."

I am here to say to the government, to say to the new minister responsible for this disaster, that it is not going to happen, that you are going to see on Thursday people here at this Legislature who will be demonstrating and arguing and making the logical case that the government's approach is not going to work and we mustn't have it and we can't have it.

The only thing that is open to the government is to use the Environmental Assessment Act and to use it properly, which means that all of the various options must be examined, whether it's rail haul in the north or whether it's looking at energy from waste.

I would say to the Minister of the Environment that he should go to Brampton and look at the facility that they have now had up and running for almost six months, the standards of which are extremely high, and that that particular incinerator has been doing an excellent job. These are options that should be examined—not that any one of them is the only answer. It isn't.

We said at the time, in the debate on Bill 143, and I repeat today, that the last section that dealt with waste was useful and helpful, and let's move on it. But the first three sections that arbitrarily impose the system that is fundamentally anti-democratic should not stand, and we cannot and will not have a dump the size of 80 SkyDomes in the region of York, in particular when one thinks of the people of Vaughan and the people of Maple, who already have the second-largest dump in North America. And that one very cavalierly is going to say, "And you lucky people may have the largest one," that is no joking matter. It is bad public policy and it is

bad environmental policy.

We know that we are in difficult times. What one wanted to see in the throne speech was a vision, and that vision is that, just as after the Second World War, in 1945, we had gone through the recession, we had gone through the war, and Canada and this province entered into a totally new period where we needed new policies and new directions, so right now we are in that same position. We cannot battle the deficit and the debt if all we do is slash and burn and then, when things get better, go back to our old ways.

What we are having to deal with today is in effect to say that whatever we created in terms of government and government institutions may have served us more or less well for the period after the war and through the 1950s and 1960s and 1970s and into the 1980s, but that won't work any more. So we have to fundamentally reinvent government to make it suit the needs of the people of this province. If we can do that, then we will make some progress in all of this discussion around deficits and debt. But we need that vision, a vision which has not been there in terms of what the government has laid out before us, because people have to see that there is a reason for going forward, that there is something at the end of this exercise that is in fact going to lead to a stronger Ontario and to a stronger Canada.

It is for this reason that our party has moved an amendment where we are saying that this throne speech is not acceptable and we will not be supporting it; we will not be voting for it.

In concluding, I say to the government that I believe the members on this side of the House, both parties in opposition, are prepared to work towards ensuring that we bring to heel the deficit and that we accept and work with them on policies that are needed to do that. We want to make our educational system better than it is. We want to ensure that our children are dealt with fairly and that they all have a chance at a reasonable life in this province and in this country. But we are only going to do that through leadership, leadership which so far has not been coming from this government.

**The Acting Speaker:** Further debate in rotation, the honourable member for Etobicoke West.

**Mr Perruzza:** Are you going to be long?

**Mr Stockwell:** About 20 minutes.

**Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines):** Is that all you have? Is that because of Bob Rae's rules?

**Mr Stockwell:** It is. We're allowed to speak for 20 minutes on the throne speech, and I will use all 20.

**Mr Bradley:** After four months this House hasn't sat?

**Mr Stockwell:** The Premier himself hasn't even been



here two out of three days, which I find very offensive. Considering he's called us back, you'd think that he'd have the courtesy to be in this House when the question period arises, and to have him not here is certainly disturbing.

Firstly, I'd like to discuss the throne speech. I would like to cast people's minds back to the original budget that was adopted by this particular government. Back then, I think this government had a spin that it put on that specific document that we were going to fight the recession, not the deficit. I think we all remember that statement by the Treasurer at the time.

**Mr Bradley:** That was the Piper spin.

**Mr Stockwell:** That was the Piper spin, yes, and we all know what happened to that spin.

At that time I was rather flabbergasted that this government, during one of the worst recessions that we were entering, would even consider running a deficit of some \$10 billion. Ultimately, they were wrong; it was nearly \$11 billion in debt that they acquired in that first budget. I think even the most ardent supporters of this government outside these gracious halls that we work in and even some I think across the floor today will admit categorically that that budget was a huge and terrible mistake.

**Mr Bradley:** Confess over there.

**Mr Stockwell:** The confessions are coming daily, I will add. Even the Treasurer himself today talks about a deficit crisis. You hear the backbenchers talking about a deficit crisis. That deficit crisis began when a \$10-billion or \$11-billion deficit was institutionalized in that first budget that Mr Laughren, the Treasurer, brought down.

In effect, they compounded the dilemma that we were faced with at the time and continued it in the following years. Last year's budget was some \$13 billion in debt and this year they're looking at \$16 billion or \$17 billion, according to their figures; I'm not sure it's quite that high, but a significant amount of money.

This government made one of the most fundamental errors in the history of its time here when it thought that it could in fact fight a world recession on its own. They did so by driving up the deficit and increasing taxes on the already overburdened and terribly despondent taxpayer. They've learned or they claim to have learned. But in the process they've done, I think, irreparable damage to two very important structures within this province. One, they institutionalized a \$10-billion or \$11-billion debt; you've institutionalized that. It's very easy to give something to the taxpayers. You learn that at municipal government. You can give them a stop sign but it's very difficult to take it back.

Ultimately, what's done when you increase spending and when you institutionalize a \$10-billion deficit you've

created expectations by fuelling them with borrowed money. The difficult part is what they're facing today because they're trying to claw back what they gave. They're finding it very difficult because the taxpayers who receive some of these services and the broader public sector which received 14% increases in the first year don't want to give it back because that's just human nature. They don't want to give back what you had given them two short years ago. So ultimately, this government, in a rare, rare showing, which I would consider to be rare in this province, decided to fight a world recession by spending \$10 billion more than it had. That was just lunacy. It was fantasy to think that they could resolve this recessionary time by spending money on a provincial basis. Some, I think, have learned that they've made a very—

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**Mr Bob Huget (Sarnia):** Tell them to phone Regina and ask Grant Devine.

**Mr Stockwell:** Even to this day, you have the group across the floor continuing to heckle when even the most ardent fan of this government would agree it made a blunder, a very serious blunder.

**Mr Bradley:** But they're heckling in more expensive suits these days.

**Mr Stockwell:** They're heckling in more expensive suits. Gone are the checked jackets and elbow patches, I will add, but that's exactly the mistake they made, so they institutionalized the \$10-billion debt. Every year, year in and year out, they've institutionalized it. Now they're trying to claw their way back to the original \$10 billion this year.

**Mr Perruzza:** What did Grant Devine do in Saskatchewan?

**Mr Stockwell:** I can't even pretend to defend Grant Devine. I don't know what he did. I don't think his government was the greatest government in the world, but I'm not here to defend Grant Devine. I got elected as a provincial MPP to discuss the issues that affect the taxpayers today—

**Mr Perruzza:** He made a mess.

**Mr Stockwell:** Believe it or not, even though the member for Downsview pipes up, I haven't had a single constituent complain to me about Grant Devine, but I've had a truckload complain to me about Bob Rae. So that's what I'm here talking about.

Having said that, they institutionalized a \$10-billion deficit, ever-spiralling, and they've institutionalized double-digit unemployment. Those are the two legacies they are going to leave this province, a \$10-billion deficit each year, year in and year out and double-digit unemployment. And to make it very difficult to buy into, they seem happy if the unemployment rolls roll down to

10%. Six years ago, ten years ago, 10% would have been a disaster, an utter failure as an unemployment rate, but now, under Bob Rae and this NDP government, 10% is considered an acceptable, reasonable rate of unemployment in this province. That's the first of their many dilemmas that they have faced as a government.

*Interjection.*

**Mr Stockwell:** I hear from the Minister without Portfolio who can't sit at the cabinet table. Tell me and maybe I'll tell your colleagues.

I hear today that the Treasurer is talking about—

*Interjection.*

**Mr Stockwell:** I'm getting the heckling from the member who told me he was going to abolish tuition fees, not raise them. Let's just get that straight before you keep heckling.

I hear from the Treasurer today that they're in for a fundamental restructuring in this province. I don't know when this fact hit him, but we've been in a fundamental restructuring for the past three years. Half a million job losses, plant closures, manufacturing jobs lost, deficit spiralling, taxes going unpaid, people leaving this province—surely to goodness it hasn't taken this government this long to understand that we are in a fundamental restructuring in this province that will not be complete for at least a decade.

I simply don't blame this government for the recession. Of course it's not just their fault. Of course it isn't just your fault that the world goes into recessionary times. Of course it's not your fault that the provincial governments in other jurisdictions also fall under the same problems. What is your fault, what you didn't address in the throne speech, is how you reacted to this recession. You were slow, and when you finally came about to making decisions, they were the wrong decisions. They were wrongheaded.

**Mr Perruzza:** You should have used Brian's slash and burn.

**The Acting Speaker:** Order, please. The honourable member has the floor. Other members will have the opportunity.

**Mr Stockwell:** They were wrongheaded. They were based in social doctrine that simply didn't work. Who is paying for this particular wrongheaded decision-making? The people of Ontario. Not us across this floor; we are the lucky people who are still employed during this recession. Those unemployed, those on welfare, those on unemployment insurance are the ones who are paying for the wrongheaded decisions.

So when I hear from the throne speech that this government has suddenly woken up and finally discovered this recession and finally accepted the fact that

you can't spend your way to prosperity, I am somewhat cynical, because that was told to them on a number of occasions over a two- and three-year period.

It seems to me that what has happened is that nobody woke this government up other than the international monetary funds, the bond houses across this world that said to this government, "You are in such dire straits, you are so financially disorganized and mismanaged that you're going to have to shape up or we're not flogging your bonds." This government thinks our party is a tough party, a right-wing party and tough on spending. Mark my words: If they think we're tough, wait until they deal with the bond markets and bank managers when it comes to paying back what they borrowed. We're not tough compared to those people, because they don't want any debate. They just want their money.

Now, what can this government do? Having said that, they have created—

**Mr Bradley:** Resign.

**Mr Stockwell:** Besides resigning, which I don't think they'll do. They have created this dilemma. You have created it with some bad fiscal management, and I believe your Treasurer has a lot of responsibility in this. I fundamentally think that he had a lot of say in this budget, and he made some wrong decisions.

I debated those decisions with some of the members, and I know the Solicitor General today was part of a public debate we had on a local cable 10 show when we talked about the deficits and what the real deficit was, and he tried to convince us, as he was convinced by his cabinet at the time, that the real deficit was \$9.9 billion.

Surely to goodness, after what that deficit came in at, you people must have the capacity to at least debate, to question whether or not the numbers and statistics your cabinet is giving you are accurate and reflective of the economic status this province is in today, because if you're not questioning it, then you're not thinking, and if you're not thinking, you're not serving your constituents.

The fundamental problem we are going through is a restructuring in this province like we've never seen before. I say I don't blame you for the recession. I don't, but the problems that have arisen are compounded by the decisions that they've made.

You go around this province, as I have done during this last session we were off, and you talk to people about the dilemmas they're faced with, and the people say that people have to understand that government can't provide all the things that it provided for them in the past.

We speak about education. I heard the last Liberal speaker talking about education. Education must be dealt with, but it can't be dealt with by another royal commis-



sion. Do you realize that in 1993, as compared to 1960—that was just 30 years ago—we spent 300% more per student, inflation built in, just in real dollars, than we did in 1960? And they're graduating them at a rate that 37% of those students who are graduating are considered functionally illiterate.

I accept the fact that the education system may have gone downhill in the last 30 years, and I blame government, because governments allowed it to go downhill. But what really bothers me is that we're spending 300% more in real terms to produce illiterates, and that's why we're uncompetitive.

We don't need another royal commission. We need nationwide testing. We don't need to be talking to teachers about their pension fund and how much more money they're going to need to teach. We need to talk about rolling back the cost of education. We can't afford the system that's in place today. We can't afford the system that's in place today with respect to health care. We can't afford 900,000 employees in the broader public sector. We can't afford it.

Do you want to know a very scary number? This government collects \$43 billion in revenue. Do you know what the payroll for the broader public sector is? About \$43 billion. Do you know what you meet with respect to the revenue you generate? You meet your payroll, and that's all. You don't pay for a pencil, a program; you pay for nothing other than payroll.

So to suggest to the people of this province—and this is what I will say as a member of the Conservative caucus—that the fundamental restructuring that's going to take place in the next 10 years isn't going to be painful is misleading. It will be painful. To suggest that the services we've enjoyed can be left in place is absolutely wrong, to suggest that restructuring can take place in the private sector and not in government is absolutely wrongheaded and dead wrong, and to suggest that government can continue to spend at the level it's been spending is absolutely ludicrous. We can't.

I don't blame this government specifically. Some of these programs were put in place by previous Liberal governments and Conservative governments. But we as legislators, collectively we, have done a bad job in the last five to seven years of managing this provincial economy and managing the province in general.

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From Confederation to 1985, \$30 billion in debt is what we acquired. You've seen the projections from this Treasurer that if we don't make some serious changes, it's going to be well over \$100 billion in 10 short years. That is scary.

**Hon Mr Pouliot:** You're starting to get it.

**Mr Stockwell:** You're starting to get it. But we

continue to raise the hackles of the members across the floor, and we continue to raise the hackles of the supporters of the members from across the floor, by speaking plain English and explaining simple finances.

**Hon Richard Allen (Minister without Portfolio in Economic Development and Trade):** The debt-to-ratio situation of the GDP in 1981-82 was exactly the same as it is today.

**Mr Stockwell:** Excuse me?

**The Acting Speaker:** Order. Please overlook the interjection. Interjections are out of order.

**Mr Stockwell:** I'll deal with the GDP. Collectively, in this country, we have \$650 billion in debt. Our GDP as a country is 100% of gross domestic product. The suggestion is that the GDP as a percentage is the same as it was in 1981 or 1982. This is just fantasyland economics. Why it is fantasyland economics is because it matters not what percentage your GDP and debt is, it doesn't matter, because what it comes down to, I tell the ex-Minister of Colleges and Universities—I'm not sure what you are now. What I say to you is this: The difficulty with debt is you can acquire as much as you can service. That's the most comfortable part. We've long since passed, as a province, the ability to acquire and service our debt.

What would I tell this government if I were in its shoes? What offers would I make today? What advice would I give you? My advice is to be upfront with the public and be frank and brutally honest.

*Interjections.*

**Mr Stockwell:** Let me finish. The question is, have they been frank and brutally honest? I will say to you, Mr Speaker, and I say to the members across the floor, you have been nothing but mischievous and deceitful in your previous budgets. I look across at the member from Agincourt and I know first hand that we could have told you what your debt was the day you announced your budget. You wouldn't admit it. That isn't being honest. Your debt was always \$13 billion or \$14 billion, always, from day one on, but you wouldn't admit it.

If you go forward and take the people into your confidence by treating them honestly and telling them, "We are \$13 billion or \$14 billion in debt, and we want your help and advice," and go to the bureaucrats in this province—and I don't think you're wrong in asking for rollbacks and cuts. I think you were wrong to give them 14% in the first year. If I were in your shoes, I wouldn't be in that mess, because I would never have given them 14% in the first year. But I think that's a good move, I think it's a fair move, and when that legislation comes through because they're not going to accept it, I will support this government.

**Mr George Mammoliti (Yorkview):** You wouldn't

have asked for their advice; you wouldn't have negotiated. That's the difference.

**The Acting Speaker:** Order, please. The member for Yorkview is not in his seat, and interjections are not in order.

**Mr Stockwell:** Mr Speaker, I will direct my response to the member for Yorkview. I tried to explain to the member for Yorkview that I wouldn't need to go back to them: I wouldn't have given them that kind of increase in the first year. Having said that, you gave it to them. If you bring forward recommendations to this House calling for rollbacks in wages from the broader public sector, I personally will commit to you that I will support them, because I think you're going to have to do it. I will support the program cuts that you're looking for. I will support most of the programs you've been talking about, because as I said the other day at the throne speech, I came back looking for a good fight with a socialist, and I couldn't find one. The conversion is incredible.

Finally, and I only have one minute to wrap up—

**Mrs Ellen MacKinnon (Lambton):** Thank goodness.

**Mr Stockwell:** I was going to chortle and offer a salient comment, but I considered the source.

Finally, this restructuring is not going to end once you leave power, and I know you're going to leave power. In two years, you won't be there. Whoever moves in is going to have a very difficult time.

**Mr Mammoliti:** Do you want to read my palm?

**Mr Stockwell:** I don't need to read your palm; I read the two by-election results.

What I would suggest to this government in closing is that as long as you're upfront and truthful, the people will buy into your plans. But for three years, using your integrity level as a benchmark—I look to the Ferguson affair, to the Masters affair, to the Shelley Martel affair—you'd better change directions pretty quickly, because in my opinion you're reaching a level of fringe party status because of your inability to deal with the integrity issue in your cabinet and caucus and your inability to handle the fiscal problems in this province.

So if you're truthful and honest with the people, you may find opposition will come forward and in fact support some of the programs you're calling for today.

**The Acting Speaker:** I wish to thank the honourable member for his participation. Further debate?

**Mr Mike Cooper (Kitchener-Wilmot):** It's a pleasure to participate in the debate on the throne speech.

Our government has introduced in the throne speech a 10-point plan to put Ontario back to work. We will use creative and innovative methods to ensure economic and

social justice in the province of Ontario. I believe the role of the government is to ensure that the most vulnerable in society are protected. We made a commitment in 1990 to increase social services and bring about true social justice in the province of Ontario. However, because of the recession and the debt we inherited from previous governments, we have had to accept at this time to maintain and preserve these services until the economic recovery is such that we can expand these services.

In order to maintain our social services, one of our mandates from the citizens of Ontario has been to review the programs, boards and agencies in the public service, looking for inefficiency, duplication and redundancy. The government of Ontario believes that the best way to restructure effectively is by doing it in a planned, well-thought-out and fair way, that is, through a negotiated social contract, not through sweeping cuts, as has been done in other provinces.

To do this requires careful review, working in partnership to make these changes, giving service deliverers adequate time to make changes, encouraging restructuring and preserving essential services and minimizing job loss while reducing costs. The public has asked for this in the past, but previous administrations have refused to deal with this issue. Our government is not afraid to find a workable solution that will be both fair and equitable to the public service and still maintain social justice.

The Ontario investment fund was an opportunity for the broader public service to voluntarily buy into its own future, encouraging growth and revitalization in Ontario, but it chose not to participate. Now, in partnership with the private sector, we will provide companies with an opportunity for long-term investment, an investment in not only their future but the future of all Ontarians.

Pride, dignity and respect: These are three simple words that carry a great deal of meaning to all the citizens of Ontario. Through our 10-point plan, we recognized this need, and through legislation we are helping those in society who have for too long been deprived of these rights.

Our government is providing justice in the workplace. We are recognizing and aiding those agencies in the broader public sector that are known to be predominantly female and of low wage. The pay equity down payment announced earlier this spring is simply justice for working women and a commitment to pay women for the value of the work that they perform. Our plan includes extending pay equity to an additional 400,000 working women in the province of Ontario.

Employment equity strengthens social justice. Employment equity draws upon the talents of all Ontarians, not just a select few. Again, employment equity provides justice in the workplace for members of visible minor-



ities, people with disabilities, women and aboriginal people, and ensures that they are treated fairly by their employers.

This government leads by example. As one of the province's largest employers, we realize that achieving employment equity is a process of long organizational change. This government remains committed to that goal.

The passage of Bill 40 is another example of our commitment to social justice in the workplace. Our workforce has changed significantly over the years. Bill 40 recognizes and respects these changes. Our economy has shifted away from the industrial sector and is more concentrated in the service sector, and the number of part-time workers has more than doubled. Bill 40 provides workers in Ontario their right to fairness, respect and dignity in the workplace, encouraging partnerships and cooperation, building on teamwork and enhancing the workplace.

The Ontario Training and Adjustment Board is an exciting piece of legislation, encouraging partnerships between businesses, labour, educators, training providers and community-based groups who, together, recognize the training needs in Ontario. The local training boards will be able to custom-fit training requirements to their local areas. Both employers and employees benefit from training to upgrade skills, making our workforce more competitive in a global market. We have made job creation and training a top priority.

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The announced Jobs Ontario Capital fund will fund improvements to the infrastructure of our province. In partnerships with municipalities and the private sector, we will be investing in our highways, transit systems, improving water quality, conservation and expanding our telecommunication networks. Investment in the infrastructure of our province makes our province more attractive to investors.

Jobs Ontario Training will continue to train our workforce, to train our youth and to upgrade skills. Jobs Ontario Homes has provided affordable housing while creating jobs in the construction industry, which has gone through tough times because of the extended recession we are in. The Jobs Ontario Training fund is an example of the New Democrat government carefully investing Ontario's limited resources to create jobs and maintain essential services.

We have set up a cabinet committee on the North American free trade deal. We are going out and listening to what people have to say. Our government strongly feels that NAFTA is a bad deal for Ontario. We've been hearing this across the province. Our economic renewal is beginning. Let us remain in control of our destiny and say no to NAFTA.

We have brought to the political process a consultation process that encourages participation by all. To ensure economic and social justice for all, we must continue with our partnerships to deal with issues and opportunities, because we are all in this together. Our 10-point plan to put Ontario back to work is based on those principles. Our programs and policies are based on economic and social justice, based on partnerships and responsibility.

**The Acting Speaker:** I thank the honourable member for his participation. Further debate.

**Mr Bradley:** I begin my response to the speech from the throne with the lament that of course there is so little time to discuss the many issues which confront our province and specifically the constituency which I represent. Part of the reason for that is because of the new rules that Premier Rae has implemented in this House, has imposed upon the Ontario Legislature, which will not permit members of this Legislature to analyse and debate legislation and policy in the manner to which we have been accustomed in years gone by when this House represented democracy and an opportunity for individual members to air those views.

The fact is, in addition to that, this Legislative Assembly has not been in session since December 10, 1992, and simply came back for the speech from the throne on April 13. Subsequent to that, we have had three question periods. The Premier is one for three in showing up for those question periods, where matters of great public importance are being discussed.

That's most unfortunate, because I well recall in years gone by the reverence that the now Premier of this province, in his capacity as leader of the official opposition and leader of the New Democratic Party, had for democratic principles and for the traditions of this House. Those have disappeared with the new rules, which now entrench in the Office of the Premier and unelected people in this province new powers which rob not only members of the opposition but elected government members of their opportunity to influence policy in a manner which would be productive for all of us, because I think there are members on all sides of the House who have some good ideas and some good suggestions for some of the problems that confront our province.

I would like to raise some local issues, because that's about all that this will allow us the opportunity to do, and some of those local issues are important to all of us who represent the Niagara Peninsula.

First of all, I urge the government, and I didn't see any specific reference in the speech from the throne in this regard, to look very carefully, to analyse and to promote the automotive and automotive parts industry in Ontario.

Our own community has been devastated by two announcements particularly that have been made by General Motors. One was that they intended to close the foundry in St Catharines, a modern, efficient foundry with a well-trained and well-known and accepted workforce in St Catharines, and in addition to that part of the engine plant, but also the rear axle plant was the latest announcement to be made.

I am hopeful that the Premier will at long last accept the suggestion which I have made to him for several months, and that is that he go to the city of Detroit, that he talk with the top officials of General Motors to put the case for the province of Ontario and investments by General Motors in my community of St Catharines and other parts of this province, because I think the weight of the Premier's office, regardless of who occupies that office, is considerable and can have an influence on the future investment policies of major corporations and on changing decisions which have been made in the past in other circumstances.

I hope that the province of Ontario will make that effort, will see the automotive industry as being an extremely important one. It is estimated that one in three jobs, directly or indirectly, is at least influenced by the automotive and automotive parts industry, so all members of this House have I think an interest, as far as their constituents are concerned, in a strong automotive industry.

I also want to say that within the allocation which has been made—and I'm not one who stands in the House and says that the government has a lot of new money it can infuse into the economy; it does not have that money. We've had a discussion of why that is the case. I don't want to discuss that part, because I think, in fairness, I want to say within the allocation which has been provided to the various ministries, I would like to point out the priorities we have in the Niagara region. Then the ministers and the government may make their judgements on where their priorities would lie.

Members from the Niagara region attended at the regional council a meeting where it was pointed out that in very recent years next to no money has been coming into the Niagara Peninsula for sewer and water services. All of us who represent various parts of the region want to see an investment of provincial funds from that allocation. That means perhaps others will not have that opportunity; their members certainly can make that case. But I would like to see this government investing again in the cleanup of water in our province. I think that can be done by the regular grant program that is available through the Ministry of the Environment.

This government likes to refer to it as "Jobs Ontario." That's just a term which is used. It means nothing to me and nothing to the people of my constituency. All it is

is the regular grant program and the regular programs with less money being doled out by the provincial government. So I consider that to be somewhat of a ruse.

But put that aside. Members who sat in at that meeting will be happy to see the government decide to invest money in cleaning up the waterways, as has been happening in the past. Sewage treatment plants have to be upgraded and expanded, and water treatment plants where necessary for the purposes of providing pure water for people. Again I recognize that there isn't an unlimited amount of money over there, and I don't want to be unfair enough to suggest that somehow the government can simply create those funds out of midair; it cannot do so.

I raise the issue of the Niagara Peninsula Children's Centre, which is near and dear to those of us who had a chance to tour that centre and see the fine work which is being done by that staff. There is a fund-raising committee out there, and to show you how much support there is, it's been extremely successful in raising the private sector or the non-government sector funding for that—the volunteer sector funding.

They're now awaiting the final approval of the Ministry of Health so that they can be involved in and move along with the redevelopment of that particular building, which now serves about 1,000 young people in a building which should accommodate 400 to 500 people at best. That's why I raise the issue in the House today. I know other members from the peninsula have no doubt raised it with the minister in various ways that they have available to them.

Another issue I am concerned about is the fact that we have CAT scans taking place in the United States, when in fact we have some capacity in the Niagara Peninsula. If only we had the appropriate funding and staffing within the machines that exist in the Niagara Peninsula. I'm now pleased to say that we have two machines in the Niagara Peninsula. If we were to utilize those machines with the appropriate funding, we would find that people wouldn't have to head to the other side of the border to get their health care. If there were no such capacity, one could understand the government perhaps opting on an interim basis for that kind of endeavour, but in this case that is available in the province of Ontario.

I want to say as well that the family and children's services staff are working in quarters that are extremely cramped and not conducive to providing the best possible service to people, particularly in the Welland office, but certainly the St Catharines office is in the same position.

Is my time up soon?

**The Acting Speaker:** The honourable member's time is up.



1750

**Mr Bradley:** I see. I didn't know I was allocated that time, but I would like to thank the Speaker for being very tolerant and say to my constituents that Bob Rae has limited the amount of time that I have to speak today.

**The Acting Speaker:** I thank the honourable member. Further debate? The honourable member for Essex-Kent.

**Mr Hayes:** I'm very pleased to get up and speak for a few moments on the throne speech. I find it rather interesting, when you get members from the opposition get up and complain about not having enough time to speak, they spend more time complaining than they actually do to speak on the issue.

This throne speech is a plan to put Ontario back to work. The plan consists of programs and policies that are already working for Ontario, such as health care reform and Jobs Ontario. It also includes new initiatives in economic development and education. It is a plan that will bring about fundamental reforms in the delivery of government services to the public and in the cost of those services. The goal is to return Ontario to a prosperity that is based on responsible fiscal management; investment in jobs; partnerships between government, business and labour; a principle of fairness and human dignity; respect for the environment; and an abiding concern to provide for the vulnerable among us and especially the children in this province.

An investment in infrastructure: This government has launched more than 1,700 infrastructure projects throughout the Jobs Ontario Capital fund, creating more than 9,000 jobs across Ontario. Total capital spending by the government last year created about 75,000 jobs.

In partnerships with the municipalities and the private sector, we will invest \$6 billion over the next decade to build new highways and public transit, improve our water quality and conservation and expand telecommunication networks. These are the concerns, I know, that everyone in the House has. We talk about our water quality and especially the environment.

The restructuring of Ontario Hydro will ensure that electricity rates support economic renewal by making our industries more competitive and will provide the residents of Ontario with a secure and affordable source of energy.

Since last summer, the government has helped create more than 19,000 new job opportunities through our Jobs Ontario Training programs, and the number of jobs available is growing at a rate of 1,000 per week. Jobs Ontario Training is getting thousands of people off welfare and into jobs. Also, not only does it benefit employees but it also is a benefit to the employers in

this province.

The new Ontario Training and Adjustment Board will add to this success. It reflects our commitment to work with labour, business, educators and the broader community to provide training that offers real opportunities in the real world.

This government will continue to develop partnerships with the private sector to help Ontario industries grow and compete while providing more and better jobs. To meet the challenges of the new economy, Ontario companies need access to long-term capital. In partnership with the private sector, we will establish the Ontario investment fund to give companies a new source of long-term investment. I think this is one of the problems where governments have traditionally failed. We've always had so many ad hoc programs, programs that take care of this year, and we really have not for many years planned for the future in long-term planning to build the economy and to put people back to work in Ontario.

We are acting to bring economic renewal into the heart of our communities, particularly in rural and northern Ontario. The budget will contain, of course, the details on our community economic development. I'm sure members from all sides will be quite excited when they see our new economic development program.

This session the new community investment share and loan program will also be established to give small and medium-sized businesses better access to money. This will assist people who want to invest in their local communities through business creation and expansion. As well, \$100 million has been raised for venture capital investment in small and medium-sized Ontario companies through labour-sponsored investment funds.

To strengthen the economic renewal, Ontario farmers are being provided with cost-effective financing and programs to stabilize farm income. Of course, the one example I know that members themselves and also the farmers in this province which was actually a farmer-driven program was the commodity loan guarantee program, which was initiated by this government, using a provincial guarantee to provide farmers with lower-cost working capital. Over the next year, this program will give farmers access to \$100 million.

Of course, there's another program the Minister of Agriculture and Food will announce shortly, and that's the private mortgage program. That particular program will allow people in our rural communities to invest in farms to help new farmers and to help others who may be in financial need to get an affordable and a decent rate for their mortgage.

On health care, this government will continue to implement reforms in the health care system to control health care costs while improving the quality of service

that is the envy of countries throughout the world. Hospitals are now providing more outpatient care, occupancy rates are decreasing, hospital stays are shorter, more surgery is done as day surgery and the total number of patients treated is up. Over the previous decade, the provincial spending on health care grew, on average, about 11% a year. Now that growth is almost down to 1%, and during this recession this government will implement a historic shift in the way we care for people, by introducing an innovative system of long-term care for the elderly and the disabled.

I think one of the most important things here is that we have involved the community in all of the projects that we are looking at and all the innovations, all the

ideas by this government. We talked to labour, we talked to the community, we talked to the municipal people, we talked to corporations. Everybody has input before we make decisions on their future. I think this is something that says for this government that it is a very open government and Bob Rae is right forward with the people in this province. That's one of the things I get compliments on Bob Rae. The people say he's a very honest person, and that's the one thing they've been looking for in politicians.

**The Acting Speaker:** The time for all three political parties having now elapsed for today, this House will stand adjourned until tomorrow at 1:30 of the clock.

The House adjourned at 1758.

#### ERRATA

No.	Page	Column	Line	Should read:
3	39	1	48	at St John Bosco school, that they, like hundreds of
3	47	2	32	which translates into an 87% failure rate, a one in eight success
3	60	2	37	"We believe that the SWAMP options"—that's a



# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

## ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE DE L'ONTARIO

Lieutenant Governor/Lieutenant-gouverneur: Lt Col The Hon/L'hon Henry N.R. Jackman CM, KStJ, BA, LLB, LLD

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Sergeant at Arms/Sergent d'armes: Thomas Stelling

Constituency/Circonscription	Member/Député(e)	Party/Parti	Other responsibilities/Autres responsabilités
Algoma	<b>Wildman, Hon/L'hon Bud</b>	ND	Minister of Environment and Energy, minister responsible for native affairs / ministre de l'Environnement et de l'Énergie, ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones
Algoma-Manitoulin	Brown, Michael A.	L	
Beaches-Woodbine	<b>Lankin, Hon/L'hon Frances</b>	ND	Minister of Economic Development and Trade / ministre du Développement économique et du Commerce
Brampton North/-Nord	McClelland, Carman	L	
Brampton South/-Sud	Callahan, Robert V.	L	
Brant-Haldimand	Eddy, Ron	L	
Brantford	<b>Ward, Hon/L'hon Brad</b>	ND	Minister without Portfolio, Ministry of Finance / ministre sans portefeuille, ministère des Finances
Bruce	Elston, Murray J.	L	
Burlington South/-Sud	Jackson, Cameron	PC	
Cambridge	Farnan, Mike	ND	
Carleton	Sterling, Norman W.	PC	
Carleton East/-Est	Morin, Gilles E.	L	Deputy Speaker and Chair of the Committee of the Whole House / Vice-Président et Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Chatham-Kent	Hope, Randy R.	ND	
Cochrane North/-Nord	Wood, Len	ND	
Cochrane South/-Sud	Bisson, Gilles	ND	
Cornwall	Cleary, John C.	L	
Don Mills	Johnson, Dave	PC	
Dovercourt	<b>Silipo, Hon/L'hon Tony</b>	ND	Minister of Community and Social Services / ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires
Downsview	Perruzza, Anthony	ND	
Dufferin-Peel	Tilson, David	PC	
Durham Centre/-Centre	White, Drummond	ND	
Durham East/-Est	Mills, Gord	ND	
Durham West/-Ouest	Wiseman, Jim	ND	
Durham-York	O'Connor, Larry	ND	
Eglinton	Poole, Dianne	L	
Elgin	North, Peter	ND	
Essex-Kent	Hayes, Pat	ND	
Essex South/-Sud	Mancini, Remo	L	
Etobicoke-Humber	Henderson, D. James	L	
Etobicoke-Lakeshore	<b>Grier, Hon/L'hon Ruth A.</b>	ND	Minister of Health / ministre de la Santé
Etobicoke-Rexdale	<b>Philip, Hon/L'hon Ed</b>	ND	Minister of Municipal Affairs / ministre des Affaires municipales
Etobicoke West/-Ouest	Stockwell, Chris	PC	
Fort William	McLeod, Lyn	L	Leader of the Opposition / chef de l'opposition
Fort York	Marchese, Rosario	ND	
Frontenac-Addington	<b>Wilson, Hon/L'hon Fred</b>	ND	Minister without Portfolio / ministre sans portefeuille
Grey	Murdoch, Bill	PC	
Guelph	Fletcher, Derek	ND	
Halton Centre/-Centre	Sullivan, Barbara	L	
Halton North/-Nord	Duignan, Noel	ND	
Hamilton Centre/-Centre	<b>Christopherson, Hon/L'hon David</b>	ND	Solicitor General and Minister of Correctional Services / solliciteur général et ministre des Services correctionnels
Hamilton East/-Est	<b>Mackenzie, Hon/L'hon Bob</b>	ND	Minister of Labour / ministre du Travail
Hamilton Mountain	<b>Charlton, Hon/L'hon Brian</b>	ND	Chair of the Management Board of Cabinet, government House leader and minister responsible for the automobile insurance review / président du Conseil de gestion, leader parlementaire du gouvernement et délégué à l'Assurance-automobile
Hamilton West/-Ouest	<b>Allen, Hon/L'hon Richard</b>	ND	Minister without Portfolio, Ministry of Economic Development and Trade / ministre sans portefeuille, ministère du Développement économique et du Commerce

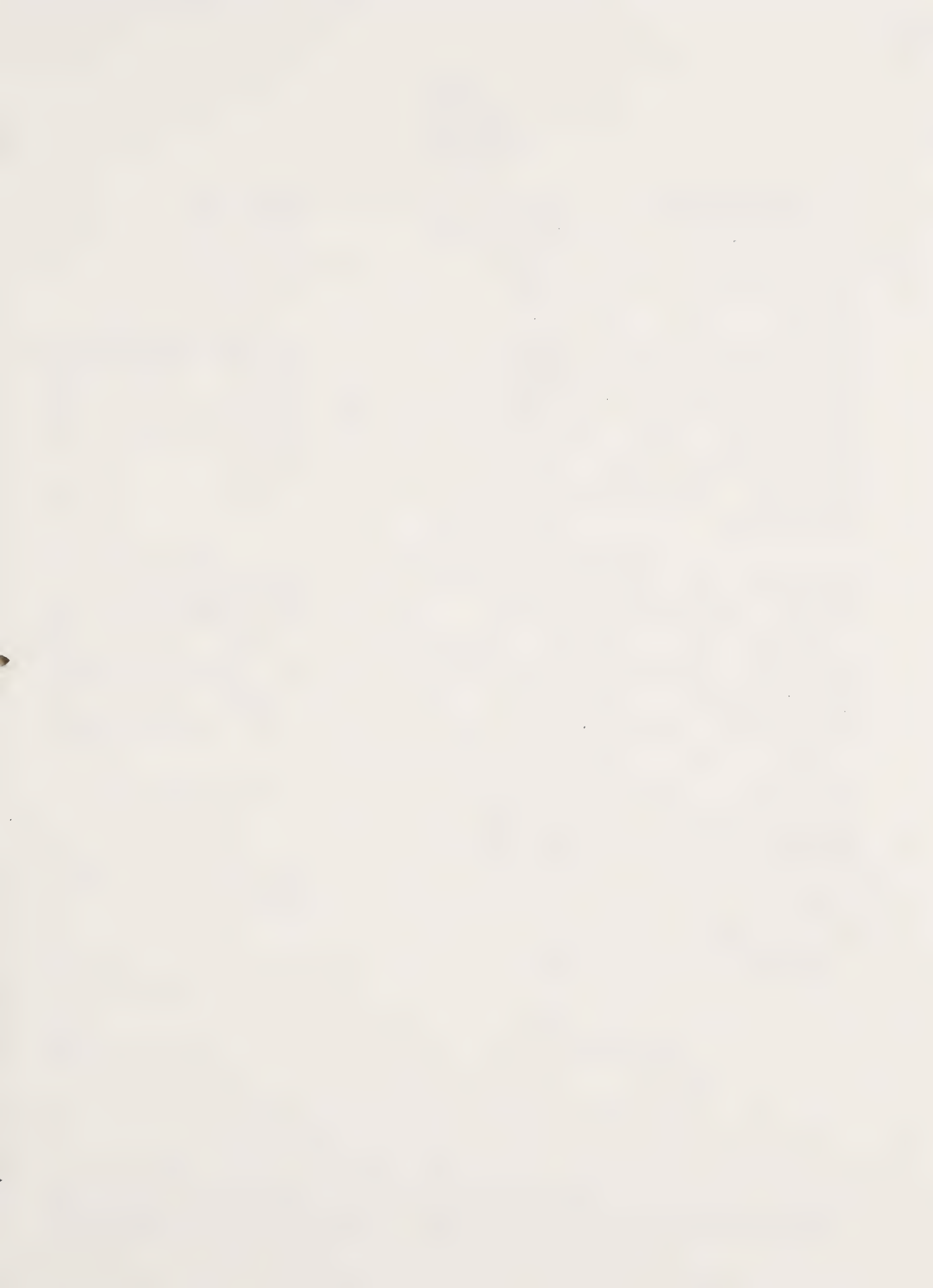
Constituency/Circonscription	Member/Députée	Party/Parti	Other responsibilities/Autres responsabilités
Hastings-Peterborough	<b>Buchanan, Hon/L'hon Elmer</b>	ND	Minister of Agriculture and Food / ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation
High Park-Swansea	<b>Ziemba, Hon/L'hon Elaine</b>	ND	Minister of Citizenship, minister responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations / ministre des Affaires civiles, ministre déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
Huron	Klopp, Paul	ND	
Kenora	Miclash, Frank	L	
Kingston and The Islands / Kingston et Les Îles	Wilson, Gary	ND	
Kitchener	Ferguson, Will	ND	
Kitchener-Wilmot	Cooper, Mike	ND	
Lake Nipigon/Lac-Nipigon	<b>Pouliot, Hon/L'hon Gilles</b>	ND	Minister of Transportation, minister responsible for francophone affairs / ministre des Transports, ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
Lambton	MacKinnon, Ellen	ND	
Lanark-Renfrew	Jordan, W. Leo	PC	
Lawrence	Cordiano, Joseph	L	
Leeds-Grenville	Runciman, Robert W.	PC	
Lincoln	Hansen, Ron	ND	
London Centre/-Centre	<b>Boyd, Hon/L'hon Marion</b>	ND	Attorney General, minister responsible for women's issues / procureure générale, ministre déléguée à la Condition féminine
London North/-Nord	Cunningham, Dianne	PC	
London South/-Sud	Winniger, David	ND	
Markham	Cousens, W. Donald	PC	
Middlesex	Mathysen, Irene	ND	
Mississauga East/-Est	Sola, John	L	
Mississauga North/-Nord	Offer, Steven	L	
Mississauga South/-Sud	Marland, Margaret	PC	
Mississauga West/-Ouest	Mahoney, Steven W.	L	
Muskoka-Georgian Bay	Waters, Daniel	ND	
Nepean	Daigeler, Hans	L	
Niagara Falls	Harrington, Margaret H.	ND	
Niagara South/-Sud	<b>Coppen, Hon/L'hon Shirley</b>	ND	Minister without Portfolio, Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Recreation; chief government whip / ministre sans portefeuille, ministère de la Culture, du Tourisme et des Loisirs ; whip en chef du gouvernement
Nickel Belt	<b>Laughren, Hon/L'hon Floyd</b>	ND	Deputy Premier, Minister of Finance / vice-premier ministre, ministre des Finances
Nipissing	Harris, Michael	PC	
Norfolk	Jamison, Norm	ND	
Northumberland	Fawcett, Joan M.	L	
Oakville South/-Sud	Carr, Gary	PC	
Oakwood	Rizzo, Tony	ND	
Oriole	Caplan, Elinor	L	
Oshawa	<b>Pilkey, Hon/L'hon Allan</b>	ND	Minister without Portfolio, Ministry of Municipal Affairs / ministre sans portefeuille, ministère des Affaires municipales
Ottawa Centre/-Centre	<b>Gigantes, Hon/L'hon Evelyn</b>	ND	Minister of Housing / ministre du Logement
Ottawa East/-Est	Grandmaître, Bernard C.	L	
Ottawa-Rideau	O'Neill, Yvonne	L	
Ottawa South/-Sud	McGuinty, Dalton J.P.	L	
Ottawa West/-Ouest	Chiarelli, Robert	L	
Oxford	Sutherland, Kimble	ND	
Parkdale	Ruprecht, Tony	L	
Parry Sound	Eves, Ernie	PC	
Perth	<b>Haslam, Hon/L'hon Karen</b>	ND	Minister without Portfolio, Ministry of Health / ministre sans portefeuille, ministère de la Santé
Peterborough	Carter, Jenny	ND	
Port Arthur	<b>Wark-Martyn, Hon/L'hon Shelley</b>	ND	Minister without Portfolio, Ministry of Education and Training / ministre sans portefeuille, ministère de l'Éducation et de la Formation
Prescott and Russell / Prescott et Russell	Poirier, Jean	L	
Prince Edward-Lennox-South	Johnson, Paul R.	ND	
Hastings/Prince Edward- Lennox-Hastings-Sud			
Quinte	O'Neil, Hugh P.	L	



Constituency/Circonscription	Member/Députée	Party/Parti	Other responsibilities/Autres responsabilités
Rainy River	<b>Hampton, Hon/L'hon Howard</b>	ND	Minister of Natural Resources / ministre des Richesses naturelles
Renfrew North/-Nord	Conway, Sean G.	L	
Riverdale	<b>Churley, Hon/L'hon Marilyn</b>	ND	Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations / ministre de la Consommation et du Commerce
S-D-G & East Grenville / S-D-G et Grenville-Est	Villeneuve, Noble	PC	
St Andrew-St Patrick	Akande, Zanana	ND	
St Catharines	Bradley, James J.	L	
St Catharines-Brock	Haeck, Christel	ND	
St George-St David	Murphy, Tim	L	
Sarnia	Huget, Bob	ND	
Sault Ste Marie / Sault-Sainte-Marie	Martin, Tony	ND	
Scarborough-Agincourt	Phillips, Gerry	L	
Scarborough Centre/-Centre	Owens, Stephen	ND	
Scarborough East/-Est	Frankford, Robert	ND	
Scarborough-Ellesmere	<b>Warner, Hon/L'hon David</b>	ND	Speaker / Président
Scarborough North/-Nord	Curling, Alvin	L	
Scarborough West/-Ouest	<b>Swarbrick, Hon/L'hon Anne</b>	ND	Minister of Culture, Tourism and Recreation / ministre de la Culture, du Tourisme et des Loisirs
Simcoe Centre/-Centre	Wessenger, Paul	ND	
Simcoe East/-Est	McLean, Allan K.	PC	
Simcoe West/-Ouest	Wilson, Jim	PC	
Sudbury	Murdock, Sharon	ND	
Sudbury East/-Est	<b>Martel, Hon/L'hon Shelley</b>	ND	Minister of Northern Development and Mines / ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines
Timiskaming	Ramsay, David	L	
Victoria-Haliburton	Drainville, Dennis	ND	
Waterloo North/-Nord	Witmer, Elizabeth	PC	
Welland-Thorold	Kormos, Peter	ND	
Wellington	Arnott, Ted	PC	
Wentworth East/-Est	Morrow, Mark	ND	
Wentworth North/-Nord	Abel, Donald	ND	
Willowdale	Harnick, Charles	PC	
Wilson Heights	Kwinter, Monte	L	
Windsor-Riverside	<b>Cooke, Hon/L'hon David</b>	ND	Minister of Education and Training, minister responsible for the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board / ministre de l'Éducation et de la Formation, ministre responsable du Conseil ontarien de formation et d'adaptation de la main- d'oeuvre
Windsor-Sandwich	Dadamo, George	ND	
Windsor-Walkerville	Lessard, Wayne	ND	
York Centre/-Centre	Sorbara, Gregory S.	L	
York East/-Est	Malkowski, Gary	ND	
York Mills	Turnbull, David	PC	
York North/-Nord	Beer, Charles	L	
York South/-Sud	<b>Rae, Hon/L'hon Bob</b>	ND	Premier, President of the Executive Council, Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs / premier ministre, président du Conseil exécutif, ministre des Affaires gouvernementales
Yorkview	Mammoliti, George	ND	







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## Legislative Assembly of Ontario

Third Session, 35th Parliament

## Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Troisième session, 35<sup>e</sup> législature

# Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Tuesday 20 April 1993

# Journal des débats (Hansard)

Le mardi 20 Avril 1993

Speaker  
Honourable David Warner

Clerk  
Claude L. DesRosiers

Président  
L'honorable David Warner

Greffier  
Claude L. DesRosiers



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La table des matières des séances rapportées dans ce numéro se trouve sur la couverture à l'arrière de ce fascicule.

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Tuesday 20 April 1993

The House met at 1330.

Prayers.

#### MEMBERS' STATEMENTS

##### TRANSITIONAL ASSISTANCE FUNDING

**Mr Charles Beer (York North):** Yesterday in the Legislature, Dave Cooke, the Minister of Education and Training, admitted that the government is, first, backing down from his commitment to expend the \$33 million left from last fall's promised transition fund, and secondly, he also refused to make the commitment that any of the \$99-million restructuring fund also announced last fall would ever get to the boards.

When I asked the minister directly about when boards can expect to receive these moneys that were allocated, his response was that, at this point, "Those dollars are being reviewed and a final decision hasn't been made."

Just last month, the minister distributed to school boards a list of grants they were to receive, yet now this month we hear the minister revoking yet another funding announcement. Some partnership.

This is a critical time for school boards. Many of them are in a financial crisis. Once again, the rug has been pulled out from under them with the minister's disturbing unannouncement yesterday.

School boards are not asking for any new dollars; they are simply asking this minister to keep his commitment and provide stability to them by distributing the dollars that have already been committed.

It is completely unfair to expect local property taxpayers to once again pick up the tab for this minister's offloading on to local school boards. We are calling upon the minister to end the uncertainty and to act quickly to provide the funding that has already been promised to school boards across the province.

JOHN LUNAU

**Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham):** When the town of Markham woke up on Sunday morning of April 18, it was a poorer town with the loss of its town historian, storyteller, founder of the Markham Museum, a loyal and generous native son, John Lunau, who died at 63 years of age of a heart attack.

All of us who are a part of the town of Markham owe him a great debt of gratitude. First, his personal life in fighting the battle with diabetes didn't stop him from always wanting to contribute and to make it a better place. He was a courageous man. His love of his mother, Aileen, his heritage, his love for Canada, its traditions, our Queen, was an example to all of us. His roots were deep.

His commitment to the history of the community inspired all of us. Would we today have the Mount Joy school serving as a museum? I doubt it, had it not been for John.

He was in the process of developing a 200th-anniversary story of the town for our celebrations in June. He was known as a great sports supporter. He managed the Markham Aces baseball team to a championship in 1952. In 1987, he received the Achievement and Civic Recognition Award for outstanding contribution to our community.

To his mother, Aileen, to the whole community, to all who knew him and to those who didn't, we have lost just a tremendous friend and a great person. May God's peace rest with all who knew him, in his memory.

##### GAMBLING

**Mr Dennis Drainville (Victoria-Haliburton):** I rise again in the House to raise that issue of casino gambling and the ill-fated and ill-conceived attempt by the government of Ontario to bring forth a means of expanding gambling in the province of Ontario.

You know, I've written three papers which I have disseminated among all the members of this House and throughout the province of Ontario, and I have not received—as usual—any response to these things I have written. For instance, the last one, which is called *Casino Gambling: A Regressive Tax on the Poor*, is a paper that was basically written because what the government has tried to argue is that poor people are not impacted by lotteries and by gambling. This is not only a falsehood; it is a damnable falsehood. We see it in terms of the numbers of people who go to gambling casinos, go to bingos, use the lottery system as a means to help themselves to find a better tomorrow.

What I would like to say is that these are the kinds of things that are being offered by a government that no doubt is facing difficult times. But to face difficult times is one thing; to initiate a policy which is going to be regressive, which is going to be hurtful, which is going to cause poverty, which is going to cause more addiction in society, does not make any sense. I would ask the government to come to its senses and stop this policy and begin to move in a more positive way to help maintain the issue of social justice in our communities.

##### HIGHWAY SAFETY

**Mr Steven Offer (Mississauga North):** Mr Speaker, my statement today is directed through you to the Minister of Transportation.

The Minister of Transportation will be aware of

recent articles dealing with the safety of Highway 403 between Highways 401 and 5. As the MPP for Mississauga North, I am very familiar with this highway, which runs through my area of responsibility. Recent articles provided alarming reports on the number of accidents which have taken place on that stretch of road. This highway has been the subject of three inquests over the last 18 months. It has been reported that despite accounting for only 10% of all the annual accidents on the seven highways patrolled by Port Credit OPP, this stretch of highway has accounted for 34% of the 75 fatalities over the past five years.

I believe it is imperative for the Minister of Transportation and his ministry to review the highway design and the immediate installation of a guard-rail through the centre of the existing grassy median. I believe that further guard-rail additions should be installed according to previous investigations.

Again, as the MPP for Mississauga North, I would ask the Minister of Transportation to give this matter his immediate personal attention so that safer road conditions will exist on a stretch of highway which is increasingly utilized.

#### COUNTY RESTRUCTURING

**Mr Jim Wilson (Simcoe West):** I rise today to express my continued dissatisfaction with the way in which the NDP is handling the issue of restructuring in Simcoe county. It is becoming painfully clear that the government is searching for scapegoats for its own failure to move forward on legislation that would facilitate the restructuring of Simcoe county.

The government is using the opposition of myself and the member for Simcoe East as an excuse not to introduce the County of Simcoe Act. Yesterday the Minister of Municipal Affairs said the government would proceed with restructuring as long as there was a consensus in place. There has not been any consensus since day one of the process, when the previous Liberal government told you Simcoe county to restructure or else.

This message was brought home powerfully to the government in the last municipal election. In a referendum vote, several municipalities voted overwhelmingly against forced restructuring. Much to my disappointment, the government defeated my private member's bill that prevented forced amalgamation, even though the Premier and the NDP member from Simcoe Centre campaigned in the last election against forced restructuring.

But even more surprising than the government's flip-flop on this issue is its attempt to silence my right to represent my constituents. By tying my opposition to restructuring to their legislative timetable, this majority government is attempting to prevent me from doing what I was elected to do, and that's represent my

constituents. Instead of making me their scapegoat for dragging their feet, the government should start dealing in honesty and tell the county of Simcoe what its plans are for the county's restructuring legislation.

1340

#### EARTH WEEK PROJECTS

**Mr Gary Wilson (Kingston and The Islands):** Mr Speaker, as you know, this is Earth Week. This week is about celebrating the life-sustaining richness of the earth, but it's also about recognizing the fragility and vulnerability of our world and our responsibility to care for it.

There is a risk during a recession that our awareness of the environment will be overshadowed by other concerns. A few years ago, the environment often took precedence over other considerations when people made decisions about buying products and services, and businesses responded by providing products and services that were more environmentally responsible than the existing products.

Fortunately, Earth Week can be used as the occasion to focus attention on the environment. In my constituency of Kingston and The Islands, there are a number of events planned for Earth Week, as I'm sure there are in many ridings throughout the province. For example, the Kingston Area Recycling Corp is holding two composting workshops this week. The Earth Day Ontario organization and the Kingston Global Community Centre are planning events, activities and displays with information about composting and being environmentally responsible both at home and at work, and trees will be planted in local parks.

The thing is that environmental issues can't be deferred, and a lot of the damage that's being done can't be reversed. We have to act now. There are simple things we can all do to save energy, water and trees. We can take reusable bags when we go shopping. We can turn off lights when we leave a room. We can walk or cycle instead of taking the car. We can stop buying products made with toxic chemicals. We can start composting at home and at work. We can reuse single-sided paper.

I urge everyone to get involved in Earth Week activities taking place in their communities and to do something this week to help the environment.

#### LEGAL ACTION

**Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South):** I read with interest the statements by the Attorney General that she would be seeking a province-wide injunction with reference to people expressing their views in terms of the question of pro-life. I recognize that there is an allegation that these people are causing the subjects of this injunction a great difficulty. However, I find it passing strange that the New Democratic Party, which



supports unionism and has fought for the right to picket, freedom of speech, the opportunity to express one's view, would take such a draconian position against parties at the behest of one side.

I would suggest that in the tradition of the New Democratic Party, perhaps it should stay out of the entire event and not support either side and allow the people to express their views, hopefully in a peaceful fashion, which has been the case to this point.

I find it really strange that a New Democratic Party would support bringing an injunction against people who are simply doing what unionists do on a regular basis in picketing against companies and in fact causing disturbances with companies, perhaps interfering with their business. In fact, they don't bring injunctions there, nor would I think the Attorney General would do so. She has done it on behalf of a select group. It is a very dangerous process, and I suspect that the courts will reject her application.

#### COUNTY RESTRUCTURING

**Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East):** My statement is for the Minister of Municipal Affairs, who claims that restructuring of north Simcoe county was a locally driven initiative. However, you have imposed section 33, which allows for the potential review of the boundaries of the cities of Barrie and Orillia. This is directly against the wishes of the county of Simcoe and clearly shows that restructuring is not a locally driven initiative.

This has been a flawed and undemocratic process from day one. The people of Orillia township were never asked if they wanted to be part of Oro township or the city of Orillia. Your government has disenfranchised the residents of these and many other municipalities in Simcoe county.

Minister, yesterday you said you would move with legislation if and when all parties concerned reach a consensus. Minister, that's a copout. Your job as minister is to bring forward the appropriate legislation and then assist in reaching that consensus.

My job, as my party's critic for Municipal Affairs (rural) is to reflect the opinions and views of the affected constituents and provide constructive criticism of that legislation. The member for Simcoe West and I would suggest that you fulfil your obligations as minister rather than looking for someone to blame for your government's flawed and undemocratic agenda.

#### EARTH WEEK PROJECTS

**Mr Gary Malkowski (York East):** As all members are aware, this week is Earth Week. Earth Week includes the promotion and encouragement of all communities to become involved in cleaning up our ravines and our rivers and all of our green spaces. This includes planting trees, recycling and fighting against pollution.

In my own riding, we have some special activities which are happening through the borough of East York. We will be having special cleanup days on April 24, May 1 and May 8. For more information on where these spring cleanups are taking place, you can contact Christine Chandler at 778-2036.

I would like to encourage all levels of government to participate in this Earth Week and in the promotion of awareness of Earth Week. Finally, I would like to issue a challenge to all opposition members to participate in this week by reducing our amounts of junk mail.

#### ORAL QUESTIONS

##### LABOUR RELATIONS

**Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North):** My question is for the Premier. Premier, you have indicated in recent weeks, on a number of occasions, that the financial situation of the province is deteriorating significantly, and you yourself have raised the prospect that we could face a \$17-billion in-year deficit in fiscal 1993-94 if significant cost containment measures are not undertaken.

Premier, you yourself have also invested a great deal in what you have chosen to call a "social contract," which you and your government are endeavouring to negotiate not just with your partners in the direct Ontario public service but within the broader Ontario public service as well. I was interested yesterday, Premier, to hear your chief negotiator in these social contract talks say rather directly to a couple of journalists that he wasn't exactly sure and could not personally define what the "social contract" meant.

My question, Premier, is, given the extremely serious financial situation in which your government now finds itself, and given the importance which you yourself have attached to this exercise which you have described as a "social contract," would you tell the House, your partners in these talks and the province beyond what you intend and what you, Bob Rae, Premier, mean to intend by the term "social contract"?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs):** Perhaps the simplest way to introduce the member to the concept is to say that it's the one way that this government can see of saving jobs and essential services in a time of really tremendous economic restraint. That's the basic framework which we are presenting to all of our partners in the broader public sector.

I think it was Mr Little, the reporter for the Globe and Mail, yesterday who in his article on the subject of the debt in Ontario made the comment that the legacy of the three-year government of which the honourable member was such an active member was to create a public sector which could only be sustained if the economy was running flat out. Well, I think we all

understand that this has not happened to the economy in the last three years. Therefore, there have to be significant adjustments made in the public sector.

We made decisions that we would essentially try to carry the problem ourselves, as a government, at the peak of the recession, and we made that decision. It is now clear that as the recovery comes on there is a real need for us to make a significant adjustment this year and that this adjustment has to be made in cooperation with all our partners. The existing contractual relationships between employees and employers we don't think are sufficiently broad, take enough things into account, in order to allow us, with our partners, in cooperation with our partners, to make this adjustment.

1350

**Mr Conway:** Mr Premier, we are apparently about a month away from the Finance minister's 1993 budget. Anyone who knows anything about competent government would know that at this late point in that cycle, the executive council, certainly the Premier and the Finance minister, would clearly have worked out their fiscal framework in which the budget will sit, assuming that we are going to get a provincial budget within three, four or five week's time. Assuming that is a reasonable point, I ask the Premier this question.

Yesterday, some of his partners in this critical dialogue around the new social contract essentially said: "We are not prepared to talk about a broad, ethereal framework. We want, Mr Premier, to know much more of the particulars of what your contract intends, and we don't intend to discuss in generalities."

Given that time is passing—

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Could the honourable member place his supplementary, please.

**Mr Conway:** I noticed you were prepared to give the Premier a very considerable latitude, Mr Speaker.

**The Speaker:** Would the honourable member take his seat, please. I would like equal opportunity for both sides, and the member will know from watching the clock that to date that's what happened, but I'm asking both sides to be brief in their questions and their responses.

**Mr Conway:** I was watching the clock; that's why I made my comment.

I want to say to the Premier, will you tell us today, and your partners, not just in the Ontario public service but in the hospital and school board and community college and municipal sectors, what specific intentions you have and what specific directions you have given to Mr Decter, who has admitted as recently as yesterday that he doesn't know exactly what the social contract intends?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I think perhaps some of Mr Decter's sense of irony was lost on the member, but I don't think

it was lost on the reporters. Let me just say directly to the honourable member, this information will be shared with the people at the negotiating table and with the general public very, very soon indeed, and I would say to the honourable member that his account of the perfect knowledge that former ministers of finance and former first ministers had prior to a budget doesn't exactly jibe with every piece of anecdotal and other information I've heard over the last 15 years.

**Mr Conway:** What we know is that it is the Rae government which has been in charge of the finances of this province for two and a half years. It is the Rae-Laughren team which has brought the province and the public service of this province to the brink of this precipice. Let there be no confusion.

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Mr Conway:** It was not that long ago that the Ontario Labour Relations Board said the following, and I quote, "Surface bargaining is a term which describes going through the motions or preserving of the surface indications of bargaining without the intent of concluding an agreement."

Will the Premier, as leader of this NDP socialist government, give his partners in the direct and broader Ontario public service a commitment that he is not engaged in surface bargaining and that in fact his negotiator and his government will meet their partners in good faith as they go forward in these discussions?

**Hon Mr Rae:** My answer to his question is quite simply yes. My answer to his lengthy preamble is that if he is standing in this place and saying that, as a member of a government which in a time of unprecedented economic good times still managed to raise the deficit by over 33%, he is pointing the finger at one particular political party as being solely responsible for the situation in which we now find ourselves as a province, I would say to the honourable member that I don't think that kind of comment has any credibility with anybody whatsoever.

**The Speaker:** New question, the member for Renfrew North.

**Mr Conway:** A second question, Mr Speaker: I'll tell you, I'll be saying to the public servants and the citizens of Ontario, "You judge your condition in 1993 under Bob Rae and you compare it with the Liberal administration of 1985 to 1990 and you decide."

**The Speaker:** Could the member place his second question, please.

**Mr Conway:** I'll ask the nurses and the teachers and the public servants if they think—

**The Speaker:** Could the member place his second question.



**Mr Conway:** —life in Bob Rae's Ontario is better or worse than in David Peterson's Ontario, and they will agree with the electors of Don Mills and St George-St David that Bob Rae—

**The Speaker:** Would the member take his seat, please. Was the member placing his second question?

**Mr Conway:** My second question is to the junior minister of Health. To the minister, yesterday the press reported that the Premier intends that we should all share in the sacrifice and the burden which the social contract will impose upon Ontarians. My question is to the junior minister of Health, and that is the member for Perth.

**The Speaker:** The member raises something which I've given some thought to, but it's unclear as to whether or not a member without portfolio can answer a question with or without the agreement of the—

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order. I ask the members to come to order. I'll entertain a point of order once I'm finished. I would direct to the member for Renfrew North—

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order. The member raises a serious point, one which I would appreciate an opportunity to reflect on and come back to the House with a ruling. In the interim, I will say that it is appropriate to ask questions only of ministers of the crown. You may wish to—point of order?

#### ROLE OF MINISTERS WITHOUT PORTFOLIO

**Mr Monte Kwinter (Wilson Heights):** Mr Speaker, I find it very strange. I don't want to challenge the authority of the Chair, but there is recent and constant history in this House, certainly in the administration of the Liberal government, where we had ministers without portfolio who regularly were asked and answered questions. There's nothing unusual about it at all. We had several and on a regular basis they were asked questions. No one raised any objection to it. It was a matter of course. I'm sure if you check with the table officers, you will find that is quite in order.

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Government House Leader):** I'd like to comment on the point of order raised by the member opposite. Ministers without portfolio should not be answering questions in this House.

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Order.

**Hon Mr Charlton:** Mr Speaker, that's not only a precedent in this House, but it's also a precedent that is supported by precedents at Westminster.

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order. I ask the House to come to order. A serious point of order was raised. It's incum-

bent upon the members to listen respectfully to those who are seeking to advise the Chair. I would ask members to have some basic respect for those who are attempting to assist the Speaker. I would ask, since this is a procedural matter, that if the members could be brief in their comments, I am quite prepared to add some time to the clock to continue. But I would ask for the members' cooperation and respect for one another in this chamber.

1400

**Hon Mr Charlton:** On December 12, 1991, the Speaker ruled on a point of order raised by the member for Carleton on November 27, 1991. That ruling disallowed any questions to the member for Niagara South, both by virtue of a role as Minister without Portfolio and by virtue of a role as chief government whip.

That ruling is very much in keeping with Erskine May, which states that questions to ministers must relate to matters for which those ministers are officially responsible and, further to that, it is not in order to question a minister for something for which another minister is more directly responsible.

Ministers without portfolio have been specifically assigned responsibilities for which they have sole carriage, such as the Minister without Portfolio responsible for women's issues, have been asked questions in this House. However, the current ministers without portfolio do not have responsibilities assigned specifically to them. While many of the ministers without portfolio are associated with a ministry, there is clearly in all cases a different minister who is actually responsible for the ministry in question and who can be asked a question on that ministry by any member.

The Speaker should, in keeping with earlier rulings in this House and in the British House of Commons, rule any questions to ministers without portfolio out of order.

**Mr Ernie L. Eves (Parry Sound):** On the same point of order, Mr Speaker: I think if the Speaker will check—and we're quite prepared to give him time to do that—he will find that there have been numerous examples, both with respect to the previous government and the government before it, where ministers without portfolio in this very Legislature routinely were asked and answered questions.

With respect to the comment just made by the government House leader, the Premier has said—and I'm sure we can get you the press releases and the newspaper clippings—that these ministers indeed do have real responsibility and real duties, that they're not just sham, that they do have real responsibilities that each and every one of them is responsible for.

The member for Renfrew North is simply directing a question to a Minister without Portfolio who is quite

properly referred to as a junior minister, because the Premier has designated her thus, to answer a question within her jurisdiction that the Premier has given to her.

I would also point out to you, Mr Speaker, that the Minister of Education and Training was just quoted, either yesterday or the day before, in the media as saying he indeed needed two ministers to run his huge, new supereducation ministry and five parliamentary assistants, and he went on to say that they each have duties that he has delineated to them for which they are each responsible.

I think, Mr Speaker, if you will check the record, the point that the government House leader makes about the member for Niagara South is quite appropriate. I would point out to you that the difference in that case was that the member for Niagara South had no ministerial responsibilities whatsoever besides being the whip of the government party, and you quite properly, I would submit to you, ruled that particular question out of order because she had no delineated responsibilities. But these ministers, as the Premier's own words say, definitely do, and they should be able to answer questions for matters which they are responsible for.

**Mr Tony Ruprecht (Parkdale):** On the same point, Mr Speaker: I find the statement by the House leader of the government very strange. If it is indeed true that the ministers without portfolio do not have any responsibilities specifically assigned to them, then surely why are they being paid a special salary and why are they given ministerial privileges such as a car, salary and extra staff?

In short, and I want to make this very brief, you're speaking to a person who was a Minister without Portfolio for multiculturalism and for disabled persons. Therefore I routinely answered many times question after question from these people across the seats, including the present Premier.

Consequently, we would request—nay, demand—that ministers without portfolio come here and answer questions that are assigned to them, specific or not specific. That's their responsibility and duty to this House.

**The Speaker:** I appreciate the contributions from the different members who have spoken, particularly the House leader from the third party, the House leader from the government and others who have spoken. It is a matter which requires some deliberation. I'm very pleased to do so. I will try to get back to you as quickly as possible.

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order. I would ask the members in the interim to ask questions only of ministers of the crown and I will endeavour to come back to the House as quickly as possible.

**Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South):** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I am standing on a point of order because I attended the swearing-in of the current cabinet. I sat there and witnessed the oath that was taken by every one of the members that are now known as ministers or associate ministers. I would like to place that on the record. If there was any differentiation between those cabinet members at that time, it was not addressed at their swearing-in ceremony.

**The Speaker:** I appreciate the member's contribution. Table, would you add 10 minutes to the time.

**Mr Norman W. Sterling (Carleton):** On the same point of order, Mr Speaker: I think there's an important distinction to be made between the previous ruling of the Chair and this particular case. I think it's very, very important that members of the Legislative Assembly that are not part of the executive council have the parliamentary opportunity to question ministers with regard to their activities.

This Premier has decided to reconfigure his cabinet in such a manner where he has, shall we call them, senior and junior ministers. That is the choice of the Premier, and I don't challenge his ability or his right to do that. I think every Premier should have that right. But the balancing part of this equation, in my humble opinion, is that if a minister is sitting as part of the executive council and in fact has some responsibility to the people of Ontario as a cabinet minister, surely members of the Legislature have the right to question that minister with regard to his or her responsibilities. Surely that's a very, very basic part of our parliamentary system.

For instance, if the Premier of Ontario said, "I will be the only principal minister in all of the government and everybody else shall be junior ministers," we would not be permitted to ask anyone other than the Premier questions. If you wanted to take it to that extreme, then by that exaggeration I think you show the principle that a Premier can cover his exposure with regard to a number of issues by limiting the number of senior cabinet ministers.

Therefore, Mr Speaker, I do not believe that your ruling before stands in good stead in terms of parliamentary procedure, parliamentary tradition, with regard to the reforms which this Premier has taken unilaterally to reconfigure his cabinet. Thank you very much.

**The Speaker:** I appreciate the member's thoughtful contribution. He makes some good points which I naturally will consider.

1410

**Hon Mr Charlton:** On a couple of the points that have been raised in addition since I made my first comments, Mr Speaker, it should be noted that I said in my first response that ministers without portfolio who



have specific assignments where no one else is responsible have traditionally in this House answered questions. On the other hand, the minister in each of the ministries, the primary Minister of Health or in any other ministry, is the minister responsible to answer questions in this House.

**Mr Gregory S. Sorbara (York Centre):** The rules say nothing about primary ministers. Read the rules. You are the House leader; read the rules. That is not in the rules.

**The Speaker:** The member for York Centre, please come to order.

**Hon Mr Charlton:** Mr Speaker, parliamentary assistants also get assigned specific work tasks in ministries but they don't answer questions in this House. There is one minister responsible, as the accountable minister, to answer questions in this House.

**The Speaker:** I thank the member and, before recognizing the member for Renfrew North, would you reset the clock to 49 minutes and 4 seconds. I recognize the member for Renfrew North. Based on what he asked before, he may wish to ask a new question or redirect his question, and he may wish to start over.

**Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North):** I will ask the question and, quite frankly, the government can decide whomsoever it wishes to answer the question, because my concern is today not a parliamentary one, it's a financial one. We all know that times are tough and that, as the Premier says, we all have to do our share and, to quote the Premier from yesterday's meeting, that the government will lead the way and will do its part.

My question then to the Minister of Health—

**Mr Alvin Curling (Scarborough North):** Whoever it is.

**Mr Conway:** —to the member for Etobicoke-Lakeshore: What is it, given these tough times and this walloping deficit that the government has and the need to have unprecedented social contract negotiations with your partners in the public service to talk about freezes and rollbacks and program cuts—against the backdrop of all of that, Minister, can you tell the hard-pressed taxpaying public of Ontario what it is that the junior minister of Health, the member for Perth, does to earn her \$75,000 salary and to have six political assistants and to have a budget of over \$400,000, with a car and driver to boot? What is it that the member for Perth and the junior minister of Health does for the beleaguered taxpayer that she, the Minister of Health, the member for Etobicoke-Lakeshore, does not or cannot do, or her two parliamentary assistants do not do in the normal course of events?

**Hon Ruth Grier (Minister of Health):** Mr Speaker, the Premier will respond to that question.

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order. Premier.

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs):** Mr Speaker, what can I do? What can I do? What can I do?

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Hon Mr Rae:** Mr Speaker, they complain when I'm not here; they complain when I'm here. It seems to be a common refrain.

I don't want to say anything, Mr Speaker, with respect to the questions which are now before you, and any decision which you make, sir, will be entirely accepted by the government. But I do want to say to the honourable member that he may not agree with the approach that we've taken; however, it does have many parallels in other governments. We decided to reduce the size of the cabinet and at the same—

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order. Premier.

**Hon Mr Rae:** Mr Speaker, the number of ministries has been significantly reduced. There was at one time in the administration of my predecessor, of the people who are laughing, opposite, so hard, when there were well over 44 deputy ministers. There are now 30, 31 deputy ministers in the government. We are carrying out and we will be carrying out in the course of this preparation for the budget a very, very significant reduction in the size of government in this province, which will include all levels of the government.

So I want to say to the honourable member, the purpose of having larger ministries, of having ministers which in other governments are called ministers of state or associate ministers or ministers delegate, which they are in France or in Germany or in England or in any other place you want to look at, the determination was to have a cabinet which would be smaller, that is to say 20, but a ministry which would be made up of the ministers who are there.

The ministers without portfolio who are working within ministries are working in association with the minister. They are taking—

**Mr Steven W. Mahoney (Mississauga West):** That's one of the PA's jobs.

**Hon Mr Rae:** The member opposite shouts and says, "That's a parliamentary assistant's job." It is in part, but it is a position that carries with it, obviously, more experience and in which it is possible for that minister without portfolio to carry on a significant job for the government.

I can tell you, Mr Speaker, there are many people with whom I've discussed this matter who think that the kind of reorganization which we are carrying out in fact

takes us to a better and wiser point than we were before.

**The Speaker:** Supplementary.

**Mr Conway:** My supplementary is that on February 3, 1993, Premier Bob Rae reorganized his cabinet and he reduced the cabinet by increasing the number of ministers from 25 to 27. The New Democrats reduced the cabinet by increasing the number of ministers from 25 to 27.

I understand the political science of this, but I come back to the overwhelming concern of taxpayers in Ontario today and the overwhelming concern of your partners at the famous social contract talks, and that is the financial situation in which we find ourselves.

My question to the Premier, my supplementary, is this. Having regard to the fact that each of the new junior ministers is going to cause the expenditure of an additional \$400,000 minimum, because they must have a staff, and their salaries—the junior minister of Health is getting a salary, all told, of over \$75,000.

We know that those junior ministers can't answer questions in the House, and we know they can't go to cabinet meetings, so the question for the taxpayers, who are being asked to restrain as never before, is: All things considered, what benefits, what particular benefits in these times of restraint, do these junior ministers bring that a minister and a parliamentary assistant could not bring?

**Hon Mr Rae:** In all the facts and figures which the member opposite has recited, he has neglected the one basic fact which I put before him, and that is that the cost of this ministry, including ministers without portfolio, is less than the government of which he was a member. That's the fact which I put before him, in terms of the overall size of ministerial salaries.

And so I would say to the honourable member, when you look at what we're trying to do, you've got several combined departments. You've got a Ministry of Health with a budget of over \$16 billion.

You have literally dozens and dozens of delegations that are seeking to meet the minister and seeking to see the minister.

You have many, many requirements in terms of meeting with the public and meeting with delegations and being involved in the administration of the department.

It's our view, as it has been the view of the government of the United Kingdom, as it has been the view of many, many other governments in western democracies, that it's a wiser course to have a smaller cabinet but a ministry overall which is capable of dealing with the task of public administration and a ministry, as I would repeat, whose ministerial salaries total less than those which were part of the previous Liberal administration.

**Mr Conway:** History will show that the Rae government will be the most expensive government this province has ever had to endure, by any measure, by any calculation.

I want to say to the Premier, as a final supplementary, that we have today, in these extraordinarily critical times, times which by his own admission confront this province with unprecedented fiscal pressures and challenges, a Minister of Health and her full panoply, we've got a junior minister and we've got two parliamentary assistants looking at that department alone, and I could use others. That I submit at the political level is more expensive in terms of the politicians than any Ministry of Health has been at the political level in the history of Ontario traditionally, and I think if you look at the record, the record will show a Minister of Health and one, maybe two parliamentary assistants, although I can't remember a situation where there were two parliamentary assistants at Health. Today, in these tough times, as you get ready to freeze, to cut and to roll back, you've got the most successful Jobs Ontario program for your own cabinet and your own caucus.

1420

**The Speaker:** Would the member place a question, please.

**Mr Conway:** You've got them all at the trough. They're all earning additional salaries, and to what end? A Minister of Health, a junior minister of Health and two parliamentary assistants. That, for example, is costing the hard-pressed taxpayers—

**The Speaker:** Does the member have a question?

**Mr Conway:** —hundreds of thousands of additional dollars. What do you say to your social contract partners when they look at the bloated political arm which you now represent, as you look to cut programs, freeze and roll back salaries?

**Hon Mr Rae:** When you ask me through all the rhetoric and many of the statements and allegations which have been made—

**Hon Floyd Laughren (Deputy Premier and Minister of Finance):** Bombast.

**Hon Mr Rae:** —and the kind of bombastic exchange which I suppose the member's now specializing in, I would say to the honourable member that what I say to all those who are participating with us in the social partnership is that we are all of us going to be affected by this adjustment. There isn't a part of government that won't be affected by this adjustment and it will affect all of us, if I may say so, as it already has, because I come back to the point which the member has so carefully ignored. The fact of the matter is the cost of this ministry is less than the cost of the previous ministry.

**Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing):** I have a ques-



tion as well for the Premier, to follow up on the cost and the size of this government and the bureaucracy, the hundreds of thousands of dollars in support staff for 27 ministers of the crown. I don't know whether the total figure is less than the biggest bureaucracy we ever had in the history of government in the western world that the Liberals had or not, but I do know this, Premier, that when you downsized your cabinet from 25 to 27 you said in your press release that you were giving assignments for ministers without portfolio, something for them to do to justify the staff they were going to hire, the hundreds of thousands of dollars in perks that will come over and above being a backbench member.

I would like to ask you this, Premier. We've heard that the Speaker doesn't know, we've heard that your House leader doesn't think that the assignments are substantial enough that they should be answering questions. You've referred to other jurisdictions such as France and England where there are junior ministers. In fact, there are junior ministers in Ottawa where they routinely answer questions.

**Hon Mr Rae:** Because they're in the cabinet.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** That's right.

**Mr Harris:** Oh, they're in the cabinet. Your cabinet ministers aren't in the cabinet?

I would like to ask you this, Premier. When you set up these assignments, when you gave them the extra money as junior cabinet ministers, did you think that the assignments would be such that they should be accountable to the public for what it is they're doing through question period in the Legislature? Was it your intention that they should answer for what they're doing in the Legislature and answer questions?

**Hon Mr Rae:** Mr Speaker, this matter is now before you, sir, to determine, so I just want to say that whatever determination the Speaker makes is up to him. But I would say very directly to you and to others that whatever ruling you make, Mr Speaker, this government is accountable, the cabinet is accountable collectively and we are accountable and ministers of the crown who have responsibility for particular portfolios are responsible for those portfolios and for that spending and for those decisions within this House. That tradition of accountability is very clearly one which we all subscribe to and certainly I subscribe to.

**Mr Harris:** By way of supplementary, yesterday, Premier, your Minister of Education and whatever else he's responsible for said this: "It is impossible for me, quite frankly, to stay on top of every issue before the ministry." That's why he needed the member for Port Arthur or Fort William or wherever she's from—

**Mrs Dianne Cunningham (London North):** Port Arthur.

**Mr Harris:** —to assist the junior minister.

**Hon Mr Rae:** They will like that up in Thunder Bay.

**Mr Harris:** Well, I think they're both about as effective. But anyway, that's why he said he needed the junior minister: "It is impossible for me, quite frankly, to stay on top of every issue before the ministry."

Given that, and given that the responsibility's there and he's counting on her to deal with issues that he can't stay on top of, can you explain to me why we and the public, through us, shouldn't be entitled to ask questions of the junior minister from Port Arthur?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I don't think it's a really big deal one way or the other. We'll let the Speaker make a ruling, but I would say directly to him that when the minister is in the House and has an overall responsibility for that ministry, when he's been attending all the cabinet meetings with respect to that activity, it would seem to me that would be the person to whom you would want to address the question, unless you had some other kind of point that you wanted to make.

**Mr Harris:** Premier, what I want to do is ask you—we've heard what your House leader thinks. They shouldn't be exposed to the public, they shouldn't be exposed to the opposition to answer questions. We've heard that. We've heard him beg and plead with the Speaker: "Please protect these junior rascals. They're not capable of answering questions." We've heard him say it's the Premier's intention to shelter them from having to answer questions about the responsibilities they've been given.

I want to know what you think. I want to know, did you give them responsibilities that justify their cabinet position, their salary, their staff—therefore, we should be able to ask them questions—or did you not? If you did not, will you fire them today? If you did, will you signify that you think they should be able to answer questions?

**Hon Mr Rae:** The quick answer to the member's question—the latter part of his question, obviously—is no. But I just want to say to him, their responsibilities are, it seems to me, ones that are parallel to those in a great many other places in which the decision has been made to go to a smaller cabinet and one in which the ministry would extend beyond the cabinet, and that's exactly what we've done here. Those are precisely the steps that we've taken. I can tell you, Mr Speaker, that it's a tradition which I think is wise.

He talks about the size of the cabinet. I can remember—

*Interjection.*

**Hon Mr Rae:** His colleague from Mississauga says she sat in at the swearing in. I can remember sitting in at the swearing in here in 1985 when the member for North Bay was first made a minister of the crown, and

there were 34 members of Frank Miller's cabinet—34 members.

*Interjections.*

**Hon Mr Rae:** Okay, 33. Thirty-two? Okay, we'll determine it. There was a whole bunch. There were more than you could shake a stick at.

**Mr Harris:** And every one of them answered questions in the House, every one of them.

**Hon Mr Rae:** Oh no, no. No, he's wrong. They didn't answer questions in the House because they didn't call the House back; he called an election. We all know what happened that day.

**The Speaker:** New question, the member for Parry Sound.

**Mr Ernie L. Eves (Parry Sound):** A point of order.

**The Speaker:** A point of order?

**Mr Eves:** Maybe the Premier would like to check history. I was here answering questions. You have a poor memory.

**The Speaker:** The member for Parkdale, what is out of order?

**Mr Tony Ruprecht (Parkdale):** What's out of order—

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Mr Ruprecht:** Mr Speaker—

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** I can't hear you. Would you just wait.

**Mr Ruprecht:** I think that this is such a fundamental issue to the workings of this House and democracy that you should adjourn this House until you make a ruling on this issue.

**The Speaker:** The member does not have a point of order. I recognize the member for Parry Sound with the second question.

*Interjection.*

**The Speaker:** Then the member for Mississauga South.  
1430

#### CARLTON MASTERS

**Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South):** My question is to the Premier. Last week, the Attorney General said that it was on October 5, 1992, that the government received the report of the investigation which concluded that Carlton Masters had sexually harassed seven women in his employ. But according to Mr Masters in November: "The Premier said I had his full confidence. In fact, he hugged me."

At some point, the Premier considered making Mr Masters his senior economic adviser. Later, Mr Masters was offered a less senior job on the condition of only a simple apology. Premier, why did you offer Mr Masters

another job when you knew that an independent inquiry had found that he had sexually harassed seven women?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs):** To be fair to the honourable member, she will know full well that I answered that question when she put the very same question to me on Thursday last week. My answer would be exactly the same, and that was quite simply to give, in all the circumstances surrounding the case, an opportunity for rehabilitation, based on the simple principle that Mr Masters apologize and recognize that—

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Order.

**Hon Mr Rae:** I think I've answered the question, Mr Speaker.

**Mrs Marland:** The minister responsible for women's issues last week said in this House that what the government tried to do was to reach a settlement that was going to (1) protect the complainants and (2) be fair to the accused person in the case.

In light of the comments made by Mr Masters, Premier, I suggest to you that perhaps you have not succeeded in either of those conditions of your government in dealing with this very difficult issue. Would you like to tell this House what you have done to protect the complainants and what you have done to be fair to the accused person in this case, who says he has not been treated fairly by your government?

**Hon Mr Rae:** This is not an easy situation and I wouldn't for a moment assert that it is. I would simply say to the honourable member that we responded immediately to any suggestions of a complaint through the secretary of cabinet at the time, that an independent process was established, that it was nothing to do with anything said by any member of this government that had to do with any comments about complainants being made public, that we tried throughout to protect the identity of the complainants and that we attempted to find a settlement and a solution which would be fair to everyone concerned. That's exactly what we endeavoured to do.

The member opposite may not agree with the decisions that the government took, may not agree with the fact that an offer was made to Mr Masters and that the offer was rejected for the reasons which are very clear to everyone. That difference is there. I stand by my judgement that these are issues that have to be handled with a great deal of sensitivity, and it's not always easy to succeed in a perfect outcome because of all the controversy and publicity surrounding this matter. I regret that personally, but I think it's something that we simply have to weather.

**Mrs Marland:** It's very difficult for us to understand how offering this particular employee another job deals



with the sensitivities of the complainants. The complainants are wondering, if perhaps the case were reversed, whether this government would be paying \$75,000 of their legal bills.

I ask you, Premier, now that we have police in this province investigating civil servants who have been charged with sexual harassment, if you're happy with the message that your government is sending out on this subject. Because if you don't deal with this particular example in a little more equitable way than you have dealt with it up to now, which is simply run and hide, we're going to have a situation in this province where complainants and accused of sexual harassment will not know where to go, what to do or what position your government will take if they happen to be in its employment. What is your position in the future cases, other than people who are friends and appointments of yours?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I just would say to the honourable member, if she would look at the facts in terms of how this issue was dealt with, as soon as there was the suggestion of a problem, there was established an independent investigation. There was established right away an independent investigation. Mr Masters was suspended from his responsibilities, taken out of the particular place in question.

I would then say to the honourable member that the independent investigation took place and that, as a result of that investigation, there was an offer of other employment at a lesser rate of pay, without being a deputy minister, on condition that there be a clear recognition by him of the fact that there clearly was a problem. That was the condition that Mr Masters could not accept, and as a result of that he left the employ of the government.

I think the message from the government is very clear. We're prepared to take steps to act right away, to act as sensitively and as fairly to all concerned as we possibly can and also to accept the fact that whatever you do, you're going to get criticized. That's one of the things that I certainly accept in this matter.

#### BLOOD TESTING

**Mrs Barbara Sullivan (Halton Centre):** My question today is to the real Minister of Health who, like her predecessor and her predecessor before that and her predecessor before that, needs no junior minister to stand in on her behalf.

Minister, on Thursday last I asked you what your intentions were with respect to those individuals who had contracted the HIV virus as a result of delays in the blood screening program in the early 1980s. The minister's response to that question was, "Later on today, I will be talking with my colleagues in other parts of the country."

I'm asking the minister if she will tell the House today the results of those discussions and what decisions

she has reached regarding Ontario's position as a result of those conversations.

**Hon Ruth Grier (Minister of Health):** I'm unable to give the member a definitive answer today. No conclusion has been reached on those discussions.

**Mrs Sullivan:** Well, the minister responded in a very different way on Thursday afternoon because, subsequent to my questions to her in the House, I understand that the minister, in a scrum, warned people across Ontario that if they had had blood transfusions or had received blood products before 1985, they should be checked for the HIV virus. The minister did not limit her warning to the period of time between 1980 and 1985, which experts see as the threshold period for concern, and she made the warning in an informal, off-the-cuff way in a scrum.

In fact, the careful, considered approach to this entire issue has been left to the hospitals and others. This government has let Nova Scotia take the lead in providing compensation at the provincial level to those who received tainted blood before 1985, when appropriate screening was not done.

When, I ask the minister, will this government take its responsibility? When will this minister sit down at the table and negotiate a settlement so that HIV-T people can get on with their lives and live in peace?

**Hon Mrs Grier:** There are two issues that the member is addressing, and I think it's really important that we be clear about both of them. One is that anybody who suspects that he or she may in fact have received blood that could be tainted has a responsibility to talk to his or her family physician to receive counselling and to have a test. That has been the position of this ministry for many years. It has been a position that has been put forward by community groups where we have funded education. That goes without question.

The other issue the member is raising is the question of compensation for haemophiliacs who may have received blood that was tainted. That is an issue that has been discussed by ministers of health across the country, where an agreement had been reached that the federal government would compensate these people where court cases are pending and where all the provincial ministers of health are still discussing what their response should be now that one province has agreed to move on compensation. It is under discussion, and as I said in response to the first question, I am not yet in a position to give the member an answer.

1440

#### LABOUR DISPUTE

**Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing):** My question is to the Premier. Premier, yesterday I asked the Chairman of Management Board to explain why the Treasurer, the Minister of Northern Development, the former Chairman

of Management Board and the member for Sudbury had intervened in a labour dispute between OPSEU and Sudbury Youth Services, a private, non-profit agency in Sudbury. I had no answer. The Chair of Management Board wasn't aware of that.

I wonder, Premier, if you could tell me today why members of your cabinet would interfere in a labour dispute in a way that, as the arbitrator says, "utterly compromised the next set of negotiations" and "usurped the prerogatives and the bargaining rights of management." Can you explain that, Premier?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs):** I'll defer that to the Chairman of Management Board.

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Chairman of the Management Board of Cabinet):** The leader of the third party raised this question yesterday, and I gave him an undertaking that I would take a look at the matter. I've reviewed the arbitration decision that the member referred to yesterday in his question. It says very much what he reported yesterday. I should point out, though, that this arbitration board report was a result of a submission by the union in an arbitration hearing and based on that exclusively. Obviously, I've also had discussions with my colleagues. We had a situation where there was a strike in the fall of 1990, a strike that had been going on for some nine weeks, where ministers acted to find funds to see that a settlement occurred. We don't concur that there was meddling in the collective bargaining process.

**Mr Harris:** Ministers of the crown, without talking to the employer who was being struck, decided selectively to find some money and to intervene without talking to management. We all know, Mr Minister, the real reason. The real reason the government ministers stuck their noses into a labour dispute where they had no business sticking their noses was because the Premier was to attend the opening of the new Northern Development building in Sudbury as well as a dinner honouring his Treasurer, and OPSEU threatened to picket both events if the strike wasn't settled. So, based upon that embarrassment, to see this Premier for the first time on the other side of a picket line, your cabinet ministers intervened inappropriately.

Let me ask the minister this, and through you to the Premier, should you wish to refer it: Have the ministers apologized for compromising Sudbury Youth Services, have they apologized for intervening where they shouldn't have, and what procedures are in place now so this will never happen again?

**Hon Mr Charlton:** Let me deal with two aspects of this issue. The first one is that the leader of the third party has been on his feet in this House on innumerable occasions demanding government intervention in precisely situations like this. So it is just a little bit farfetched

to hear him now saying what he's saying.

**Hon Mr Charlton:** Secondly, I'll point out yet again that the comments in the arbitration report are comments made as a result of a presentation by the union to an arbitration hearing long after the fact, I might point out, that had nothing to do with the discussions that went on at the time of a nine-week strike.

#### TOURISM

**Ms Margaret H. Harrington (Niagara Falls):** My question is to the Minister of Culture, Tourism and Recreation. Niagara Falls is gearing up for our spring and summer tourist season. In fact, Mr Speaker, I would like to invite you and everyone to the beautiful Blossom Festival Parade on May 8 in Niagara Falls.

I will be meeting next week with Team Niagara Tourism—that is an enthusiastic new team we have in Niagara—to plan for this coming tourist season to enhance new ways to serve our tourists. We want to be part of the new reservation system. My question to the minister is, what progress has been made with the new Ontario tourist reservation system?

**Hon Anne Swarbrick (Minister of Culture, Tourism and Recreation):** I'd like to thank the member for her question, as well as to thank the member for the tremendous efforts she's been making to promote tourism in her riding and in fact in the Niagara region as a whole.

This government has committed \$2.5 million of our Jobs Ontario capital to develop the central reservation and information system through the development of its informational infrastructure base. This means that tourists in fact will now be able to phone, or will soon be able to phone, 1-800-Ontario to be able to both get information, including about accommodations, as well as to make reservations then and there at the same time. That means that on behalf of the tourism operators, the deal will be able to be closed at the same time that the tourist is seeking information.

We are now about to launch the pilot for the full system in eastern Ontario effective the end of this month, but already that \$2.5 million that this government has invested in the development of the infrastructure system is now benefiting tourism operators in the Niagara area as well as around the province. It's allowing our information centre to answer 62% more calls and it's also providing the Niagara travel information centres with the computerized database they require to provide tourists with more information.

**Ms Harrington:** Niagara Falls and Niagara region, because we have the four bridges from the United States, is a key entranceway to Ontario for all US tourists. Because of this, we want to upgrade our services and treat our tourists with the utmost in service. What other new initiatives are coming this year for Niagara?



**Hon Ms Swarbrick:** Mr Speaker, \$360,000 is now being invested by this government to upgrade the Niagara Falls travel information centre by allowing it to improve its highway signage, by allowing it to provide display cases for local industry to display its products, also by allowing access by tourists to a user-friendly computer system to obtain individually tailored travel information, and finally, this is creating an additional 10 jobs in the Niagara area in June 1993 to do this work.

WILL FERGUSON

**Mrs Yvonne O'Neill (Ottawa-Rideau):** My question is to the Premier. On February 13, 1992, the member for Kitchener resigned his cabinet portfolio. On March 8, 1993, he resigned as parliamentary assistant. We have learned that the member for Kitchener, on four separate occasions, refused the opportunity to be interviewed by the OPP as part of the Piper investigation. May I remind you, Mr Premier, that only a week earlier that same member for Kitchener was complaining to the press that the police had not yet spoken to him about the Grandview investigation.

Does the Premier condone members of his caucus refusing to cooperate with the police? Will the Premier please tell this House what reason the member for Kitchener has given to him for his refusal to cooperate with the police investigation in which he was obviously a principal source of information?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs):** I'm reluctant to engage in too active a commentary on all this, because as you well know the Grandview matter is still under investigation, except to say that an individual person is entitled to be interviewed or not to be interviewed by the police. I certainly have no other comments or views to express on that.

1450

**Mrs O'Neill:** That's a very difficult standard for the province of Ontario to admire in a Premier. In his March 8 letter of resignation to the Premier, the member for Kitchener says, "I apologize for any grief my action may have caused you, the Premier or the government." On March 29, 1993, the member for Kitchener, to quote you again, Mr Premier, made a very brief statement apologizing to the caucus. That's all. "The matter's now closed." You said, Mr Premier, "The matter's now closed."

The other people in this province, the residents of Ontario and the victims of abuse, do not think the matter's closed.

On April 14, in response to a question from my leader, the Premier said that the member for Kitchener had, and I again quote the Premier, "apologized to me, and I think to the people in question." I've been able to confirm what the member for Kitchener has already admitted to the press, and did that very afternoon, that

one of those people in question was not Judi Harris, a victim of abuse, I remind you.

I ask the Premier, how can he possibly justify his caucus colleague's deplorable omission of an apology to a victim of abuse, and the many other victims of abuse who now hesitate to come forward, in any shape or form, with their complaints? When, Mr Premier, will you instruct the member for Kitchener to apologize to the real victim, to the real victims of abuse in Ontario?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I want to say to the honourable member that she says the matter is now closed. I would say to her that as far as the very basic legal issues that are involved—and I think, Mr Speaker, there are rules in the House that deal with these questions—there is a civil action that's taking place, about which I will not comment and it would be inappropriate for me to comment, and there's a criminal investigation under way that's been ongoing for some time. I think the member knows that full well, and any other comment by me would be inappropriate and I suspect if I were to say anything she'd turn around and criticize it in the end.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE

**Mr Noble Villeneuve (S-D-G & East Grenville):** In the absence of the Minister of Agriculture and Food, I will ask the Treasurer the following question: I and many people were very disappointed when the Minister of Agriculture and Food was appointed as the chairman of a committee, a very crass political committee, doing an investigation on NAFTA, of all things. Some \$300,000 was spent on this very crass political committee.

Mr Treasurer, the Ministry of Agriculture and Food suffered a 10% reduction in its budget last year. Do you not feel that if indeed you had to spend some money which you don't have, it would have been better to spend it within the Ministry of Agriculture and Food instead of on a crass political committee?

**Hon Floyd Laughren (Deputy Premier and Minister of Finance):** I appreciate the question from the member for S-D-G and East Grenville. I would urge him, though, to not mix up the apples and the oranges here. The minister of agriculture is doing, I think, an admirable job, given the constraints this government faces, and I know the member opposite appreciates both the problems that the government has in terms of its fiscal situation and the problems of the agricultural community. He has been most outspoken, and I think appropriately so, on the concerns of the agricultural community.

However, I would expect that he would defend the North American free trade agreement. That is the Tory way in this land, just as it was with the US-Canada free trade agreement, but I don't think he should clutter up the debate by implying that money that's spent on trying

to defend Ontario citizens from what we think is potentially a very bad agreement—with the priorities of the minister of agriculture and this government's commitment to agriculture in this province.

**Mr Villeneuve:** The government and the Minister of Agriculture and Food have agreed that they would not change their stand on opposition to NAFTA regardless of the presentations that were made to the committee, after spending \$300,000.

Mr Treasurer, the facts are that in 1992 the agricultural exports to the United States increased by \$500 million—these are Ag and Food statistics—in 1991 they increased by \$140 million over the previous year, in 1990 they increased by almost \$500 million over the previous year, and yet our exports to the rest of the world have gone down. Do you not think there's a message there, Mr Treasurer? Do you not think there's a message there when our exports to the US go up in the last three years, and to the rest of the world they go down? Do you not think this money was absolutely thrown away and spent on a crass political committee which has nowhere to go?

**Hon Mr Laughren:** No. I would remind the member that while he talks about the increased exports, he conveniently forgets the fact that during the recession this province lost about 300,000 manufacturing jobs, and if you think there's no relationship between the US-Canada free trade agreement and the loss of jobs, then you're not plugged in to what most Ontario citizens believe. You cannot run and hide from the fact that federal Tory policies on a high dollar, high interest rates and free trade were major components in the fact that we're in the kind of recession we're in right now.

#### DRIVERS' LICENCES

**Mr Derek Fletcher (Guelph):** My question is to the Minister of Transportation. Earlier this year there were three young Guelph students aged 16 and 17 who were killed when their car went off the road. They're not the only young people in Ontario to be killed because of inexperience behind the wheel of an automobile, and many people, including myself, believe that perhaps a system of graduated licensing may save some young lives.

I'm wondering if the minister and the ministry are moving towards the implementation of graduated licensing, and if so, when? Can you give us some time lines as to when the implementation of this graduated licensing will be brought into effect? As everyone knows, the number of people we can save through graduated licensing with novice drivers is so much better for this province.

**Hon Gilles Pouliot (Minister of Transportation):** All members will share in the sorrow each and every time that an Ontarian loses her or his life on our high-

ways; a thousand people, a thousand less Ontarians each year.

There are 6.8 million licensees in the province of Ontario. New and young people between 16 and 25 make up 15% of the 6.8 million licensees, and yet they're involved in fully 30% of the fatalities.

We're looking at very serious proposals to revise the current system, proposals that may well include a zero level of alcohol, tougher multistage, the accompaniment by an adult for three or four years. We have to respect the balance between mobility and safety, and we do hope indeed to have an announcement soon.

#### MINING INDUSTRY

**Mr Frank Miclash (Kenora):** My question is to the Minister of Northern Development and Mines. First of all, I'd like to review some of the facts and I must say that these are not encouraging facts when it comes to the mining industry in Ontario.

Revenues are down some \$2.2 billion since 1989, from \$7.3 billion to \$5.1 billion, and that's something the Treasurer will certainly be interested in. Investment in the industry is not happening in Ontario but is flowing to other provinces and other countries where investors are feeling so much more welcome. As well, the government-mandated costs are skyrocketing to a point that the industry is finding it tougher and tougher to do business in Ontario. These, along with other barriers to the industry such as the uncertainty of land access, Bill 40, the uncertainty over environmental legislation and regulations, are just making mining in Ontario extremely unattractive.

Madam Minister, I must ask you what you are doing for the mining industry in this province to ensure that its contribution will be recognized by the Treasurer in his upcoming budget?

**Hon Shelley Martel (Minister of Northern Development and Mines):** The member will know that in September of last year the ministry released an incentives paper that we asked our stakeholders in the mining community to come forward with, with respect to public hearings around what would be the best kinds of incentives that we could offer the industry.

We have come to a consensus with respect to which types of incentives we think are the most important. We have put that forward to the Treasurer and we are reviewing that very matter with the Treasurer now.

Over and above that, with respect to the question the member has raised, he will know that at the Prospectors and Developers Association of Canada I announced very clearly that the Ministry of the Environment is moving to change the regulation with respect to Bill 220. That will ensure that liability is not assigned in the way it was under the Liberal bill, and we expect that regulation to be drafted and passed in the next number of weeks.



1500

He will know that we had a major advertising campaign in southern Ontario for six weeks last year to raise public awareness about the importance of mining in this province. It was very successful. We have asked our partners in the mining industry to come back with ideas about how to run a second sort of campaign in the province.

He will know, for example, that we have just finished developing our educational kits, which will go into the primary and secondary schools in the fall, so that we can ensure that our children recognize the importance of mining and are interested in important public policy.

He will also know that at the PDAC, this government committed itself to participate in the Whitehorse charter initiative, and we will be holding public policy forums around those major initiatives—

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Before you reveal the entire government policy, we have run out of time. The time for oral questions has expired.

#### ROLE OF MINISTERS WITHOUT PORTFOLIO

**Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North):** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: Just very briefly, there was a bit of a hurly-burly earlier in question period around your—

*Interjection.*

**Mr Conway:** I know. It's a peculiar business, this. God, did I hear that from the minister who dumps, speaking of hurly-burly.

My question is, when do you intend to rule on the matter of the junior ministers, their role in the scheme of things, and whether or not you might be able to ask the government House leader? Because he was more helpful I think than he could imagine. He seemed to have prepared text from which he was reading and I just wondered whether you might ask the government House leader if it were possible to get a copy of what appeared almost to be a government statement in respect of this matter which is now before you.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** May I say to the honourable member that I realize this is an important matter, of importance to both the opposition and to the government. I will endeavour to reach a decision as quickly as possible, and if at all possible, it will be tomorrow. I do appreciate the contributions made by the members. Indeed, in addition to anything which you've said, if you wish to give me anything in print, I'm more than delighted to read it. But I will do my utmost to review the matter and be back tomorrow so that everyone's clear as to what we can or cannot do.

**Mr Ernie L. Eves (Parry Sound):** On the same point, before you enter into your deliberations, I would like to make a few small points with respect to this issue.

Firstly, I'm referring to the Hansard of December 12,

1991, which the government House leader referred to, wherein you ruled—I think quite properly so, re-reading your ruling—that the member for Niagara South was not to answer a question relating to her duties that related to her party, seeing as how she had no specific responsibilities as a Minister without Portfolio.

You quoted at length—I don't think there's any need for me to do the same again—from both Beauchesne and Erskine May on this particular topic. If you re-read your ruling and the quotes you read therefrom, I think you will rapidly come to the conclusion that indeed these ministers are different than a Minister without Portfolio who has no specific ministerial responsibilities and who is merely the party whip, ie, a partisan political party duty, and I think you quite correctly ruled on that matter.

I would also refer you to the Executive Council Act of the province of Ontario. We heard the Premier in question period today saying that these cabinet ministers are not cabinet ministers. That is what he said. They're cabinet ministers but they're not cabinet ministers. They can't come to cabinet. Well, Mr Speaker, they are by very definition members of the executive council, and how we define cabinet ministers here, I suppose the Premier could say a banana is not a banana, but just because the Premier said it doesn't make it so. We also heard the Premier say that his deficit would be \$9.9 billion and it ended up being \$17 billion or in excess of \$12 billion. So we know that doesn't make it so.

I can tell you, Mr Speaker, that it says right here in the Executive Council Act of Ontario that these junior ministers are indeed members of the executive council of Ontario, and therefore, whether the Premier likes it or not, are indeed cabinet ministers, just like junior ministers of state in Ottawa are indeed cabinet ministers.

The Premier himself alluded in an earlier question today, I forget whether it was to the member for Renfrew North or the leader of my party—he said that other jurisdictions such as France, England etc—I noticed he forgot to mention Ottawa, but indeed the federal government in this country does have junior ministers, the same way he has created junior ministers; indeed they're called ministers of state in Ottawa. They are responsible for certain specific duties, as indeed his are, as outlined in his own words in his own press release, which I shall get to in a moment.

I would also like to point out to you that these ministers of state in Ottawa are junior to other senior ministers, the same as they are here. We have, pointing this out, the Premier himself on February 3, 1993, where he says in his very own press release:

“Premier Rae also announced the following assignments for the ministers without portfolio: Richard Allen in Economic Development and Trade”—the Premier has said that Richard Allen, a junior minister, has responsibilities, in his own words, for Economic Development

and Trade—"Shirley Coppen in Culture, Tourism and Recreation; Karen Haslam in Health"—which was the very point made very well by the member for Renfrew North—"Allan Pilkey in Municipal Affairs; Shelley Wark-Martyn in Education and Training, and newcomer Brad Ward in Finance."

Now those people, Mr Speaker, their responsibilities have been defined and iterated by none less than the Premier himself. They are members of the executive council, as defined in legislation, and now we have the Premier saying, "Oh no, they are cabinet ministers, but they're not cabinet ministers."

They are indeed cabinet ministers. They are paid a salary as defined by the Executive Council Act, they're by definition members of the executive council and therefore, whether the Premier likes it or not, they are indeed cabinet ministers in the province of Ontario. If he wants to fire them, then he should do that. If he wants to call them parliamentary assistants, he should do that. But I can tell you as sure as I'm standing here, they are indeed cabinet ministers in the province. They are paid as cabinet ministers without portfolio, as defined by the Executive Council Act of Ontario, and they indeed are paid by the taxpayers of Ontario as such and have budgets as such and they have responsibilities as he has outlined as such.

As the Minister of Education and Training has so eloquently stated—I don't have his news clippings with me—but he has eloquently stated that his junior minister indeed has specific responsibilities for a part, I believe he said, of the ministry. In fact he went so far as to say that his five parliamentary assistants are each responsible for a part of the ministry because he couldn't possibly keep on top of this huge new superministry that the Premier has created to give to him.

So I would ask you to take all of those, including the precedents in Ottawa, and your very own ruling of December 12, 1991, into account before you respond to our points of order.

**The Speaker:** The member for Renfrew North.

**Mr Conway:** Thank you very much. I don't intend to go on, but I would like to say a few things.

*Interjection.*

**Mr Conway:** Listen, I know, I know. There's a part of me that says, "Who the hell cares any more really," and that part of me is getting bigger all the time, but I'm paid to be here and I'm going to be dutiful. My interest today was financial. This is a parliamentary question and it should be, I think, looked at.

Let me be very candid. I think the member for Parry Sound raises some good points. I remember the day when I think we probably tried to ask Shirley—the member for Niagara South—a question. If I were Speaker, I would not allow a member of the Legislature

to ask a whip a question, because the whip, as the member for Parry Sound rightly observes, has no departmental responsibilities. We've tried that over the years. It hasn't been done too often.

I know the Minister of Housing was here with me in the days when Bud Gregory, for example, was in the cabinet; Bob Eaton. I remember the day David Peterson got up and asked—and you do too, Mr Speaker; it was a very unvarnished question—"What do you do to earn your additional salary?" He was Minister without Portfolio and chief government whip.

There is a fairly well established practice that I think is understandable in this place, that if a Premier chooses to include the chief government whip in the broader cabinet as Minister without Portfolio, I have no problem—quite frankly, I think it's one of the rottenest jobs in creation and the person, whoever—Fred's got it now and he'll go straight to heaven for doing it. I think there's no problem in that person being Minister without Portfolio, and maybe even more, and I think your ruling was correct in disqualifying probably one of my colleagues from asking a question. If I had been in your position I would have done that exact same thing.

**1510**

As I said earlier today, I understand the political science of the reorganization. I understand it entirely and I personally believe, very strongly believe that cabinets have gotten too big in this province. I was in two: one was bigger and one was smaller. The smaller one was small of necessity. I'd better not say the next part of this. Well, we had 48 members—hard to make a 33-member cabinet when you've got 48 members, because you don't have very many left to do the important work outside of the executive council.

I personally believe that cabinets should be reduced and I'll be perfectly honest: I think there's an element of this reorganization that I like. If I had my way, cabinets should be down to about 16.

The Minister of Housing and I came in here when the famous Darcy McKeough was Minister of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs. He was the power and the glory of the Davis government in a way that Bob Macaulay was the minister of all talents in the Robarts-Frost era.

I think McKeough had one parliamentary assistant, maybe two, and it was a very considerable sign of your upward mobility if you were parliamentary assistant to the TEIGA minister. I well remember Keith Norton who, many of you will know, was—when we were first elected, the Minister of Housing and I, Norton was not in the cabinet but he was on his way. He was the parliamentary assistant and he routinely, as I remember, spoke for the minister and quite often in the House answered as parliamentary assistant for the Treasurer.



My point is that as you contemplate your decision, I think we have got to seriously consider this new category, because it's true we've had ministers without portfolio before. One of the most powerful people ever to sit in this assembly, one of the most enormously powerful people in the history of Ontario politics, Adam Beck, was never, as I recall, anything more than Minister without Portfolio responsible for the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario and he had more power than most of the premiers with whom he served.

But we now have a new category of junior minister. Some of my less charitable colleagues refer to them as baby ministers. I wouldn't say that, but the concept of junior minister is well established in Great Britain. The member for Parry Sound pointed out that in Ottawa they have developed a junior minister who is essentially the Minister of State for whatever. I think McDermid from Brampton is one who comes to my mind.

It seems to me that as you deliberate, we have to now deal with this new category of junior ministers with responsibilities, not without portfolio but a junior minister responsible for certain departments. Today I was struck by the fact that the government House leader was all set and had a statement. He read a statement, because I know the government was anticipating the question and I'm sure the Speaker and Clerk's office were as well, but I thought I heard the government House leader—and I'm going to check against Hansard, because I thought I heard him read from his prepared text something that suggested that these were people without responsibilities.

I certainly have the impression from listening to the Premier and others—and the member for Parry Sound rightfully pointed out and the February 3 press release speaks to these individuals, these junior ministers, with specific responsibilities.

It's not that Brad Ward, our friend from Brantford, was assigned as just a general Minister without Portfolio, because according to this he has responsibility for Finance, just like McDermid in Ottawa is the Minister of State, I think, for Finance and Privatization. I'm not going to re-read the list.

So while I accept entirely your ruling of some time ago about the inappropriateness of asking a genuine Minister without Portfolio, somebody who has clearly no responsibilities other than being chief government whip—I think your ruling is entirely sensible and supportable, but I have to believe that the House has a right to question ministers who have assigned responsibilities in so far as at least the departmental arrangement of the government is concerned.

I may not like it if the member for Port Arthur says, "I appreciate the question. I thank the honourable member. That question should properly be answered by my colleague the member for Windsor-Riverside," but I would be hard pressed to accept a ruling that with this

new reorganization, with junior ministers assigned to specific departmental responsibilities, the House could not properly put a question to those ministers, leaving entirely open to the honourable ministers how they chose to respond to the question.

**Mr Sorbara:** Mr Speaker, if I might just for a moment on the same point of order, I would like to put a contrary view to you for your consideration. It seems this point has developed a life of its own during this sessional day, and the argument seems to revolve around whether or not these ministers who were appointed or these junior ministers or baby ministers who were appointed on February 3 by the Premier really are cabinet ministers. You've heard I think some very interesting but technical arguments from the member for Parry Sound to the effect that these members of this Legislature are indeed ministers.

I would like to argue to you, sir, for your consideration prior to your ruling, that whatever else they are, they are not ministers in the cabinet. They are not really members of the executive council, notwithstanding that they've been sworn in, notwithstanding that they receive very significant salaries and the same salary as a real cabinet minister, notwithstanding that they have staff which cost the taxpayers significantly and notwithstanding that they have access to cabinet minister-type vehicles with cabinet minister-type chauffeurs. In a very real sense, if you look at the facts of the matter, they're not cabinet ministers, and the reason why they are not cabinet ministers is because they are not allowed to attend cabinet meetings.

A cabinet minister's salary doesn't make you a cabinet minister. These seven people admittedly are getting a cabinet minister's salary. The fact that they're identified on our seat list here as honourable members is another indication of being a cabinet minister. But the reality of the matter is, cabinet ministers, what they really do is participate in cabinet meetings. They go to the meetings that have the power to determine virtually every aspect of public policy in the province of Ontario, and in that one important indication they're not cabinet ministers. They don't get to go to the table.

So the fact that they cost the taxpayer in total and in the aggregate several millions of dollars, with their staff and their chauffeurs, I don't think should be a strong enough argument to sway you to say that they should be treated as cabinet ministers in this Legislature. I and my colleagues, the member for Renfrew North and others, had the honour of participating and serving in a cabinet for a number of years. All of the peripheral stuff that we did, the titles that we had, the cars that were made available to us to transport us around, didn't make us cabinet ministers. What made us cabinet ministers was our right under the Executive Council Act to sit in council with the Premier and the chairman of cabinet

and the Attorney General and the other ministers appointed in council making regulations under the rules applying to regulations and making firm decisions on matters of public policy.

Cabinet solidarity has a great tradition in this province. Cabinet secrecy has a great tradition in this province. To be able to count yourself among those members of this Parliament who sit in council and have the protection of cabinet secrecy and the discussions of cabinet and the protection of cabinet solidarity—cabinet speaks as one voice is the way in which it's described—determines who it is who is in cabinet.

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So I would say that, sure, they're getting the salary of a cabinet minister. Well, that costs the taxpayer quite a bit, and if you had asked me, I would have said that Bob Rae should have asked these seven simply to step aside, that in times of restraint he ought not to have created this middle level of cabinet management, these quasi-ministers. I would suggest to you that the best you could say about them is that they are quasi-ministers.

Certainly the fact that the one real indication of a cabinet minister is a member of this Legislature who can sit at the cabinet table. Given that the Premier has given them the salary and the cars and the staff but has prohibited them from sitting at the table would suggest to me that while they wear all the trappings of cabinet ministers, they are not cabinet ministers. I think they should be done away with, but certainly I would argue that you ought not to rule that they are real ministers in the province of Ontario.

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Government House Leader):** Just very briefly, the member for York North's dissertation was very interesting, but I think the record should show and the public of Ontario should know that the ministers without portfolio in this administration or any other administration do not get the same salary as a cabinet minister.

**Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West):** Point of order.

**The Speaker:** To the same point of order? The member for Etobicoke West.

**Mr Stockwell:** Mr Speaker, if you could do me the favour of also looking into the fact that when the member for Renfrew North put the question to the junior minister of Health, there was no immediate response from the government that they were not going to allow the junior minister to answer the question. What happened was that you, as Speaker, popped up and suggested that in fact the question was improperly put.

I guess the point that I would like to make to you, Mr Speaker, is, subsequently hearing from the Premier—and his response was, "I don't care whether the junior ministers answer questions or don't answer

questions"—this may well have been resolved if you had allowed the debate and the question to simply flow forward. But since you came forward and suggested that it was improperly put, which I'm not sure why you did since no one appealed to your Chair to make a ruling, maybe you could investigate that and check Hansard to see whether or not it was in fact proper for you to come forward and suggest the question was out of order.

**The Speaker:** First, to the member for Etobicoke West, indeed it would have been irresponsible of the Speaker to have allowed the government to decide whether or not it wished to allow a certain person to answer a question. That's why the House has a Speaker.

I want to first thank the member for Parry Sound. As usual, a thoughtful presentation, well researched and extremely helpful.

To the member for Renfrew North, again, his drawing upon the history of this place will assist me greatly.

To the member for York Centre, he has in fact identified the centre of the difficulty. That's probably the place where I need to start with respect to my deliberations, and, as I mentioned before, I will do my utmost to have a decision ready for tomorrow so that the House will know as quickly as possible what the status of this is.

**Mr Stockwell:** Point of order, Mr Speaker. Could I just ask you to clarify, then? What you are suggesting is it's now your decision whether or not junior ministers can or cannot answer questions.

I ask you: If the government is then prepared, regardless of your decision, to allow junior ministers to answer questions, would not this appeal or debate through you, the Chair, be in fact wasted, if the government is then prepared to say, "Yes, junior ministers are allowed to answer questions"? So in essence, what you responded to me is by saying it would be imprudent of you not to come forward and not to allow the government to decide who can and cannot answer questions. Mr Speaker, I would suggest to you categorically that with junior ministers it is absolutely and undeniably the decision of the Premier and cabinet and government as to whether or not ministers can or cannot answer questions, particularly junior ministers with all the rights and privileges of a cabinet minister.

So again I put my point to you, Mr Speaker. It seemed to me to be imprudent on your part to just come forward before any appeal was made to you by the government or opposition members to determine whether or not the ministers, being junior ministers, could or could not answer the questions. I also ask that if the Premier doesn't seem to care one way or the other, would it not be the decision of the Premier to determine whether or not the junior ministers that he appointed to his cabinet, who have all the privileges and perks of a



cabinet minister, should therefore be allowed to answer questions? If the decision is yes, then is not your decision then moot?

**The Speaker:** I think perhaps, for the member for Etobicoke West, when the ruling comes forward he will better appreciate the difficulty that has been presented. We have been presented with a unique situation this afternoon, and it was my decision that until we could clarify who is allowed to ask questions and who isn't under a new situation in the House, it's best to simply not allow questions to particular people. As I told the member earlier, I will do my best to have a ruling for tomorrow.

### MOTIONS

#### PRIVATE MEMBERS' PUBLIC BUSINESS

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Government House Leader):** I move that, notwithstanding any standing order or previous order of the House, the following changes be made to the order of precedence for private members' public business:

Ballot item 1, N. Duignan; ballot item 2, D. Poole; ballot item 3, D. Tilson; ballot item 4, G. Mills; ballot item 5, J. Cleary; ballot item 7, B. Huget; ballot item 8, R. Callahan; ballot item 11, H. Daigeler; ballot item 13, P. Wessenger; ballot item 14, B. Grandmaître; ballot item 17, T. Murphy; ballot item 20, G. Sorbara; ballot item 23, C. McClelland; ballot item 25, M. Morrow; ballot item 26, S. Mahoney; ballot item 29, F. Miclash; ballot item 32, J. Fawcett; ballot item 34, R. Marchese; ballot item 35, M. Kwinter; ballot item 38, B. Sullivan; ballot item 41, R. Eddy; ballot item 44, J. Poirier; ballot item 47, S. Offer; ballot item 49, G. Bisson; ballot item 50, T. Ruprecht; ballot item 53, R. Chiarelli; ballot item 56, G. Morin; ballot item 57, E. Witmer; ballot item 59, J. Sola; ballot item 62, L. McLeod; ballot item 64, G. Malkowski; ballot item 65, H. O'Neil, Quinte; ballot item 67, G. Phillips, Scarborough-Agincourt; ballot item 69, M. Brown; ballot item 71, D. McGuinty; ballot item 73, E. Caplan; ballot item 75, J. Henderson; ballot item 77, J. Bradley; ballot item 79, C. Beer; ballot item 81, A. Curling; ballot item 83, Y. O'Neill, Ottawa-Rideau; ballot item 85, D. Ramsay; ballot item 87, M. Elston; ballot item 89, S. Conway; ballot item 91, J. Cordiano.

**Mr Ernie L. Eves (Parry Sound):** Mr Speaker, on the motion, it wasn't my understanding that we would go through the entire length of members and renumber them all. It was my understanding that caucuses, among themselves, would arrange to exchange places with other members, as we have done in the past. I have no objection to it being done this way, but I just would like to alert the government House leader that we may indeed have some further changes ourselves at a future date.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** It is normal practice, if there are additional changes, that there may in fact then be another motion at another time. Provided

there is unanimous consent, then of course those changes are made.

### COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Government House Leader):** I move that the membership of the standing committees for this session be as follows—I believe I have to seek unanimous consent to move this motion without notice.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Do we have unanimous consent? Agreed? Agreed.

**Hon Mr Charlton:** I move that the membership of the standing committees for this session be as follows:

Standing committee on administration of justice: Ms Akande, Mr Chiarelli, Mr Curling, Mr Duignan, Mr Harnick, Ms Harrington, Mr Malkowski, Mr Marchese, Mr Mills, Mr Murphy, Mr Tilson and Mr Winninger.

Standing committee on estimates: Mr Abel, Mr Arnott, Mr Bisson, Mr Carr, Mr Elston, Ms Haeck, Mr Jackson, Mr Jamison, Mr Lessard, Mr Mahoney, Mr Ramsay and Mr Rizzo.

Standing committee on finance and economic affairs: Mrs Caplan, Mr Carr, Mr Cousens, Mr Ferguson, Mr Jamison, Mr Johnson (Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings), Mr Kwinter, Mrs Mathysen, Mr North, Mr Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt), Mr Sutherland and Mr Wiseman.

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Standing committee on general government: Mr Arnott, Mr Brown, Mr Dadamo, Mr Daigeler, Mr Fletcher, Mr Johnson (Don Mills), Mr Mammoliti, Mr Morrow, Mr Sola, Mr Sorbara, Mr Wessenger and Mr White.

Standing committee on government agencies: Mr Bradley, Ms Carter, Mr Cleary, Mr Frankford, Mr Grandmaître, Ms Harrington, Mr Mammoliti, Mr Marchese, Mrs Marland, Mr McLean, Mr Waters and Mrs Witmer.

Standing committee on the Legislative Assembly: Mr Farnan, Mr Hansen, Mr Johnson (Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings), Mrs MacKinnon, Mrs Mathysen, Mr McClelland, Mr Morin, Mr Owens, Mr Sterling, Mrs Sullivan, Mr Villeneuve and Mr Wessenger.

Standing committee on the Ombudsman: Mr Abel, Ms Akande, Mr Drainville, Mr Henderson, Mr Martin, Mr Miclash, Mr Morrow, Mr Murdoch (Grey), Mr Ramsay, Mr Rizzo, Mr Stockwell and Mr Wilson (Kingston and The Islands).

Standing committee on public accounts: Mr Callahan, Mr Cordiano, Mr Duignan, Mr Farnan, Mr Frankford, Mr Hayes, Mrs Marland, Mr Murphy, Mr O'Connor, Mr Perruzza, Ms Poole and Mr Tilson.

Standing committee on regulations and private bills:

Mr Eddy, Mr Fletcher, Ms Haeck, Mr Hansen, Mr Hayes, Mr Johnson (Don Mills), Mr Jordan, Mrs MacKinnon, Mr Mills, Mr Perruzza, Mr Ruprecht and Mr Sola.

Standing committee on resources development: Mr Conway, Mr Cooper, Mrs Fawcett, Mr Huget, Mr Jordan, Mr Klopp, Mr Kormos, Ms Murdock (Sudbury), Mr Offer, Mr Turnbull, Mr Waters and Mr Wood.

Standing committee on social development: Mr Beer, Ms Carter, Mrs Cunningham, Mr Eddy, Mr Hope, Mr Martin, Mr McGuinty, Mr O'Connor, Mrs O'Neill (Ottawa-Rideau), Mr Owens, Mr Wilson (Kingston and The Islands) and Mr Wilson (Simcoe West).

**The Speaker:** Mr Charlton moves that the membership of the standing committees for this session be as follows: Standing committee on administration of justice—dispense? Motion agreed to? Agreed.

#### COMMITTEE SCHEDULE

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Government House Leader):** I think I also have to, Mr Speaker, seek unanimous consent to proceed without notice of this motion.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Do we have unanimous consent? Agreed? Agreed.

**Hon Mr Charlton:** This is a motion that sets the committee schedules.

That the following schedule for committee meetings be established for this session:

The standing on administration of justice may meet on Monday and Tuesday afternoons following routine proceedings; the standing committee on estimates may meet on Tuesday and Wednesday afternoons following routine proceedings; the standing committee on finance and economic affairs may meet on Thursday mornings and Thursday afternoons following routine proceedings; the standing committee on general government may meet on Thursday mornings and Thursday afternoons following routine proceedings; the standing committee on government agencies may meet on Wednesday mornings; the standing committee on the Legislative Assembly may meet on Wednesday afternoons following routine proceedings; the standing committee on the Ombudsman may meet on Wednesday mornings; the standing committee on public accounts may meet on Thursday mornings; the standing committee on regulations and private bills may meet on Wednesday mornings; the standing committee on resources development may meet on Monday and Wednesday afternoons following routine proceedings; the standing committee on social development may meet on Monday and Tuesday afternoons following routine proceedings; and that no standing or select committee may meet except in accordance with this schedule or as ordered by the House.

**The Speaker:** Mr Charlton moves that the following

schedule for committee meetings be established for this session: The standing committee on administration—dispense? Motion agreed to? Agreed.

#### PRIVATE MEMBERS' PUBLIC BUSINESS

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Government House Leader):** The final motion, Mr Speaker, and I think I also need unanimous consent to move this motion without notice.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Do we have unanimous consent? Agreed? Agreed.

**Hon Mr Charlton:** I move that for the remainder of the third session any divisions required for private members' public business on Thursday mornings, under standing order 96(f), shall not be deferred and taken in succession but be taken individually, and the division bells shall be limited to five minutes each.

**The Speaker:** Mr Charlton moves that for the remainder of the third session any divisions—dispense? Motion agreed to? Agreed.

**Mr Dennis Drainville (Victoria-Haliburton):** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I'd just like to say it would be helpful, when we're asked for unanimous consent, that if we're clear about what the motion is that's going to be made ahead of time, we can give that with a clear heart and conscience. It's very difficult to give carte blanche and not know precisely what is being recommended.

**The Speaker:** I sympathize with the member for Victoria-Haliburton. Indeed, our practice is a chicken-and-egg question. Unfortunately, to date we've never been able to resolve it, but I appreciate the dilemma that it places the member in.

#### PETITIONS

##### POST-POLIO SYNDROME

**Mr Gilles E. Morin (Carleton East):** I have a petition from the Ottawa and District Post-Polio Association.

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to establish a post-polio clinic in the Rehabilitation Centre of Ottawa-Carleton for the diagnosis, treatment and follow-up of patients and to disseminate information so that the estimated 1,000 known polio survivors in the centre's catchment area can receive adequate treatment and that the medical profession be educated regarding the post-polio syndrome."

##### JUNIOR KINDERGARTEN

**Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East):** My petition is signed by myself, and there are 129 names on it. It says:

"Whereas we, as citizens of the province of Ontario and residents in the county of Simcoe, object to the imposition of junior kindergarten by the year 1994;

"We would ask the Minister of Education to consider



a moratorium of a duration of at least two years or until there is some obvious improvement in the economic climate of this country.

"Funding arrangements, as proposed in Bill 88, while of some value to taxpayers initially, will leave the ultimate responsibility for all future funding with the municipalities. Many of these municipalities are already hard pressed to collect taxes as levied to date.

"We understand the proposed program may be of value to some. However, the majority cannot, at this time, afford any further tax increases."

#### DRIVERS' LICENCES

**Mr Derek Fletcher (Guelph):** "To the Parliament of Ontario:

"Whereas in 1990 the Ontario Ministry of Transportation demonstrated its good intentions by proposing a system of graduated licensing that would require newly licensed drivers to adhere to certain conditions and restrictions which would be removed as the driver gains driving experience,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Parliament of Ontario as follows:

"To make immediate action to revise the law, specifically the Highway Traffic Act, to include a graduated licensing program for novice drivers.

"As concerned parents and citizens of Ontario, we believe now is the time to take action to protect our young and novice drivers and, in effect, our very future."

I have over 1,300 signatures, and I affix my name.

#### POST-POLIO SYNDROME

**Mr Jean Poirier (Prescott and Russell):** I have here a petition of 31 names, mostly from my riding, and it's addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario. After a long series of whereases, it says:

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to establish a post-polio clinic in the Rehabilitation Centre of Ottawa-Carleton for the diagnosis, treatment and follow-up of patients and to disseminate information so that the estimated 1,000 known polio survivors in the centre's catchment area can receive adequate treatment and that the medical profession be educated regarding the post-polio syndrome."

I have affixed my signature, sir, and I submit a draft to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

#### MINISTERIAL RESPONSE

**Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East):** I have a petition here. It's from a Henry Freitag in Penetanguishene, Ontario, and you've asked me to read this petition. It says:

"Whereas the Minister of Housing, the Honourable Evelyn Gigantes's conduct is not in conformity with that of a free and democratic society;

"Whereas the conduct of the minister is generally

found in countries under the rule of anarchy and dictatorship;

"Whereas she has not replied to my reasonable and valid letters from mid-1992;

"Whereas the letters were labelled number 24, 25, 26 and 27;

"I, the undersigned, petition the Parliament of Ontario as follows:

"Remove the minister forthwith from office and have her replaced by a minister with the understanding of democracy in Canada. Also, permit me to address the proper legislative committee where I, in a participatory manner, can show how I was treated and how people should be treated."

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#### GAMBLING

**Mr Dennis Drainville (Victoria-Haliburton):** Again I add 200 names to the thousands of people who have protested casino gambling.

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the new Democratic Party government has traditionally had a commitment to family life and quality of life for all the citizens of Ontario; and

"Whereas families are made more emotionally and economically vulnerable by the operation of various gaming and gambling ventures; and

"Whereas the New Democratic Party government has had a historical concern for the poor in society who are particularly at risk each time the practice of gambling is expanded; and

"Whereas the New Democratic Party has in the past vociferously opposed the raising of moneys for the state through gambling; and

"Whereas the citizens of Ontario have not been consulted regarding the introduction of legalized gambling casinos despite the fact that such a decision is a significant change of government policy and was never part of the mandate given to the government by the people of Ontario;

"Therefore, we, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the government immediately cease all moves to establish gambling casinos and that appropriate legislation be introduced into the assembly along with a process which includes significant opportunities for public consultation and full public hearings as a means of allowing the citizens of Ontario to express themselves on this new and questionable initiative."

I'm very pleased to affix my signature hereunto.

#### MINISTERIAL RESPONSE

**Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East):** I have another petition. It's from Henry Freitag in Penetanguishene,

Ontario. It says:

"Whereas the individuals of the province of Ontario must be treated within the principles of a free and democratic society;

"Whereas it is a must for a government to be open, to be accountable and to provide reasonable information when requested by the individual;

"Whereas the former Solicitor General has since July 1992 engaged in a manner which is not acceptable in a democratic society and has sidestepped my relevant questions;

"I, the undersigned, petition the Parliament of Ontario as follows:

"To order a minister to provide without delay a valid and clear reply to my letters. Should a minister not be able to do so, have a minister replaced with a more competent servant of the people. Also permit me to address the proper legislative committee where I, in a participatory manner, can show how the people are treated and how the people should be treated."

#### GAMBLING

**Ms Christel Haeck (St Catharines-Brock):** I'm presenting a petition signed by 86 members and adherents of the Knox Presbyterian Church of St Catharines. The church is just around the corner, actually, from where I live, and the members are requesting that a gambling establishment not be set up in the Niagara region. Their petition states as follows:

"We, the undersigned, hereby register our opposition in the strongest of terms to the proposal to establish and license a permanent gambling enterprise in the Niagara Peninsula. We believe in the need of keeping this area as a place where family and holiday time will be enriched with quality of life. Such gaming establishments will be detrimental to the fabric of society in Ontario and in the Niagara region in particular.

"I believe that licensed gambling will cause increased hardship on many families and will be an invitation for more criminal activity.

"By our signature here attached we ask you not to license gambling anywhere in the Niagara Peninsula."

I affix my signature.

#### INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

TERANET INFORMATION DISCLOSURE ACT, 1993

LOI DE 1993 SUR LA DIVULGATION  
DE RENSEIGNEMENTS CONCERNANT TERANET

On motion by Mr Tilson, the following bill was given first reading:

Bill 3, An Act to provide for Access to Information relating to the affairs of Teranet Land Information Services Inc / Loi prévoyant l'accès aux renseignements concernant les activités des Services d'information foncière Teranet Inc.

**Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel):** This bill was introduced the last session. I'm simply reintroducing it a second time, so no comment this time.

CANINDO DEVELOPMENT LIMITED ACT, 1993

On motion by Mr Marchese, the following bill was given first reading:

Bill Pr36, An Act to revive Canindo Development Limited.

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY

##### THRONE SPEECH DEBATE

Resuming the adjourned debate on the amendment to the amendment to the motion for an address in reply to the speech of His Honour the Lieutenant Governor at the opening of the session.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Members will recall there was an agreement to divide the time equally three ways. We left off with the official opposition. I would now recognize the member for Waterloo North.

**Mrs Elizabeth Witmer (Waterloo North):** It is unfortunate that for the most part, this throne speech was merely a regurgitation of old promises. It lacked any message of hope, economic renewal or action and it contained no ideas as to how to tackle our high unemployment, our high debt or our slow economy. Instead, what happened in this spring throne speech is that the same old proposals and the old promises were trotted out, proposals and promises such as pay equity, employment equity, an environmental bill of rights, Ontario investment fund and commodity loan guarantees, just to name a few.

Instead of taking action and dealing with a growing public dissatisfaction with our school system, the NDP has once more vacillated and it has set up yet another education commission. Many people across the province are saying that this is just an excuse not to make the decisions that should be made right now, at the present time. This committee, unfortunately, will not be making any report until at least the end of 1994.

We don't need another expensive education study. This is the fifth one since 1986. We had the Macdonald commission in 1986, we had the Radwanski report in 1987, we had the select committee on education, which provided four reports between 1988 to 1990, and we had the Premier's Council, people and skills in the new global economy, in 1990.

Indeed, I would suggest that the NDP government could have saved a tremendous amount of money if it had taken the time to read the Ontario Progressive-Conservative Party's forward-looking plan of action called New Directions. In fact, I would suggest they still do so. Our volume one deals with jobs and the economy, and volume two deals with education and training.

Our party believes that the suggestions contained in our education and training document would result in a



well-educated and flexible workforce that is able to attract new investment and new jobs—jobs that are so desperately needed for people in this province. Indeed, I would invite all the taxpayers in this province to get a copy of our New Directions policy discussion papers on jobs and the economy, and education and training. We would certainly look forward to their input on these papers.

Another reason that there's no need for another expensive study on education at this time is because if you listen to people on the street, if you take a look at the editorials, if you listen to people in their homes and at meetings, you know, and there is agreement that people care about excellence in education. There is a growing awareness of the importance of education as the indispensable key to unlocking the door to Canada's future prosperity. There is growing recognition that Canada is losing control of its economic future as it is menaced by a highly competitive global economy.

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Unfortunately, we have been slow to restructure our industry so that we can compete in a changing world that exploits high-tech knowledge. Thus, now, as we race towards the year 2000, education is targeted as the fundamental instrument to ensure a positive redirection towards a brighter tomorrow for all of us. As a result, the public is demanding a stronger results-oriented culture that aspires to excellence. We also need to make a commitment to universal life-long learning with close ties to the working world.

The message from the public is quite clear. They have indicated what it is that they want, and yet this commission on education, with its mandate only to study curriculums, to study the number of school boards and to study the amount of administration in the system does very, very little, if anything at all, to respond to the public demands that we act decisively and purposefully when a changing economic environment is demanding changes in education.

The mandate for the Commission on Learning is also disappointing because it suggests that we can cut costs by restructuring or merging school boards. Yes, we could realize some savings at the school board level, but the commission has totally overlooked the fact that the real source of overspending and unaccountability is the Ministry of Education itself.

If this commission on education is to truly play a valuable role in the examination of our educational system and its importance to our future economic wellbeing, its mandate must be expanded beyond what is there already, and broad and meaningful consultation must take place, not the type of consultation that this government has engaged in in the past couple of years when partners throughout the province make presentations but none of the ideas are incorporated into the final bill.

We need to ensure that adequate resources are available to provide universal literacy so that people will have the tools to flourish in the new economy. We need to re-examine the goals, to clarify the roles of the respective partners, parents, community, labour and business, and we really need to take a good look at how we organize and deliver education so that we are able to provide excellence in an affordable way in order that we can be accountable.

I'd like to now take a closer look at the public demand for accountability and quality control to determine if this throne speech does anything in the area of standardized testing to respond to that demand. As we all know, debate as been raging the last number of years over the use of standardized testing as a tool for helping to improve education and to provide a measure of accountability to our education system. Although few people in this province want to return to the departmental exams which ended in the 1960s, there are many people who are in agreement that properly designed tests can be a very useful additional diagnostic device.

Unfortunately, although the throne speech begrudgingly supports standardized testing, the proposed grade 9 standardized testing for reading and writing skills, in a two-week session on nutrition and food, doesn't answer the questions that the public and parents want answered.

What are the questions that the public and parents in this province want answers to? Number one, they want to know how well their children are learning the basic skills; secondly, they want to know how Ontario schools compare to others; thirdly, they want to know what problems their children are experiencing and how their children can be helped; and fourthly, they want to know what progress their children are making from year to year.

What we need is something more than what has been suggested here, something more than just a test on reading and writing skills in a two-week session on nutrition and food. In fact, many people are perplexed as to why a two-week session on nutrition and food has been selected and why we are starting testing at grade 9. There seems to be no rhyme or reason for this at all. There's no long-range plan. Again, it is a scatter-gun approach to responding to the needs and the demands of parents and the public.

What we need instead and what the government should have done is more regular standardized tests of basic skills that would measure a student's progress, as well as competency tests to ensure that our high school graduates are receiving the necessary literacy and mathematical skills. Unfortunately, this throne speech, with its emphasis on this grade 9 standardized test in the area of nutrition and food, is totally meaningless. It does not respond to the public demand for any accountability

or any quality control.

Not only does this speech not address the need for education, but it doesn't respond to the need for welfare reform. This particular throne speech announced not action that is long overdue, but the release of yet another discussion paper on welfare this summer. We've had at least three studies in the past four years, but we've seen absolutely no plan of action to reduce the \$6-billion expenditure on welfare this year or any plan to get welfare recipients back to work.

What we've seen in this throne speech is an indication that this NDP government remains committed to an agenda that will continue to hamper Ontario's economic recovery. This throne speech killed any hope that this government was going to change course and start moving in the right direction. Instead, we've seen a promise of higher taxes, bigger government and more red tape for the private sector. With all the recent talk by this government about the need to make government smaller, more efficient and more affordable, I had hoped we would be getting a different message in the throne speech.

My own community of Kitchener-Waterloo has been severely hurt by plant closings and economic difficulties, and I was hopeful that the provincial government would start taking action to help create a climate in which new jobs could be created. However, this throne speech misses the boat once again. Totally absent were any measures aimed at getting the government out of the way of economic recovery, such as reduced regulatory hurdles to trade and investment.

I'd like to take some time now to briefly focus on the situation in the Waterloo region. Our local economy, as many others, is struggling out of the recession. We are seeing some slow, some subtle shifts in attitudes and there is some renewed activity for some sectors of the economy.

Although our manufacturers are guardedly optimistic that we're bouncing back, there is little widespread hope of major relief this year for many of the almost 30,000 jobless in our community. Substitutes for the almost 6,000 jobs that were lost as more than 40 factories closed, such as Seagram's and Labatt's, these past three years have been difficult to find. Knowledge-based industries and lower-wage service jobs are providing some new employment opportunities and this at least gives the people in my community some small ray of hope.

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The Laurier Institute for Business and Economic Studies in Waterloo released its ninth report in late September of 1992 and it confirmed that business confidence is becoming somewhat more certain. We have been fortunate in Waterloo because we have a

diverse workforce and that's a plus. We also have the benefit of several large insurance companies, two universities, a community college and several other large employers.

I'm pleased that there is some optimism finally in my community that our economy has embarked on a fragile recovery. However, I want to remind this NDP government that this fragile recovery came about in spite of the NDP and if this government makes good on its threat to increase spending and to once again hike taxes, I can assure you that you will kill any hope of an economic turnaround in my community or anywhere else in this province.

It is unfortunate that the speech failed to recognize that the way to deal with our fiscal problems and unemployment is to encourage private sector growth and development. We all know that is the only way to get our unemployed back to work and our economy on the move. What we need is not more government intervention but less regulation and taxation in order that companies will start investing and creating jobs in this province. This government has failed to position Ontario for economic and social prosperity in the future by not introducing policies, infrastructure and training and education systems that will attract tomorrow's industries and jobs to this province.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that this spring throne speech, which was looked forward to with so much optimism and hope by people in this province, has failed miserably in its attempt to address either today's problems or tomorrow's challenges. It was pointless.

**The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin):** The member for Beaches-Woodbine.

**Hon Frances Lankin (Minister of Economic Development and Trade):** Thank you very much, Mr Speaker. I'm actually pleased to be following the member for Waterloo because I'm amazed at some of the points she made in talking about the throne speech.

In her last few sentences she talked about no vision in terms of developing the capacity for us to take advantage of the recovery, trying to build confidence in the business sector, working with the business sector. She talked about the government threatening to increase expenditures. I don't see how anyone can find that credible given what is a very, very public debate that we have entered into with respect to how in fact to bring expenditures down to preserve essential services for the future in order to bring our deficit into a situation which we feel would be healthier for the future of the province.

The throne speech very much focuses on the economy of this province, on the future and the steps we see necessary to prepare for that, so I'm pleased to follow the member and correct her on a number of points.



First of all, I'd like to review 10 parts of the package of the plan put forward by the Premier and put forward again in the throne speech to put Ontario back to work. Economic renewal, economic development, getting jobs for Ontarians; that's what it's all about.

We've talked about and taken action on investing in infrastructure and emphasizing education and training. It's another point the member opposite made. She said there's no plan for investment in education and training. Let's look at OTAB, the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board; let's look at Jobs Ontario Training. She misses the point in the activity that has taken place.

Building partnerships and strengthening industry: I'll talk in a moment about some of the specific examples that will show the actions we've taken in that area.

Supporting communities and small business: The member talks about regulatory hurdles. We've got an active project clearing the path, working at trying to clear the regulatory hurdles for small businesses. A very positive initiative.

Expanding worker protection and participation: I'm sure she would disagree with that, but we think that a stable workforce that is involved in the decision-making in its workplaces and can participate fully actually helps build a stronger economy as well.

Reforming health care: I speak with some fondness for this particular project within the government of Ontario, and in fact Canada-wide, in terms of the nature of the reform that's going on, which really speaks to the essential task facing all Canadians, which is to preserve medicare and the best of medicare so that we don't end up in the situation that is deteriorating and taking us to a system like the United States. Canadians and Ontarians are proud of their health care system. Our efforts to reform it are in order to save what is best about it.

Sustaining the environment: Much of the investment in the physical infrastructure—clean water, sewers—will go towards improving our environment.

Strengthening social justice: There are all sorts of initiatives you can point to under this government. Whether it be better protection for sole-support parents in terms of collection of spousal benefits, spousal obligations, whether it be employment equity initiatives, pay equity initiatives, the aboriginal agenda, social justice is something that has been and remains very important to this government.

Supporting families and getting back to work: I think that the whole economic package of this government is directed very much towards family and jobs.

Of course, as I started off talking about, controlling government costs: Part of getting our economy moving again is ensuring that the government has its fiscal house in order. We've taken and are taking very direct steps to that goal.

If I wrap that all up, what is this plan all about? It's a plan to continue to invest in jobs and people and to maintain the essential services of this province, the face of this province of Ontario. The kinds of changes that we will have to undergo through the restructuring that's gone on in this economy and restructuring in industry, restructuring in government—what we want to do is ensure that we preserve the best of Ontario and our society, that we are able to hand on to our children the kind of legacy that we inherited.

I want to take some time to talk about how the ministry that I'm involved in working with now, the Ministry of Economic Development and Trade, is focusing on this challenge in terms of economic development, is focusing on trying to bring life to many of the points set out in the throne speech and in the Premier's 10-point package to get Ontario back to work.

I think I'd like to start first of all to talk about international trade and the global markets. We know that Ontario is a trading economy, not just to other parts of Canada—primarily to the United States and to other parts of the world. It is absolutely essential that we continue to have an export market that is healthy and that we continue to try and develop that.

I noted today during question period that there were questions then: "Well, if you say you believe in trade, if you believe that we are an export economy"—and the facts can't be disputed—"why are you opposed to the North American free trade agreement? Surely that must mean you're anti-trade."

Because you don't like a deal, a specific deal, because you think it's bad for the province of Ontario, because you think it's bad for trade and our reliance on trade doesn't mean you're anti-trade. It means you're willing to look at something with a critical eye and make an assessment about whether it's good for the people of Ontario, whether it's good for the businesses of Ontario, the workers of Ontario, the economy of Ontario. We clearly believe that the North American free trade agreement is not good for the economy of Ontario and therefore the people of Ontario.

I think the point I want to make here is that the entire effort with respect to trade has to be looked at in terms of a global view. It has to be looked at in terms of a multilateral approach to trade. Our dependence on trade with the United States, as we have seen of late, is greatly endangered by the kinds of disputes that we've seen, trade harassment issues, actions that have been taken by companies in the United States. The steel industry is a very good example of that. We don't have secure access to open trading markets under the US-Canada free trade deal and we don't see that we're getting it under the North American free trade deal either.

Our challenge, our bigger challenge actually, is to

work with our companies here in Ontario to help them become export-ready. One of the most important things we see when companies often go over and visit offices—federal offices and other offices—in the international scene is that they're not ready to enter the export market. They don't have the expertise and they don't have the skills ready and they're not prepared. We can do a tremendous amount here in Ontario to work with business, to work with companies that have export potential to prepare them for a successful entry into that market, and I think we need to focus much more of our attention on that.

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With respect to changing technologies, we don't do things the way we used to do things, the way our parents did things. Our world has changed. Therefore, the way in which business operates has changed as well. There are many firms that have the opportunity to become much more competitive if they can have some assistance with revolutionizing their own technology and systems inside their firms. There's much that we can do. The challenge is to make the best use of technology and the capabilities that it brings us. Change sometimes is difficult to embrace, but I think that we can work with businesses to ensure that they can become—and maintain—relevant in a new technological age.

There are certainly social and environmental concerns that we want to continue to focus on: the education and training of our workforce for jobs that are becoming available to ensure that our training programs are relevant to the workforce demands. That link between business and the job market and our education and training programs, it's essential that we continue to focus on that. I think one of the most obvious examples of that within government is the creation of OTAB, where business and labour market partners come together and will be planning for the future investment of those training resource dollars in this province.

Ontario is a high-wage jurisdiction. That's often held against us in some of the debates I hear and some of the newspaper articles I read. When we talk about increasing competition from other sources, sometimes they point to Ontario as a high-wage jurisdiction and say, "Therefore, you can't compete." I suggest that for all of us, the way in which to compete is not to accede on that point that that's a problem and that we should somehow lower the standard of living of our province and the people of our province in order to engage in competition.

This does not seem to me to be a disadvantage that we have a high standard of living. It seems to me something that we would want to protect. We want to work to continue to maintain and improve that standard of living, but we do have to recognize that standard of living was built on a traditional manufacturing base and that manufacturing base has been eroded. It is not the

heart and soul of the Ontario economy in the way it once was.

It's still a very important part but we have to look at the way in which the free trade deal affects the manufacturing base of Ontario, the way in which for many years the consistent policy of the federal government with respect to high interest rates and the high dollar decimated that industry and made it much more difficult for them coming into this recession. It has forced the major restructuring that has taken place, and of course many, many manufacturing jobs have been lost. Unemployment is too high and that threatens our future.

The economic erosion that has taken place as a result of this in our province also threatens the government's ability to fund our social infrastructure. The social programs like education and like health care, the things that we hold dear, our ability to do that depends on the economic base within our province and it has eroded as a result of these policies—I'll say it again—like free trade, the high interest rate, the high dollar. Government's ability to sustain that social infrastructure is threatened.

That leads me into talking about, in very brief words, the situation the government sees itself in now with respect to its fiscal situation and the need to take bold, dramatic action now to turn around the projections of where we would be headed in the future. We're not taking actions to deal with this year's deficit or last year's deficit or even the deficits that have been in place since this government has been in place. In fact we will continue to defend that it was the right course of action to invest in the province and the people of the province during the worst of the recessionary times.

But as a good Keynesian, Mr Speaker, let me tell you that I know that as we enter into an economic recovery the opposite is true. As you come out of a recession, as you enter into better economic times, it is important that you start to pay off that debt. I use the word "debt" as opposed to deficit because we have had years and years of accumulated debt in this province and many other provinces, in fact at the national level, and we are talking about one taxpayer and about an accumulated debt load in this country that has reached a point in which it is an issue for us all to address seriously.

As the Treasurer has said on many occasions, it is not naming the problem that defines your politics or your approach to issues; it's what you do about it. There I think we stand in a position, of all of the provinces and the federal government, if you look at it, with the most creative and innovative and tough approach to trying to resolve this problem. We've identified the nature of the problem, we've identified a goal in terms of what we want to achieve and we've identified three parts to the solution.

Mr Speaker, our expenditure control program will be



one of the most aggressive that you have seen, and that is on top of several years of having been very effective managers of expenditures. I point to health care as an example, where in fact we've taken what were double-digit increases year over year over year in the Ministry of Health down to 1% or below 1%. That's remarkable and that will continue to play out into the future years and that's a tremendous savings for the province against expected expenditures.

In addition to looking at controlling expenditures, we're sitting down in one of the most innovative, creative processes, engaging our partners in the broader public sector and in the direct Ontario public service in discussions around a social contract. The attempt is simply to try to preserve jobs and essential services and to try to engage people in the front line of delivering services out there in our communities for their ideas about how we can best do that and how we can repackage our expenditure levels within the government to best achieve that goal. It's a goal that they share. Public sector workers whom I know are as committed to the delivery of high-quality public services as any member of this Legislature. It's one of their foremost concerns as well.

Of course, the third part of this is that we will have to look at raising revenues. No one likes to talk about that. No one likes to have to stare that right in the face. We believe that if it's going to be accepted by Ontarians, it has to be a fair package and it has to be seen to be fair right across all of Ontario society. Everyone has to make a contribution to try to find the solution to this problem. That's the approach that we will be taking.

I want to just briefly ask someone to let me know how much time I have left here.

I would like to just briefly talk about an economic development approach, because I believe that this is critical for this province. We haven't had an approach to economic development. You could say we had a piecemeal approach: Whoever has cried the loudest has gotten some economic development assistance. We've looked at picking winners in the past, or we just, through the boom times, particularly when we talk about the 1980s—as we came out of the last recession and the boom times, when revenues kept pouring into government, in fact they kept underestimating their revenues every year and they'd get cheques at the end of the year and they'd spend it like crazy and continue to add to the deficit and the debt problem during those times when they should have been putting away for the rainy day, which was the recession that we just went through.

However, having said that—that's back to my Keynesian theories again—we also just sat by and let the economy go. We let it just take off and do what it was going to do with no sense in terms of an approach to development. We don't believe that that's at all appro-

priate any more. We've seen economic erosion, plant closures—not just layoffs, but closures, jobs that aren't coming back—expenditure problems within government. And we're not just going to go in and cut and slash; we want to maintain the most essential services. We need to have an approach to economic development.

Our approach, through the industrial policy framework that we've set out, is not to go the old way of just picking winners and losers. Governments have never been able to do a good job at that; it doesn't matter what political stripe and at what level. What we're looking at is, how do we support winning activities? How do we support innovation in companies? How do we support export readiness? How do we look at companies that have been successful, take the best of what they do and go out in a very active way and work with other companies to replicate those winning activities to help them succeed too?

We believe that we can build an efficient, productive economy that is fundamentally strong enough to deal with any forces of change. That's the economy of the future. That's the economy of Ontario that we want to be working on: working with business to develop capabilities; contributing, from government, leadership, leading partnership; looking at strategic investment and working with the private sector to lever investment.

The throne speech sets out a number of things that are examples of this. I won't go through them, but I say to the member opposite and her comment that there are no initiatives, that there is nothing there that speaks to the economy of this province and speaks to encouraging investment, well, she's just wrong.

1620

I ask her to look at the discussion around the Ontario investment service. That's something that is supported by business. It's something that will provide a service where in fact people can come to one place, one stop, and get concrete, well-organized information about investment opportunities.

The Ontario investment fund and how it will be able to leverage venture capital, something that's very hard for businesses to get right now in the banks; it's very tough to get capital assistance right now: This is a way in which we're helping.

The sector strategy, the \$150-million sector partnership fund: one of the first examples of technology, telecommunication strategy, very well received within that sector, developed by the sector, government working in partnership with the sector.

You will see that replicated in sector after sector, and I've had the opportunity to review some of the work plans coming forward from the sectors. It's very exciting.

Expanding trade and investment: I spoke about that

earlier in terms of this being an export-led recovery. One of the things that makes it tenuous is that we don't have the consumer confidence coming along yet, but our desire to work with business around expert readiness programs is very real and the opportunities are very great.

Supporting communities, community economic development, working together.

In conclusion, let me say we can only renew the economy if we have the goodwill and the partnership of everyone in Ontario. Our throne speech speaks to that. Our approach with respect to the fiscal situation speaks to that. Our initiatives in the business sector with labour and government partnerships being brought together, sector strategies, speak to that. Everyone playing a role. We can get Ontario back to work if everyone contributes to the effort.

**Mr Gerry Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt):** I'm pleased to join the debate on the speech from the throne. I plan to focus my comments really in two areas, and they are around the fiscal message in the speech from the throne and around the whole issue of jobs.

I would say, though, just as an overview that I couldn't help but be struck by the difference in tone from the first speech from the throne by this government, which was in November 1990, which was, I thought, an optimistic document, a document that had a sense of hope and a sense of enthusiasm and a sense of excitement about the government and about the province. I think even the government members, if they were objective looking at the speech from the throne that was read on April 13, 1993, would acknowledge that it's the speech of a tired government, of a government that in many respects is worn out already.

When we, to use the jargon we have here, prorogued in December, I thought we would see from the government a speech from the throne with some vision, some optimism, some sense of hope. I understand how tough the economy is, and we all understand the difficulty, but we had a speech that in my opinion offered no vision, no sense of enthusiasm, no sense of optimism. It's a government that's worn out.

With all due respect to the government members, I would particularly ask the backbenchers to read it and then read that document that you heard back in 1990, which offered that sense of hope and optimism. We see a government, unfortunately, that I think has lost its way or doesn't know where to go. That's sad, because if there is ever a time when the people in this province are looking for some sense of hope and optimism, it's now, and I think they expected the government to have a plan and a vision and a sense of direction.

The two areas that I want to focus on are the finances and jobs, and I'll start on the finances, because there is

no question that the finances are serious in this province—make no mistake about that—and that all of us have a responsibility and an obligation to deal effectively with them and that they're in difficulty for a variety of reasons.

One cannot blame this government for the recession. I happen to think there's much that the government did that has prolonged it, made it substantially worse, but I think it would be unfair to say there would have been no recession if another government had been in power. That's simply not credible.

There is no doubt that the government has faced challenges on revenue—I don't dispute that at all—but I think any objective observer would look back on the first budget of this government as a fundamental mistake. I was sad that the Minister of Economic Development and Trade didn't at least acknowledge that, could they turn back the clock two years, they would have brought out a different budget. It was a fundamental mistake. That ran up a deficit of \$11 billion.

I think that there was not one single individual in this province or in this country, apart from the New Democratic members, who didn't say: "This is a mistake. We're in a recession. This is the time for some restraint." There wasn't a single individual apart from the government members, yet you went ahead and ran up a budget that had a deficit of what all observers believed would be \$11 billion, and it came out at that.

I don't accept that it was inevitable. I go back to the Provincial Auditor's report, because I think even some of the government members may not be aware that leading up to your election deficits were being reduced every single year. This is what the Provincial Auditor said; it's not me. For those who are viewing this, the Provincial Auditor is an independent individual whom the public pays for to give an objective, non-biased view of the finances.

The Provincial Auditor said about the finances of the province, "Ontario has had only one surplus in the last 20 years and that was the year that ended March 31, 1990." That was several months before you got elected, but every year the deficits had been coming down and there was a surplus. I'm not sure the ministry even knew that. You said earlier that there had been consecutive deficits. That's not true. That is not the case. There was a surplus in the year ending March 31, 1990.

I'll also address an issue that's been raised several times here in the Legislature and that often the Premier uses. He said, "You predicted another surplus the next year and it came in at a \$3-billion deficit." That is true. There was a surplus the year ending March 31, 1990. That was the final budget that the Liberal government had its full control on. The then Treasurer said there would be another surplus, in about the same range. What happened to that? Because the Premier keeps throwing



back at us, "You left a \$3-billion deficit."

The Provincial Auditor once again explained it very carefully and he said it was reasonable—I'm not quoting him exactly, but the essence of it—to expect that when that budget was presented there would be a surplus. He explains how it went from a surplus to a \$3-billion deficit. The Provincial Auditor said: "The extent of the recession was obviously not foreseen at the time of the budget and total revenues dropped by about \$1 billion." So why the \$3-billion deficit? The Provincial Auditor explains: Revenues dropped by a little more than \$1 billion. He goes on to say, "Social assistance costs obviously went up as well." That was the majority of the expenditure increase.

Then he goes on to say, "There were also other special payments that weren't provided for in the budget." These were decisions that Premier Rae made to spend another \$924 million. Understandable, but included in that was \$200 million for the teachers' pension. It wasn't due in the year that it was spent; it was due the next year. The government moved it up. They wrote off SkyDome and they wrote off a UTDC loan of \$400 million. None of those was in the budget. None of those was due that fiscal year. They were all payments that had to be made, but they weren't due that fiscal year.

The reason I'm going through all of this is because oftentimes the Premier, when we're here, will say, "You left us with a big problem." It's not the case. There was a surplus in the year ending March 31, 1990. The Provincial Auditor has explained there was a deficit perhaps of \$2 billion. I'm not saying the government didn't come in at a time when there were difficulties, but the big mistake—any objective observer would agree with this, I think. I think even the Treasurer, or the Minister of Finance, in an unguarded moment would acknowledge now it was a mistake to bring in that first NDP budget running a deficit of \$10 billion.

The problem is that you're now trying to undo that. I guess for political reasons you can't acknowledge that it was a mistake. That's unfortunately the way politics works in this province.

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**Hon David S. Cooke (Minister of Education and Training):** Can't you tell us about your last budget and how inaccurate it was?

**Mr Phillips:** Well, I just went through that, and the Minister of Education wasn't listening. I just went through that whole explanation, and he wasn't listening. So he chooses the mindless sort of bickering.

**Hon Mr Cooke:** I don't agree with your analysis.

**Mr Phillips:** He doesn't agree with the analysis, but it isn't my analysis; it's the Provincial Auditor's analysis. So don't agree with me, read the Provincial Auditor.

Why am I going through all of this? The reason I'm going through it is that if we don't understand why we got into this situation—and many of you spent the summer of 1991 travelling the province, when we had an all-party legislative committee reviewing the budget. Those of us in the opposition told the people and discussed with the people who came before us, "This is a mistake, this budget." Now the government is trying to redress it.

I want to talk a little bit about the number in the speech from the throne on the deficit. The Premier's anticipating a \$17-billion deficit. I've said many times that if the people of Ontario understand the situation, they are prepared to deal with it. I believe the first budget the NDP presented was a mistake.

Last year's budget, the second budget, also was a mistake. The mistake in that one was that the government didn't come clean with the real fiscal situation. The day the budget was presented, we said that this budget was going to have a deficit not of \$9.9 billion but of \$12 billion, and we spelled out where it would come from. We said, "You'll get a fraction of the fiscal stabilization money." For anyone who is watching this, the government said, "We will get \$1.2 billion from the federal government." We said, "You'll get a fraction of that," which they did. They got a fraction of that. We said, "You're not going to get \$1.2 billion worth of asset sales," and they didn't.

We said, "It is a mistake to delay the teachers' pension money." Again, for those watching out there, this government owed the teachers' pension, in the fiscal year that just ended several weeks ago, \$1 billion. This government chose to only pay \$500 million and to delay payment on it. That has had two impacts. One is what I said earlier, that the government understated the deficit last year. If the public had been made aware of what we believed to be the case and what turned out to be the case—that is, that you were looking at a deficit last year, a real deficit, of \$12 billion—I think the public would have demanded action and the government would have taken action. But you now have delayed for two years tackling this fiscal problem.

I might also say for those watching that we are paying a \$50,000-a-day interest penalty because we are paying 11.25% interest on that deferred payment. So every single day, as the government is trying to find money, I will say to the taxpayers out there, we are paying a penalty, every single day, seven days a week, of \$50,000. I might add that it is my understanding that the government isn't going to repay that this fiscal year or next fiscal year or the fiscal year after that. You've delayed it for ever, but we're still going to pay that penalty.

So that is how we arrived at the situation today. Now we hear of a \$17-billion deficit. Again, I stress that the

numbers are serious. But just as we believe that last year, had the government come clean with people and said, "Listen, we're looking at a deficit of \$12 billion; we've got to do something about it," now, in our opinion, the Premier is overstating the situation. I'll tell you where, and I don't think there's much dispute about this. I'll tell you where he's overstating it.

One is that the Minister of Finance has already indicated that they are going to sell a lot of assets: GO trains, \$325 million worth of GO trains. We heard about the Suncor sale; that money's coming in. We understand the government is going to sell several buildings. There is \$1 billion worth of assets that aren't reported in sales.

The government last year went through the whole year saying it was going to get the fiscal stabilization money: "We're owed that money. We're going to put it in our revenue." Now they've taken it out completely, and there's \$550 million there.

The third area is in interest payments. It makes no sense, if you look at Premier Rae's figures. They are assuming that interest payments on the debt are going to go up 42%, 43%. It makes no sense. Any analyst who looks at it says, "These are phoney numbers." They're overstated by at least \$1 billion.

The other thing I'll say is that last year there was something called a seniors tax grant program. It was an expenditure program of \$570 million. This year it's over as a revenue program, and that's one reason why the revenues are down.

The point I'm making is that the problem is serious, but if we're not straightforward and honest with the people of the province, they lose confidence in their governments. I don't understand, personally, why the Premier has chosen to exaggerate the problem. In my opinion, the people we're dealing with, the 950,000 public servants and broader public servants, are extremely sophisticated. They understand this material. They are prepared to deal with the measures that are required, and the facts are tough enough without getting into an argument by exaggerating the numbers.

As I say, Mr Speaker, that's the reason I feel so strongly about coming as clean as we can with the people of Ontario about the current situation.

If you will permit me, I also wanted to get on the record some additional information, because I think oftentimes the Conservatives' memory fades on them slightly. I don't know whether the leader of the third party has had a chance to go back over the numbers or not. The reason I raise these is because I think we all have to acknowledge that the finances are serious and that we got to this point over a long period of time. But I want to just go through the five-year comparisons, the last five years of the Conservatives and the five years of the Liberals, only to get on the record the trend that was

happening.

When we came in, we understood the need to reduce deficits. That's why, if you look at the numbers, from the time we came in to the time we were defeated, every single year the deficit reduced. Now, I understand we were there in relatively good times, Mr Speaker, and that's why we did end up with a surplus, but the average deficit of the Conservatives and the average deficit of the Liberals—I just want to get this on the record. The Conservatives' was \$2.7 billion in their last five years; ours, the Liberals, \$1.9 billion; the NDP's is \$11.5 billion, as I think you know.

The point is that every single year, reduced. I know the Conservatives often feel they managed the money well. Their annual spending increases: substantially higher than the Liberal record. As to the increase in the debt levels, what happened? Eleven per cent average debt going up by the Conservatives, 5% by the Liberals.

The reason I go through all of that is because I think that memories fade a little bit over time, and I wanted to get that on the record.

The other thing I would say is that sometimes Premier Rae says, "Well, you didn't anticipate the problem." Let me just say we did. The proof of it probably is in the New Democratic Party's—this is Bob Rae's comment on the budget, the final budget leading up to the budget, before we were defeated. What did Bob Rae and the NDP say then? These are their comments as we were preparing the budget:

"The Ontario government has reacted to predictions of an economic slowdown by dropping its Liberal pretence, and it's showing its true Conservative nature. The Liberal government is now spreading the message that 1990 will be a year of fiscal restraint. The Liberal minority on the finance committee agrees with this philosophy and has recommended a course of restraint. The New Democratic Party challenges this defence of the status quo."

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My point there is simply this, that as we headed up to the election we understood the need for restraint, we understood, as Liberals, that there was a recession, and this is proof that the New Democratic Party understood where we stood on that, understood why, in that budget, we were talking about restraint, and what did the new democrats say? "The Liberal government is now spreading the message that 1990 will be a year of financial restraint. The New Democratic Party challenges this."

So, Mr Speaker, you can, I think, appreciate on the fiscal side of things why it is important that we understand how we got here. I'll go back to what I said earlier. I don't blame the government for all of it. There's no doubt you came into power as a recession was going on; no doubt about that. There's no doubt that



revenues don't grow in those tough times. But there's also no doubt that the first budget was an enormous mistake, and yet I've yet to hear—in fact, the Premier, the Finance minister and Minister Lankin all say they're happy with that budget that took the deficit up to \$10 billion. Now what we're going to have to do is face the consequences of some tough times to redress that.

I'm pleased to join the debate, to talk a bit about the finances. The second part of the throne speech, that my colleagues will be talking about, will be jobs. Solving the financial problem is extremely important and tough. I think time will tell that the more challenging one for all of us will be to solve the jobs issue as we look ahead over the next three to four years. I think the unemployment rate right now is about 13% in Ontario. It is nominally at 10.3%, but I think all of us would acknowledge it's closer to 13%. Youth unemployment is nominally around 20%; I think we all would say it's closer at least to 25%.

The government figures suggest that in order to get the unemployment rate down to 8% in four years, we have to create net incremental jobs of about 550,000 jobs. That is going to be the challenge, and in my opinion the speech from the throne doesn't begin to tackle that. So we are looking forward to a continuation of the speech from the throne as we try and point out where we think the speech from the throne is deficient.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Dennis Drainville):** I thank the honourable member for his participation in the debate. Further debate, the honourable member for Dufferin-Peel.

**Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel):** It's a pleasure to participate in the throne speech debate. I think one of the issues that specifically the people in the opposition have looked at, the observations of the people of this province, is the confidence in this government, the confidence in the operation of this government, the confidence in the policy of this government.

There's been a great deal of fear. Partly, of course, to be fair to the government, there's the issue of the recession. They can't be blamed for it all; there are other causes for that and I'm sure they'll be pleased to point at the federal government and perhaps the American government and any other government they may wish. But the fact of the matter is that there have been a lot of policies that have come out of this government that have given the public of this province, the taxpayers of this province, a great deal of concern, whether it be the tax laws, whether it be the labour laws, the fear in operation in this province.

The member for Beaches-Woodbine made some comments about confidence. It is interesting—I don't know how many statistics—the fact that the government did mention a few companies in its throne speech. The fact of the matter is, there aren't a great deal of new

companies, new businesses, new operations moving into this province. There are more leaving, there are more going bankrupt, there are more jobs being lost, there are more companies moving to the United States.

**Mr Jim Wiseman (Durham West):** Because you can't get any money because of the central bank.

**Mr Tilson:** That's not quite true. I think the problem is the lack of confidence. When you want to invest in this province, you look at the laws of this province.

**Mr Wiseman:** Something you guys didn't do anything about.

**The Acting Speaker:** Order.

**Mr Tilson:** Can we get some order over here. One looks at the tax structure of this province. One looks at the labour law of this province. Why would you operate a business in this province? That's the fear that the people of Ontario have in investing in this province, in continuing to stay in this province.

I think the throne speech was disappointing in that fact. It's been said by certainly members of the opposition and members of the media that the speech is really a rehash of the government's policies and programs that it had suggested before. There were five new announcements; there's no question about that. There were five new announcements, and many members on this side of the House are commenting on those and I'll reiterate some of them: the Commission on Learning that will report within a year, and of course that's notwithstanding the fact that this will be the fifth education inquiry since 1986. There was the Macdonald commission in 1986, the Radwanski report in 1987, the select committee on education, which consisted of four reports from 1988 to 1990, the Premier's Council, people and skills in the new global economy, in 1990. So we've been reported to death as far as education is concerned.

There's the province-wide testing of grade 9 students which it has been suggested will be made later this year, and of course that's a flip-flop from the various ministers of Education that we've had in this government.

There is the \$25 million for Jobs Ontario Youth to create some 10,000 summer jobs, and I hope it does because the students in this province are crying for jobs. I don't know how they're going to get through university and how they're going to continue to be educated without more summer jobs. There's the community investment share and loan program, which again has been commented on on this side of the House. There's been a white paper on social assistance to be released this summer.

So those essentially seem to be the five new announcements. Everything else is old stuff.

Now, the gist of the few brief comments that I'm going to be making consists of several areas that I'm most disappointed that the government didn't refer to.

There's no mention of housing. There is no mention of GTA garbage. A third issue, of course, that I wish to briefly comment on is the new social contract that's being talked about or the wage freeze or cutback in the civil service. We don't really know what "social contract" means—maybe we'll know at the end of this week, but the issue of the cutbacks in the civil service that the Premier and Treasurer have been speaking about.

First of all, I'd like to comment on the subject of the GTA garbage. The former Minister of the Environment and minister responsible for the greater Toronto area, Mrs Grier, who's currently the Minister of Health, came forward with a policy that the only topic we're going to look at, as far as the disposing of our waste, is landfill sites—landfill sites. We're not going to consider incineration; we're not going to consider the long rail haul; we're not going to consider improving our recycling programs and there's a lot to be done in recycling programs.

**Mr Wiseman:** That's nonsense and you know it.

**Mr Tilson:** No, it's not nonsense. There's a lot that needs to be done. There's a lot of investment that needs to be done in recycling.

**Mr Wiseman:** Got a whole book.

**Mr Tilson:** There are no markets, for a starter. The markets for recycling are very inadequate in this province. We have a long way to go as far as recycling, and if you're satisfied with your recycling programs, you've got a lot to learn as far as the environment of this province is concerned.

**Mr Wiseman:** You've got a lot to learn.

**The Acting Speaker:** Order, please.

**Mr Tilson:** I will say that with respect to the subject of the GTA, I asked a very simply question yesterday in this House and the question, of course, was to the minister of—

**Mr Wiseman:** You didn't know what you were talking about then.

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**Mr Tilson:** The question—would you get this member in order over here? I asked a simple question. The simple question was, to the minister responsible of the greater Toronto area, that you have spent \$25 million last year. How much money is anticipated to be spent over the next period of time, the mandate of the Interim Waste Authority, to create three superdumps in the greater Toronto area? Do you know what his answer was? Referring to Hansard, "I'll let the Minister of the Environment respond to the member." He didn't even know that the money that went to the—

**Mr Wiseman:** It's not his responsibility.

**Mr Tilson:** Well, it's not. If you look at the estimates from last year—

**The Acting Speaker:** The honourable member for Durham West has continually interjected over the last few minutes. I would ask him to please give the honourable member for Dufferin-Peel an opportunity to put his point of view. Then, at an appropriate time, I'm sure the member will be able to take the floor and answer some of those comments.

**Mr Tilson:** Mr Speaker, if you look at the estimates from the greater Toronto area of last year, that's the only item that was there in the estimates. I was simply astounded, as were all members of this House, that the minister responsible for the greater Toronto area didn't even know that the money for last year came from his responsibility, came from his ministry. I don't know what is daily routine over there. This is very serious stuff. He simply says, "Oh, it's the Minister of the Environment." Well, it's not the Minister of the Environment that deals with this subject within the greater Toronto area, an area that involves agriculture, an area that involves residences.

I will say that the subject of putting garbage in the ground is a very serious problem to all three regions. It's a subject of our water. The previous Minister of the Environment of course was concerned with the subject of incineration. I think we're all concerned with all of the ways of disposing of our waste. No solution is perfect. The fact of the matter is she has restricted the removal of waste in this province to one situation, that is, the landfill site. That's where all of the money, which the minister for the greater Toronto area doesn't even know is coming from his ministry, is going.

It gives me great concern when I hear the lack of policy, the lack of projection in the throne speech, that there is nothing to do with the greater Toronto area garbage philosophy. Notwithstanding all of the information that has come from the three areas, the three ratepayer groups, the ratepayer groups involving the three regions and all the other information that has been suggested to the government, they haven't expanded their policy. They haven't opened up their minds and looked at other philosophies.

A great deal has happened since the former Minister of the Environment was a municipal councillor in Etobicoke, where she didn't like incineration. A great deal has happened to the subject of incineration. She won't even consider that. She won't even consider the long rail haul to northern Ontario, which has passed a referendum indicating that they want the waste to go to that area, an area which could die with no jobs.

I'd like to proceed with the subject of housing. That's another area which the throne speech is completely silent on. There's no mention of the subject of housing, and that's notwithstanding the fact that the Provincial Auditor spent a great deal of time talking about the waste in non-profit housing. I know this is a favourite



subject of a lot of the members in the government, but the fact of the matter is the unbelievable waste that is being mentioned in the Provincial Auditor's report. The public accounts committee spent a considerable amount of time talking about that. In fact they have yet to finish their report on that subject.

I must say it's unusual that the throne speech hasn't returned to that subject and hasn't talked about whether there are other alternatives to non-profit housing. Are there not other alternatives, whether it be shelter allowances? That's the proposal that our party has put forward, but they won't even consider that. They won't consider anything else.

There's all kinds of articles. In the most recent edition of the Ontario Home Builder, an article is written by the consulting editor in that particular periodical which talked about the subject of non-profit housing. She says:

"I have yet to hear any talk about re-examining or revamping the enormously costly social housing program we are burdened with in this province. In fact, it's quite the opposite. The province is moving ahead with plans to spend \$2 million to build 20,000 non-profit housing units. This is in addition to the \$60 million a year the government spends on non-profit housing, an amount expected to escalate to \$1 billion a year by 1995."

Faced with that, faced with the climbing deficit and the fact they're simply going to cut jobs in the civil service, that's their answer. They're going to cut jobs in the civil service and they're going to raise taxes. There are other areas that the government could be looking at, and one is the black hole policy that was created by actually the Liberal government and put forward by this government, the black hole of non-profit housing.

She continues in this editorial, saying:

"These ballooning costs could possibly be justified if the system worked, but it doesn't. Waiting lists for non-profit housing have swelled to 60,000 families, while thousands more don't even bother to apply because they know their chances of securing a unit are slim. Some non-profit housing corporations have sadly noted they are turning away needy families while units meant for market rent tenants sit empty.

"Clearly the current social housing policy is expensive and, to be generous, only marginally effective. Needy families are entitled to assistance with their housing requirements in a more time-efficient and productive fashion and taxpayers deserve a bigger bang for their buck. Unfortunately, the NDP government persists in treating its social housing policy as some sort of sacred cow not to be touched, let alone seriously examined, reviewed or, heaven forbid, changed."

Now, it's that: the overwhelming evidence that has come forward in the public accounts committee and in other committees where non-profit housing has been

discussed. It's a loss. It's not working, all the needy families that are not being served, and that is silent in this subject.

That's two areas that I have referred to: the subject of the lack of policy in the greater Toronto area garbage and the subject of why are we continuing on with this black hole of non-profit housing, a policy that is doomed to failure and is going to cause us unbelievable problems in the future.

Mr Speaker, I will allow other members of this House to speak. I could certainly go on on the subject that was raised in this House today on the subject of how civil servants are going to be cut back and yet, when we look, everybody over there has got a job. Everybody's either a parliamentary assistant or they're chairman of a committee or they're perhaps a primary or a secondary minister, all making increased salaries, and for what? They can't even speak.

**The Acting Speaker:** I thank the honourable member for his participation in the debate. Further debate.

**Mr Gary Wilson (Kingston and The Islands):** I'm especially pleased to join the debate this afternoon, following on our side the Minister of Economic Development and Trade, who I thought so effectively summed up the 10-point position of the speech from the throne that will get Ontario back to work.

Certainly I know that at least on our side of the House we recognize that action has to be taken, and that's very directly what we are doing, to make sure the people of Ontario do get back to work and to build on the kind of initiatives we've already taken, in the area of health reform, for instance, and the Jobs Ontario programs, which have created many jobs across this province that are doing work that benefit not only the communities where these jobs are but the workers themselves in finding work that leads to self-esteem and ways of supporting themselves that I think we all applaud when we see it.

I'd like, though, to look at a couple of elements in the speech from the throne where it talks about how the speech from the throne is not about business as usual. We are living in times of great change.

**Mr Steven W. Mahoney (Mississauga West):** Depends how you say "as usual."

**Mr Gary Wilson:** Well, I think it's reassuring that we're not dealing with business as usual. It's fair to say, though, that not all change is good. When we see the change that the federal government brought in a few years ago called the free trade agreement and what it's done to our economy, obviously that kind of change cannot be considered to be good. Certainly it has had a large part to play in the over 300,000 jobs that have been lost in the manufacturing sector, many of them in my riding, I'm sorry to say. Then to talk about business

as usual, what else can you describe NAFTA as? Bizarre as it is to look at the kinds of things the free trade agreement brought in, the federal government seems intent on making things even worse.

I'm pleased to see that our government at least has initiated hearings that allow the people of Ontario to tell us what they think about the experience of the free trade agreement and what will happen under NAFTA. Certainly that was what happened in my riding, Kingston and The Islands, when the cabinet committee came there. They heard very directly from people like the labour council, which raised the question about who benefits from trade agreements like the free trade agreement and NAFTA.

It's certainly not the hundreds of people who have been unemployed in our riding because of the free trade agreement and the kind of disadvantages we can look forward to under NAFTA as well.

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I want to say too that there was a good cross-section of groups that came to present, some 15 in all, and only one of those 15 thought that NAFTA would be good. Many were from the community action groups, who saw that the kind of decent, well-paying jobs that support a good quality of life in our communities will be lost because of an agreement like NAFTA, and even the question of discussing it to look at these changes has been denied us by the federal government.

I want to quote from the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, who wrote to Michael Wilson urging him to hold wider hearings on it: "After close to four years' experience under the free trade agreement, Canadians need the opportunity to express themselves on whether or not our country should participate in NAFTA. We therefore urge your government to ensure that there will be widespread parliamentary hearings conducted throughout the country." That was written in November, and obviously it had no effect.

I do want to, though, mention the kinds of changes. Obviously, people in our province want change to occur. The many people who have been left out of the prosperity—and I'm thinking of women, racial minorities, for instance, people with disabilities who never participated in the prosperity that Ontario had in the past—certainly want change, and I'm proud to say that our government is taking steps to see that they are included in the kind of economy we're trying to develop.

So I see the throne speech as setting out a very clear agenda about how we're going to change things for the better in this province and that we don't fear change. As I say, there are people now who desperately want change so that they can get well-paying jobs that we think that they deserve.

Coming from Kingston and The Islands, as I do, we

certainly have been used to changes in the past. We use our own resources to reflect on these changes, part of them from the university, and I'm pleased to see that two professors from Queen's published a book recently called *Kingston: Building on the Past*. Looking over the past of our area, you see the great number of changes that have taken place and the way we have coped with them, building on our own resources to develop the kind of community we have today, which, as I say, can provide a very good standard of living, with the help of other levels of government.

I've already made the case that the federal level of government hasn't been helping us much through things like the free trade agreement, through the high interest rates, through the high dollar. Those are things that are denying us good employment.

What we're trying to do here—and I'm pleased to see in the speech from the throne mention of community economic development and the kinds of investment that this will lead to in community-based activity, based on the projects that are developed in the community itself. There will be community investment and loan programs that will allow the money to be collected to fund medium- and small-business initiatives that will lead to the kind of well-paying jobs that we're looking for.

So I want to say that we have no fear of change. Many of us in this community want to see the change occur. Kingston has dealt with change in the past. We certainly have the resources in our strong public institutions, like Queen's, and in the other educational institutions, like Royal Military College and St Lawrence College.

We have a good industrial base that has declined dramatically over the years but still provides the base of experience and expertise. I'm thinking here of the Alcan research and development section, for instance, so that we as a community can come together to overcome the kinds of problems we face now.

I want to leave time for other people on this side to extol the virtues of this speech from the throne. I certainly am looking forward to working with the initiatives that it outlines.

**The Acting Speaker:** I thank the honourable member for his participation in the debate. Further debate?

**Mr D. James Henderson (Etobicoke-Humber):** If I have learned one thing about throne speeches in my eight years or so as a member of this assembly, it's to be modest in my expectations. Certainly, nothing in this throne speech would dissuade me from that view, that one must be modest in what one expects of the speech from the throne.

To be fair—one wants to be fair—the government is trying. There is very little socialist rhetoric in this throne speech. The *Toronto Star* editorialized that the pragmatic



NDP is tackling reality with no bold promises and no uplifting messages. We can therefore, I suppose, commend this throne speech for what it does not contain.

The Rae government plans to cut billions in spending, which most Ontarians will applaud; sell off government property, which is probably a wise move; and, to ward off greater government debt, increase taxes, of which I will say more shortly.

The government's proposal to negotiate a social contract with about one million public sector workers really amounts to reneging on a commitment to its own employees. Sid Ryan, president of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, Ontario division, claims that the Rae government is trying to take money from public service pockets while handing cash to business. Ryan, not surprisingly, is unhappy.

Yet the throne speech has been and will continue to be criticized vigorously for containing few new ideas, for failing to move decisively on education and welfare reform and for raising taxes at a time when Ontario needs to stimulate investment and consumer confidence and attract business. As the member for Scarborough-Agincourt pointed out, the speech of a tired government.

If nothing else, a throne speech should be a healing document. It should stimulate confidence that the government knows what it is doing, has a blueprint to address the problems of the day and has a competent agenda. Especially in times of economic uncertainty, a throne speech should create confidence, should persuade people that it is safe to invest, safe to spend and safe to create new business. If we ask ourselves how well this throne speech does that, I think it would get at best a C.

The president of the Ontario Chamber of Commerce dismissed the throne speech as devoid of content and substance, with nothing to instil confidence. The government, says the chamber, fails to understand that an economic recovery begins in the private sector and that tax increases are exactly the wrong medicine.

The Canadian Federation of Independent Business thinks this throne speech missed the point and does too little to control government costs. It takes away the ability for firms to grow and prosper. The Ontario Public School Boards' Association considers the throne speech a limp and flaccid document. Even union leaders, who should be applauding, if anyone is to be applauding an NDP throne speech, are disappointed about the lack of attention to the political rights of workers, the limp approach to the concept of a social contract and the vague approach to the strengthening of society's infrastructure.

Vague promises to create a partnership between government and business sound like a socialist apology. Where is the plan that will attract investment, create jobs and promote economic growth? Where is the plan to

rebuild cooperation between government and business? Where is the plan to create a positive investment climate? Why can't the government repeal some of the anti-business legislation that has cost Ontario dearly in jobs and in job creation? Why can't the government bring down the deficit by controlling wanton government spending without raising taxes? Must we really have yet another study on Ontario's education system? Must we have yet another study of welfare reform?

In essence, this throne speech pledges to increase taxes, repeats an old promise to create a partnership with business, which really means to try to soften the traditional antipathy between business professionals and socialists, reannounces a vague strategy for small business and continues a program to try to give workers a stronger voice in companies. Finally, it recycles the announcement of three new crown corporations to oversee capital investments. This throne speech has very little to say that would be reassuring to the unemployed and even less to say about how it will help people without jobs get back to work.

I want to say just a little bit about cuts in government spending because, although I applaud in principle the idea of governments becoming leaner and less costly, I am nervous about what will be targeted for cuts. Like many members, I have received letters and phone calls of distress about alleged cutbacks of up to \$45 million in funding for mental health services in psychiatric hospitals. The Ontario chapter of Friends of Schizophrenics has mounted a campaign to oppose this alleged \$45-million cutback in mental health services, and the government seems pusillanimous in its response. The former Minister of Health simply said that all ministries are looking for areas for expenditure reduction and internal funding reallocation, adding—somewhat ominously, I think—that meetings have been held with administrators of some psychiatric hospitals and unions, looking at targeted reductions and more efficient use of resources.

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I think that if there is one area where cutbacks may well be ill-advised, it is in the field of mental health services delivery. Especially in times of economic adversity, governments must be sensitive to the emotional, mental health needs of citizens. Especially in times of economic adversity, we need to strengthen culture and the arts as an important backbone of a sense of community and societal wellbeing. Especially in times of economic adversity, we need to ensure that our mental health services are well funded and well staffed by mental health professionals who have a good working morale and are fairly remunerated, and that we are able to maintain a network of services that will be sensitive, responsive and caring.

I would urge this government to be prudent in the

financing of mental health care. Perhaps we can tolerate some postponing of highway and road construction. Perhaps government advertising can be curtailed. Perhaps our civil service can be leaner, with more work accomplished by a smaller and more productive workforce. Perhaps paperwork and bureaucracy can be reduced. Perhaps we can have fewer commissions and studies duplicating work that has already been performed. Certainly we must maintain community support for patients struggling to maintain themselves, often with great difficulty, in our society.

The throne speech should be a healing document. It should inspire optimism and confidence and give people reason to think that it is safe to be optimistic, safe to spend, safe to plan and safe to grow. I, for one, am not inspired by this document, and few are. I think there is more we could do and more we could say right now to speak to the economic and other concerns of Ontarians. Ontario needs investment, Ontario needs jobs, Ontario needs economic growth, Ontario needs energy and optimism. Where is the plan that will attract investment, create jobs and promote economic growth in Ontario?

**The Acting Speaker:** I thank the honourable member for his participation in the debate. Further debate?

**Mr David Turnbull (York Mills):** I was extremely disappointed with the throne speech. I suppose the government isn't surprised about that, but I thought I would set the record straight after all of the whining and snivelling that we hear this government doing.

First of all, they blame their problems on federal transfers being down. I have a table here. This table is right out of government documents, provincial government documents, and it shows here very clearly that every single year since you've been elected—pay attention, folks, because this is important—the federal government has increased its payments to you by significantly greater than the inflation rate.

Very interesting. The government decides to go off and spend a whole lot of money, and the federal government merely said: "Folks, we're not necessarily going along with it. We will increase our spending at a balanced rate, and in fact at a rate greater than inflation. However, we will not go along with the reckless spending of this government."

Then we've also heard this government talking about how bad free trade has been. It's very interesting: A 1992 study by Statistics Canada shows that Canadian exports to the United States are at record level. They have never ever been as high as they are now. Thank God, because the level of consumer confidence in this country is so bad that we are not having the economic activity within the country. Also, our exports to other countries are not as healthy as they were.

However, our exports to the nation that we concluded

a free trade agreement with have in fact increased significantly. The Canadian Manufacturers' Association survey released in 1992 stated that more than half of those surveyed said they had not lost market share, while 39% said that their exports to the US had grown. Remember those figures and remember the source.

Turning to NAFTA, it's very clear that Mexico needs steel, financial services, transportation material, telecommunications, computer equipment and cereals, all goods which Canada produces and excels in. At the present moment, 80% of the exports from Mexico to Canada enter duty-free, where significant tariff barriers exist for Canadian goods going into Mexico. We will be able to eliminate those tariff barriers and be able to operate in a way that we can increase our exports significantly in those sectors where Mexico is very weak.

Yet notwithstanding this, and remembering the NDP's stated commitment to meaningful dialogue—you remember that, Mr Speaker. I know you particularly remember that, about meaningful dialogue and listening to the people. They said they were going to have full consultation, and yet the committee, the partisan committee that the NDP has set up to study NAFTA and its implications, entirely staffed by NDP supporters, have said on the record from the very outset that while they're spending taxpayers' money to study this, they will in no way change their minds about whether NAFTA is good or bad for Ontario.

Then let's turn to the Premier himself. This is the ultimately most ridiculous example of a Premier trying to get trade. Premier Rae flew to Germany a few months ago and went to visit Audi to implore them to come to Canada, to come to Ontario, and to tell them what a good place Ontario would be to manufacture to sell to the whole of North America, because Audi is not coming just to manufacture for Canada. The Premier came to tell the president of Audi how good Ontario would be. He flew straight from Audi in Germany to Davos, Switzerland, and then proceeded to dump on the free trade agreement and how bad it was for the Ontario and Canadian economy.

You can't speak out of both sides of your mouth and retain too much credibility, and all of the business sector was unanimous in saying that this was the most ridiculous action by this Premier. If you want to get further validation of that, simply talk to the people who are on the Premier's Council as to what they thought of it, because they raked him over the coals and said they wouldn't continue to work on the council if he was going to do that clownish act.

Then let's just look at the fact that the government is saying that it has a terrible revenue problem. I'm telling you now, you don't have a revenue problem. We don't have a revenue problem at the federal, provincial or municipal level. What you have is an expenditure



problem, because in point of fact, last year was the second-highest year in history in terms of provincial revenue.

I haven't dreamed up these numbers; I got them right out of your provincial government documents. I'll quote exactly what it was: 1991-92 was \$40.753 billion. The only year in history that revenues were higher was in 1990-91, when it was \$42.892 billion. In 1992-93, the government's reduced estimate of revenues is \$41.8 billion, only fractionally less than the highest year in history, so it puts to bed all of the nonsense this government puts out and all of the propaganda it puts out that it is suffering. What is happening is that this government won't face up to the fundamental problems we have.

1720

On education, in the throne speech the government has said that it is forming a commission to report in one year on what is wrong with the Ontario education system. I can tell you that we already know what's wrong with it. We put out a document called *New Directions*, Volume 2, which has been widely praised across the province for being thoughtful and being a useful discussion document that should be acted upon. Indeed, we will be ready to govern after the next election, but you don't need to have another taxpayer-paid report, which is going to reiterate all of the things that the last three forums have told us.

I recently had a discussion, in my own riding of York Mills, on education. During this education forum more than 300 of my constituents turned out to express their concerns about the education system.

Turning to grade 9 testing, which the government now is reluctantly saying it's going to do, we've been telling you that for a long time. We don't mind your taking parts out of our report, but please wake up: Don't have another forum to study this. Get on with the recommendations.

What was not said in this throne speech was that despite the economic times, there's been no discussion of serious reform. We're having structural changes in our economy and this government isn't recognizing it. It's talking about it, but it isn't doing the things which need to be done.

It has ignored the elimination of the commercial concentration tax, that terrible tax-sucking tax which the Liberal government put on and which the government now, when it was in opposition, said it was opposed to. We have Bob Rae on record, uphill and downhill, as being opposed to the commercial concentration tax. He has done nothing in the two and a half years since they've been elected to get rid of it.

What we need, and there's no mention of it in the throne speech, is sunset review of all programs of government. We need to reduce the civil service, and the

government's beginning to creep in the back door and hint at that. We need to get rid of the 9,000 civil servants the Liberals added in the five years they were in power. The Conservatives, in the last 10 years they were in power, every year reduced the civil service by attrition. There was no hack and slash. They simply reduced the civil service in an orderly and decent manner.

But the Liberals added 9,000. You have added more. I don't have the exact number, but we know you've added a lot of civil servants. You wouldn't be having to sack people now if you hadn't hired them in the first place, and you would not be having to cut back civil servants' salaries if you hadn't given them ridiculous increases in the first place.

We told you after the first budget that you were spending too much money. We suggested a 2% solution. If you had taken the 2% solution, as applied to the broader public service, it is estimated that you could have reduced the cost of the civil service by \$3.5 billion relative to where you are today—\$3.5 billion per year. Do the arithmetic. You will find out I'm correct.

I don't blame the civil servants and the broader public service being rather miffed at you, at the fact that you're now talking about cutting their pay. People tend to live up to the level of their income, and when you come and take money away that they shouldn't have had in the first place, it isn't their fault; it is your fault. Look at yourself in the mirror and understand what the problem is.

There is no mention in the throne speech of any of the recommendations of the property tax panel from the Fair Tax Commission, which has recommended that alternatives to market value assessment be studied. There is no mention of that from your government, even though you spent millions in having this tax commission study it.

There was no commitment in the throne speech to reducing interprovincial trade barriers. A perfect example of that is truck lengths. We're in an island in Ontario, surrounded by Quebec and all of the western provinces and all of the US interstates, in having a standard which is less in terms of the truck lengths. We need to do this for environmental reasons. We can save energy. We can pollute less. We can transport 10% more goods if you have a slightly longer truck length, which would be consistent with all of the other administrations I've spoken about, but there is no mention of that.

There is also no mention in the throne speech about trying to correct the total moral bankruptcy of this province. We have had scandals galore: Ferguson, Piper, Martel, Akande, Masters. How many times do you have to be told that you must have trust in government? If the people lose their trust in government, you have lost the moral right to govern. Indeed, in question period today we heard the screams for an election. I joined those screams for an election, because that's what we need.

because you have no moral right to govern any longer. You are bankrupting this province, and you are bankrupting it in a way that not you and your contemporaries will pay for, but our children will pay for, and that is fundamentally unfair.

In the Charlottetown accord, there was an interesting item where there was an agreement to reduce interprovincial trade barriers. This government has done absolutely nothing whatsoever to follow through on that. The PCs came through with specific solutions which we offered to the government, and we've said: "No new taxes. Make sure we have an environment where we can create jobs." The way to do that would be by getting rid of Bill 40.

**The Acting Speaker:** I thank the honourable member for his participation in the debate. Further debate, the member for Chatham-Kent.

**Mr Randy R. Hope (Chatham-Kent):** It's my pleasure today to stand up, and before people get the chain-saws out and start digging the deeper holes, I think they better come to reality. When we talk about investment in the infrastructure, and let me iterate, they say, "What does the throne speech actually do for communities?" Well, the throne speech has actually done a number of good things, even for my own community.

In my own community, in the township of Dover and you look at Bothwell, which are small communities, incompetent previous governments never allowed them the opportunity to invest in water lines to supply their citizens with water. With the new program that we're doing, investing in the infrastructure, just putting the water system in place in those communities is going to allow major investment from private enterprise, which the opposition screams and hollers about.

Let's talk about education. In education, I have a business in my own riding, Union Gas, that spends millions of its own dollars, no help from the government, because it looked at the Liberals and said, "There's no help there," and looked at the Tories and said, "Forget it." What they did is they invested a whole bunch of money to make sure that they built their own structure to provide education. They support the government's change in education, because it's not meeting the needs of the business requirements that are out there, and we must change that.

We talk about partnership. There is partnership that's out there. Contrary to what we hear in this House, there are a number of partnerships with trade unions even in my own riding. Let's take the Libbey St Clair glassworkers in Wallaceburg. Faced with a receivership, they went to their workers and asked for a little bit of wage reduction. The workers agreed to it. They agreed to it to stabilize their employment. This is a trade union, that I hear the opposition scream and holler about that are no good and incompetent workers, moving to the fact

that these workers took the time to understand the process of making sure that their jobs are viable.

Let's just talk of the Siemens workers. The Siemens workers in the city of Chatham just ratified an agreement, three years with 0% increases, to stabilize employment there and encourage more employment there. That's partnership.

Where are we coming at as a government? We're going to be there to try to assist in making sure that we're providing expertise in technology and looking at one-stop shopping to make sure that those businesses have the opportunity for money.

One of the things that the Liberals and Tories introduced, they introduced programs to start businesses up, but once they opened the door, they kicked them out; they forgot all about them. When businesses do usually get into problems, they're looking for assistance programs. Unfortunately, there are no assistance programs in there, and what we can see is improvement through the communities and the small businesses. We can see improvements there.

1730

I was very amazed when I heard the leader of the Liberal Party, Lyn McLeod, stand up and criticize Jobs Ontario. Jobs Ontario might not be working for everyone, but let me tell you about a good news item, and I guess that's just because of the way we are in Kent county. I always refer to it as God's country and I know my colleagues understand when I refer to it as God's country. It's that we make sure that we work cooperatively together.

I had the opportunity of releasing 200 balloons to celebrate 200 jobs. We're now up to 230 jobs and 150 different employers. "Oh, the program doesn't work," if you listen to the Liberal opposition. This is an in-training incentive for a lot of small businesses in my community to prosper from that the Liberals never discovered nor the Tories, but for some reason 150 employers do find it very important.

When we look at the jobs that are being created over this, there's a wide range of jobs. You look at the jobs that are being created anywhere from manufacturing to mould for bathrooms and toilets and sinks, and I told them maybe we ought to sell some toilets over there, but one of the things that we ought to look at is in tool and die. We look at investment clerks. We look at engineers. We look at installers. There's a number of jobs that are being created in the community through Jobs Ontario.

When I listen and talk about Bill 40 and its ramifications to the workers there, I said, "Come on into the real world, will you?" The real world is that once the federal government implemented the free trade agreement, it opened up the door for industrial change. Industrial change meant that they were leaving small-community



Ontario which was a parts supplier. That's where we got it, because they needed Canadian content. So they came to the small rural communities and said, "We'll put a factory here and create the jobs." They now took that door and they opened it up nice and wide and they said, "Leave, will you, please," and that's exactly what the Tories did to us with the free trade agreement.

I find it very ironic that they talk about all the positives of the free trade agreement. When I had an opportunity to talk to some of my colleagues from the United Auto Workers who are still in my riding, one of the things they said was that the UAW in the United States is using Ontario as an example of what NAFTA will do to them. I find that very ironic when I hear all the positive statements about NAFTA.

But I must make sure that when we talk about the throne speech, the throne speech sets out a guideline of opportunity. I know in the communities I represent opportunity will prevail itself because when I look at and talk to people, they say: "Well, Randy, social assistance is not working. It's entrapping people." And I've said that for years. The Liberals say, "Well, why didn't you do anything?"

We're in the worst economic times situated in the province of Ontario. The Liberals had good economic times and they never did anything about social assistance to help people make the transformation from unemployment insurance and social assistance to full employment opportunity. They neglected them. We're making the change of getting them off social services into full employment.

But I think the thing that's very important is that I look at this throne speech and I know a number of my colleagues sit there and talk about what's it going to do? We're going to come out of this. We're going to make sure the prosperity that is in Kent county will live, will continue to keep growing on it, using the guidelines of the throne speech, the investment opportunities that will be there, the restructuring that will be there. I know my colleagues from the Tory party keep harping on all the time, and that's why I said we maybe need a toilet over there to keep some of the flush down.

But what we ought to do—and I listen to what they say. They say, "How are you going to vote on this social contract?" Let me tell you what: I'm not going to have to vote. You know why? Because I believe that workers understand the restructuring that needs to go on to make sure that it's there.

If you talk to a lot of the workers, they will indicate to you, yes, the government has to be restructured; yes, there is a possibility for it. I believe that it can be done because some of us have experienced it in the early 1980s and we made it happen.

I know a number of my colleagues wish to speak on

this issue, but listening to the opposition, they're going to sit there and criticize the whole program, but the agenda that's outlined, the investment in infrastructure—

*Interjection.*

**The Acting Speaker:** Please be seated. I would ask the honourable members to please refrain from interjections. It's hardly just to take the time away from the honourable member for Chatham-Kent. I'd ask the honourable member to take the floor.

**Mr Hope:** When we talk about investment in infrastructure, which is something that's long overdue for a lot of rural communities, when you talk about the emphasis on education and training, long overdue—I was fighting for this back in 1981—when we talk about the partnerships that have to be created, we're doing it, and I think this is setting out a guideline.

The support for communities and small businesses has to be a plus, because with the free trade agreement they've opened up the opportunity for all big business to walk out, and the ones that are going to be there are still small business, so we have to support those. But I believe, as we listen to the opposition talk about how great the Liberals did—they did a great job. They increased taxes galore, they reduced their deficit and they offloaded on to municipal taxpayers like never before, implementing programs and putting it on there.

One of the key importants for us to do is to take a look at all the programs, straighten the system up, making sure that effective services are being provided for the citizens, at least in my riding and throughout Ontario, to make sure we can set out a guideline in here moving from this guideline to a positive structure, because restructuring is very important. Government has been the last one to restructure its services. Private business did it back in the early 1980s. We need to do it now.

I know, on behalf of my community, we welcome Jobs Ontario. We welcome the infrastructure investment and we're certainly going to welcome the training and technology that will be there in cooperation with the business community, because we will be survivors. We will fight and we will make sure we work with the government to bring prosperity back to our citizens, dropping the partisanship and working for the people, which we've been elected to do and which I've been elected to do: to represent their best interests.

Mr Speaker, I want to thank you for the short opportunity I've had to speak on this. I wish I had more time because I believe there is a positive statement here. The next statement, which is going to be even more positive, is to work with our communities to return prosperity and to stop the rhetoric that we hear from the opposition and move in that direction.

**The Acting Speaker:** I thank the honourable member

for his participation in the debate. Further debate, the honourable member for Lawrence.

**Mr Joseph Cordiano (Lawrence):** In the short period of time that I have, I want to make a few points with respect to what amounts to the government's third throne speech since it came to life in 1990. In fact this throne speech is rather interesting because, in effect, it is a confessional kind of throne speech that is an admission by this government that it has failed and that its policies were largely based on misconceptions about where the economy was going back in 1990.

This throne speech is an admission that, "We are going to take an about-face position now, put everything in reverse and retrench," because the government realized that its approach to fighting the recession was going to lead to bankruptcy for the entire state, the entire jurisdiction of the province of Ontario and that in fact you cannot fight a worldwide recession which has global implications.

The restructuring that's taking place is not just taking place in Ontario, it's taking place worldwide and, having gone in the opposite direction, now we find ourselves in this extreme crisis situation. There's at least an admission by this government, a capitulation if you will, that the policies it has been pursuing for the last several years have been wrong, a total failure.

However, someone has to pay the price for those mistakes. Who's going to pay the price? Of course, the average Ontario taxpayer. The first budget this government introduced was a colossal mistake. My colleague the member for Scarborough-Agincourt, whose remarks I heard earlier, put it succinctly in his analysis.

The previous administration's efforts to reduce deficits in good times—that was done, certainly. Prior to 1990, the last budget that was introduced, comments by the then Leader of the Opposition stating—and I don't want to requote what was quoted earlier by my colleague, but I'll just paraphrase to say that in fact the Liberals were taking a fiscally conservative position, looking ahead at 1990, understanding that there was a recession looming and we were on the verge of a downturn.

That was responsible management and it was a recognition of the times ahead. We understood that we had to retrench. We understood that you have to make changes. But it took this government two abysmal budgets, three throne speeches, two and a half years of wild spending so that we now find ourselves in this extreme debt position. Make no mistake about it: We are in a crisis situation.

1740

Bob Rae then announces, "I have a great idea. I'm going to rework the social contract," as if a social contract did not exist up until now. "We're going to have a new social contract." Of course, no one really

knows what that means. I have a feeling—and this, in the old socialist rhetoric days, would have been viewed as none other than code language for retrenchment and for cutting and hacking away at jobs, whether it was the public sector or the private sector; it's no different. The fact of the matter is that jobs will be eliminated or severely curtailed and wages will be rolled back. All of these things will have an impact, and I would dare say, in the immediate future and in the life of this province's economy, it will have a negative impact, all this due to crisis management, failing to recognize in advance and take the appropriate steps in advance. We now fly by the seat of our pants.

That's what this government is doing. It is chaotic, it is disrupting, and it's going to lead to the dismantling of life as we knew it in this province for many thousands of people. Services will be drastically reduced, the standard of living will continue to decline, and now, of course, the government says it has no choice. Of course, the bankers on Wall Street and other international bankers will say that. I mean, you have no choice. You've reached the limit and there is a real threat that bonds cannot be floated on international markets.

So we have to recognize the abysmal management of this government and its failure to appreciate that deficit financing can only go so far. Yes, we have a recession. Yes, we all realize that some level of deficit was necessary to get us through this difficult period of time, but what that level was was arguable. In the previous budgets we pointed out that the government could not sustain this level of deficit financing and in fact it was understating what it was spending on the deficit and increasing deficits, and that ultimately it would have to reach a point of no return. I think many speakers on this side of the House had pointed that out to the Treasurer.

I go back to 1990 when the Treasurer announced his first budget. He said, "We're going to fight the recession, and we're going to do that so that we'll turn this thing around," not recognizing that the world faced a recession that was a little deeper and a little steeper and was a structural recession, and not recognizing that certain things had to be done in the economy to restructure, reorganize—the very things that they're talking about doing in the public sector side now that have been undertaken on the private sector side over the last several years.

Out of step, out of touch with the realities of the day: that's the epitaph of this government. That's the legacy of this government, the lasting legacy, that you're out of touch, your timing is way off, and that what you're attempting to do now is nothing other than crisis management on the debt side, crisis management with respect to all those public sector workers who now face the very distinct possibility of wage rollbacks and severe cutbacks in job creation on the public sector side.



There's no doubt that we have to get our house in order on the public sector side, but that should have been done several years ago and it should have been done through attrition. It should have been done through rational management of the public sector side as it had been done on the private sector side for the last two years.

Of course, I would also like to point out where this government is going wrong in terms of other areas of expenditure, for example, with regard to non-profit housing and social assistance payments, two areas that are wildly out of control in terms of expenditures. The auditor in his report noted that by 1995 there will be 81,000 units completed of non-profit housing. The total provincial subsidy cost will be over \$1.2 billion. That's operational subsidy cost for the non-profit sector of housing in this province.

Now I ask you, Mr Speaker, how can this be justifiable, this sort of expenditure? This was asked by the auditor of the ministry. How can it be justifiable in a marketplace which has rental stock that's available that can be purchased cheaper than it can to build? This is the response that the ministry gave to the Provincial Auditor on that question: "The government has decided to adopt the strategy of providing a buffer against another affordable rental housing shortage."

I've got to ask the people in this government. There is a rental unit surplus right now. There is housing out there that's available to be purchased for much cheaper than it costs to build the same unit of non-profit housing that this government has undertaken to build right across the province. There's no justifiable reason for spending this kind of money, this kind of expenditure that's gotten wildly out of control, as I say, in the face of the glut of rental housing that's available out there. This is the type of mismanagement that has been perpetuated by this government.

Social assistance payments are out of control. The auditor also noted that delinquent accounts—people who had been paid social assistance payments that they were not entitled to have not been sought after to repay those accounts. There's about \$50 million of those expenditures.

There are all kinds of examples where this government could be saving money on the expenditure side which are simply being overlooked by this government, yet they're going to hack away at the budget with respect to civil service jobs, and the kind of crisis management that we're seeing now is a result of not understanding how to manage properly, not understanding that you've got to get control, wrestle control out of those expenditures, which are getting largely out of control. Social assistance payments, as I pointed out, are out of control now in this province. The non-profit housing sector with respect to the subsidies by 1995-96,

I repeat, will be approaching \$1.2 billion; largely out of control.

**The Acting Speaker:** I thank the honourable member for his participation in the debate. Further debate, the honourable member for Port Arthur.

**Hon Shelley Wark-Martyn (Minister without Portfolio in Municipal Affairs):** Mr Speaker, different governments have different responses to deficit control. As the Treasurer has said, it's not the fact that you recognize there is a deficit problem that shows your political stripe; it's how you respond to the problem that matters.

The dramatic cutting and freezing of programs and expenditures that is the knee-jerk response to debt of other governments has major drawbacks. Without government confidence, the economy becomes sluggish and stagnates, and in its wake comes the inevitable personal suffering, as those least able to resist the impact of the cuts fall victim to what parades itself as realism but is in fact a paralyzing form of panic.

It is therefore one thing to recognize there is a problem and quite another to develop a constructive, forward-looking strategy for dealing with that problem. This government's plan to bring the provincial debt under control is therefore not an isolated, shortsighted, knee-jerk reaction to a sudden crisis. It is part of a total, long-term economic package designed to generate growth and instil confidence in Ontario.

1750

The provincial debt was there when we came to office, Mr Speaker. Our response to it and to the recession in general was what distinguished us from other governments then and what distinguishes us from other governments now. We have set in motion a constructive, long-range strategy that recognizes that investing in the skills and creativity of the people of Ontario was and remains our best chance to get out of the recession and get Ontarians back to work.

In the workplace, especially in the broader public sector, we have encouraged partnerships and unprecedented collective approaches to decision-making; employees, management and government all working together. We have maintained our commitment to social justice by introducing and continuing to introduce initiatives to help those hardest hit by the recession, and we are working to ensure that all Ontarians have the opportunity to be part of the economic recovery that will bring us out of the recession, to be part of the solution and to share in the prosperity it will bring.

We have not wavered in this strategy whose guiding principles hold good after two-and-a-half years in office. They are reflected in our move to work in partnership with employees and employers to ensure public sector services are more efficient, more affordable and, there-

fore, more protected. They are at the heart of the reform of the training system under OTAB and of the new Commission on Learning. These will give all Ontarians the chance to help shape a system that is accountable and responsive to education and training needs well into the next century.

Our commitment to working with small businesses has resulted in over 20,000 new job opportunities created under Jobs Ontario Training. One thousand new jobs a week are currently being recorded for this program, a program which is not a conventional wage-subsidy program but has employers setting and paying wages in full. This means that every job created under Jobs Ontario Training has behind it a real financial commitment from the business involved. Businesses are working with us under this program because it makes solid business sense to do so.

We are contributing to the growth and competitiveness of Ontario industries through investments in individual companies and an industrial policy promoting sustainable high-wage jobs, and we have partnership funds to support and encourage sectoral agreements. We are facilitating worker ownership to save industries in communities like my own in Thunder Bay. Just last month, we backed a proposal for an employee buyout of Provincial Papers that could save hundreds of jobs in our community, and in the budget we shall be announcing details of our community economic development initiative which will further benefit the communities and people of northern Ontario.

The combination of fiscal responsibility, confidence in the potential of the people of Ontario and the courage to continue making strategic investments in those people and their communities is the hallmark of this government. It is what distinguishes us from the axe-wielders whose single, unimaginative response to fiscal problems is to chop, chop, chop.

There are difficult choices to be made, and we have made those difficult choices. They are positive, constructive choices based on partnerships which will ensure that today's solutions are also long-term solutions.

**The Acting Speaker:** I thank the honourable member for her participation in the debate. The honourable member for Guelph.

**Mr Derek Fletcher (Guelph):** Thank you, Mr Speaker. It's a great pleasure for me to be able to stand and speak about the throne speech. As you know, the throne speech outlined the 10-point plan to get this province back on the road to recovery. One of those plans is to control government spending and government cost.

How did we get here? That's the question we have to ask when we look at government spending: How did we get here? This government did not say, "Yes, let's go build the SkyDome." This government did not say, "Let's spend all our money in creating a big bureaucracy when it comes to WCB." This government did not say, "Darlington; let's start a Darlington, another megaproject." That's not what this government did, but it's this government that has to get it under control, and it's this government that is going to take the steps to get it under control. We can say, yes, it was the other parties that did it, but what we're trying to do here as a government and what the throne speech has said is that we're all in this together and we have to work together.

The specific steps that have been taken to control the costs of this government, as outlined in the throne speech, are driven by the principles of fairness and shared responsibility.

We have eliminated eight ministries of government, and we've continued our internal spending controls. MPPs have had their pays frozen, and for some that's a hardship. We're engaged in a historic act of negotiating a social contract with our 900,000 men and women who make up the public sector.

Let me quote from the throne speech: "As a society, we cannot move forward without bringing everyone along. We are in this together."

Business realizes that, the labour movement realizes that, and I think it's about time the other parties realize that, that together we can work things out, together we can march along and bring this province back to prosperity. We can no longer stand in the House and yell at each other and point fingers at each other. What we have to do is work together. As we create an atmosphere of working together, I invite the opposition parties to join with us with constructive ideas, instead of I-told-you-so ideas. That's what I hear from the other parties: "I told you so. I told you so." It's about time we started saying to each other, "Yes, we have some problems, and yes, we can work together as a Parliament."

The foundation of what we've built in Ontario is our respect for each other and our concern for each other. It's a plan for social and economic change built upon partnership and responsibility, a plan for reform and restructuring that will preserve what is best about Ontario while challenging all of us to make it a better place. Thank you, Mr Speaker.

**The Acting Speaker:** It being 6 of the clock, this House stands adjourned until tomorrow, April 21, at 1:30 of the clock.

The House adjourned at 1757.











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## Legislative Assembly of Ontario

Third Session, 35th Parliament

## Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Troisième session, 35<sup>e</sup> législature

# Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Wednesday 21 April 1993

# Journal des débats (Hansard)

Le mercredi 21 Avril 1993



Speaker  
Honourable David Warner

Clerk  
Claude L. DesRosiers

Président  
L'honorable David Warner

Greffier  
Claude L. DesRosiers



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Wednesday 21 April 1993

The House met at 1332.

Prayers.

### MEMBERS' STATEMENTS

#### EDUCATION PROGRAM EVALUATION

**Mr Charles Beer (York North):** For some time now, we have heard from the Minister of Education and Training and the Premier that they would like to introduce testing this fall. The question which neither the minister nor the Premier has been able to answer is, what kind of testing?

This is an issue of tremendous importance to students, parents and teachers. The throne speech has raised more questions on testing than the minister has been able to answer.

What will the format of the tests be like? Will it be province-wide standardized or will it be a series of tests taken in groups? Will the tests be locally designed and administered or will they be done centrally? Why are the proposed French and English tests to be on different subject matter? What exactly will the tests evaluate? Will it be the schools, the students, the teachers, the curriculum or all of the above?

Teachers have specific concerns as well. Should their students be specifically prepared or not? Where will the final results from the tests end up? Will they be included in report cards or in final grades?

If these questions are not enough, the most fundamental question students, teachers and parents still need to know is, when does this minister plan to come up with a final common curriculum?

The quality, the excellence, of our system of education must be of paramount importance to us all. Is the throne speech announcement merely a short-term ploy to appease public opinion, or is it the beginning of a concerted effort to change dramatically, and for the good, our education system? We need answers now.

#### PHARMACEUTICAL RESEARCH

**Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South):** It was a pleasure this morning for me to attend a function in my riding along with other colleagues from all three parties in the Legislature, and in particular the Health critic for our caucus, Jim Wilson, when today Astra Pharma Inc opened a \$40-million, state-of-the-art manufacturing and laboratory facility in Mississauga.

According to Astra's president and CEO, Gerry McDole, the new facility has created 100 high-tech jobs for Canadians. Astra has announced a new investment of \$150 million for research also, to investigate disease, discover treatments and develop new medicines. This is one of the most significant private research investments in Canada.

Astra believes the first phase of its research investment will create more than 50 jobs for medical research scientists in Canada. Initially, the major research areas will be pain relief, new analgesics and anti-inflammatory processes. This research could have implications for crippling diseases such as arthritis.

In the longer term, Astra plans to pursue research into many medical areas and therapies, both on its own and in cooperation with several Canadian universities and other institutions. For instance, last year I announced in the Legislature a joint venture between Astra and McMaster University to investigate the role of inflammation in asthma and inflammatory bowel disease.

Astra's new investments have helped make the company Canada's fastest-growing research-based pharmaceutical firm. I would like to congratulate Astra on its investment in science and technology and, most of all, in Canadian talent.

#### GRAPE AND WINE INDUSTRY

**Ms Christel Haeck (St Catharines-Brock):** I rise to congratulate Ontario's wineries on their magnificent showing at the international wine competition held recently in Verona, Italy. Ontario wines took home seven awards—four golds, two silvers and a bronze—with only Italian wines garnering more awards than Ontario. French wines came third.

As the member representing the heart of Ontario's wine country, I must point out that of the seven award winners, six came from the Niagara region. Our showing at this renowned international competition is further tribute to the success of Ontario's wineries. Whether it be the glossy front-page spread on Ontario wines in the US-based Wine Spectator, considered the bible of the wine industry, or the serving of Inniskillin wines at the recent gala dinner for Mikhail Gorbachev, it's clear that our international reputation for excellence continues to grow.

I'd like to list those wineries and congratulate them personally: Inniskillin 1991 Pinot Noir Reserve; Inniskillin 1991 Ice Wine; Konzelmann Estate's 1991 Pinot Blanc and Konzelmann 1991 Ice Wine; Stoney Ridge's 1990 Vintage Chardonnay Eastman Vineyard and—I'm sorry, this is one of those that didn't make it from the Niagara Peninsula, but I know that it's a good wine because they won an award, and that's Magnotta Winery's 1990 Limited Edition Cabernet Sauvignon, and 1991 Vinoteca Ice Wine.

I urge all members of this House to take some time this summer to explore the wine regions of our province. The Wine Council of Ontario's slogan may say that they are ready when you are, but perhaps it's more appropriate to ask, are you ready for them?

## TENDERING PROCESS

**Mrs Elinor Caplan (Oriole):** I rise today to address an issue to the Chair of the Management Board of Cabinet. A concerned citizen has contacted my office with regard to the tendering process for government contracts in the former Ministry of Government Services. He has outlined a number of serious concerns in a letter, which I have already given to the Chair of Management Board.

I'm raising this issue in the House in order to emphasize its importance. This is an important issue. The integrity of the tendering process has been questioned, and I have asked the honourable minister to investigate this issue immediately.

Due to the seriousness of this complaint, I hope that the investigation will be conducted quickly and thoroughly, using all available resources. It's my hope that the constituent will be interviewed and called—my hope would be as quickly as possible—because he has additional information which I know the minister and his staff will find essential to ensuring a full investigation.

My request to the minister is specific: I believe this is serious enough that the investigation should be completed within two weeks, and I would request that the minister let me know the results of his investigation, as well as ensuring that the constituent not only is involved in the investigation but is made aware of the result.

1340

## ORGAN DONORS

**Mrs Elizabeth Witmer (Waterloo North):** I would like to congratulate the Mutual Group for launching a program, By Mutual Consent, to promote organ donor awareness among Canadians and address the increasing need for vital organs for transplant.

At the official launch of the By Mutual Consent program last Thursday, Mr Robert Astley, president and CEO of the Mutual Group, said that the program is designed to help people understand the need for organ donation and to encourage them to sign an organ donor card and discuss their wishes with family members.

Although 14,425 organ transplants had been performed by the end of 1991, with an overall survival rate of 90%, there are still 2,289 patients across Canada awaiting transplants.

While a majority of people support organ donation, many organs unfortunately are lost because people are unaware of the critical need for organs, or they do not take the time to sign a card and discuss their wishes with their family. It is important that donors make their wishes known to their family, because while a signed organ donor card is considered to be a legal document, hospitals will not retrieve an organ over the objection of the family.

Along with our PC Health critic, Mr Jim Wilson, I would like to take this opportunity to urge the government to make Ontarians aware of the steps that must be taken to ensure that their wishes to have their organs donated for transplants are indeed fulfilled.

## FABULOUS FITNESS

**Mr George Mammoliti (Yorkview):** Today I stand to honour another small business that has opened in my riding, in the worst recession, I might add, since the 1930s. Recently, a health club by the name of Fabulous Fitness has opened up at Steeles and Fenmar. It's fantastic to know that this organization has hired 35 people within the community. For me that's fantastic; it's fabulous.

The activities include aerobics, track, sauna, steam room and whirlpool, providing, of course, the health store, masseuse and day care. It also includes a co-op for students who are currently taking phys ed education studies. For me, that's fabulous.

Mr Speaker, 1,600 members belong to this wonderful and fabulous organization, and of course I can't tell you enough and praise these people enough for holding charity events four times a week.

I'd like to welcome, in the east gallery, Frank Cirillo, Libretta Cirillo, and of course say hello to their son Enzo, and I hope that you all give them a warm round of applause. Thank you for coming.

I would also like to challenge any of the members who are here today and listening, of course, to a squash match at Fabulous Fitness.

NORTHWESTERN ONTARIO  
MUNICIPAL ASSOCIATION

**Mr Frank Miclash (Kenora):** Mr Speaker, you will notice that some class has been added to both members' galleries today. Of course, I am referring to the delegation which has given us the pleasure of its company here in Toronto. I refer to the delegates from the Northwestern Ontario Municipal Association who have travelled from that great part of the province to be with us here today.

NOMA is made up of mayors, reeves, councillors and aldermen from the cities, towns and communities of an area covering the Kenora, Rainy River and Thunder Bay districts. These are the front-line politicians who have entered public life to serve the citizens of the province at the local level.

They have travelled to Toronto to meet with us at the provincial level to discuss areas of concern, areas where the province has a significant role in developing policies that affect northern Ontario residents. This group will be meeting with the caucuses as well as the cabinet to discuss some of these very specific issues. It is my true hope that all parties will take the time to listen and to offer real solutions to their concerns.

Might I ask the members to join me in welcoming



these folks to the Legislature today.

#### LIBRARY GRANTS

**Mr Dave Johnson (Don Mills):** I feel it imperative to draw to your attention a situation occurring in our municipalities concerning our local libraries.

Libraries are much more than book depositories; they now serve as community resource centres disseminating information to an ever-growing population. To continue to provide this valuable service, they need adequate funding. Equally important, they need to know when to expect that funding.

In my own riding of Don Mills, the East York Public Library has been trying, for the past four months, to get an answer to the question of when it may expect a response from the ministry. In fairness, they have received a response, a non-response, as no one seems to be able to give any indication as to the timing of the announcement.

Mr Speaker, as you are aware, I have a background in municipal government, and municipal governments and their boards, such as the library board, live and die by their budgets. They carefully create them, they stick to them as the year passes and they do not run deficits. I am just now becoming aware of the meaning of the word "deficit."

My point is that municipalities and the library boards must be made aware of the available provincial grants in order to set their own budgets. Timing really is everything, yet this year the announcements are being made later and later. My own board received last year its grant on July 21.

Our public libraries do perform a vital service to our communities, and I feel it is our responsibility to support them rather than to discourage them.

#### HEATH'S DEPARTMENT STORE

**Mr Kimble Sutherland (Oxford):** People often think of Timothy Eaton and Robert Simpson as the early entrepreneurs who created the department store heritage in this country. I would like to add another name to that legacy.

I want to take this opportunity to congratulate Heath's Department Store, a family-owned business in my riding of Oxford, celebrating its 150th anniversary of serving its friends and neighbours.

The Heath business history begins in 1843, with the opening of a single store in Delhi by James Whiteside. His son-in-law, Eugene D. Heath, took over the business in 1895 and became sole owner after Mr Whiteside died in 1910. Mr Heath's son, Harold, joined the family firm in 1929.

The business flourished and in 1945 expanded to Tillsonburg, taking over the J.H. Rush and Co department store that been a retail outlet since 1873. It eventually expanded into a four-floor department store.

Another store was added in 1948, when Heath's continued its Oxford expansion with a new outlet in Woodstock. That store's move to Dundas Street in Woodstock in 1971 doubled its retail space.

It was during Canada's centennial in 1967 that a fourth generation of the family entered the business when Eugene Heath joined the company.

While joining Mr Heath at a recent ribbon-cutting to celebrate this special event, he stressed that there are three main philosophies behind Heath's business success: customer service, satisfaction guaranteed and staff buyers.

Let me once again congratulate Heath's Department Store on its anniversary. I believe they have earned a place in Canadian retailing history.

#### STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY AND RESPONSES

##### WASTE REDUCTION

**Hon Bud Wildman (Minister of Environment and Energy):** In the speech from the throne last week, the government outlined its 10-point plan to put Ontario back to work. We talked about our plan to invest in jobs and people, to sustain essential services such as health care and education and to control the provincial deficit. We talked about the need for debt control, not for its own sake but so that we can continue to invest in jobs and services, so that we can continue to do the things that will make Ontario a better place to live and work.

One of the points in our plan to put Ontario back to work is sustaining the environment. Protecting and preserving the environment has always been a part of our agenda, from working with businesses, labour and environment groups to develop the environmental bill of rights to encouraging green agricultural practices or creating North America's largest urban park in Scarborough's Rouge Valley.

1350

As my colleagues in the Legislature are aware, this is Earth Week and I can think of no more appropriate time to announce an important environmental milestone for Ontario. I am pleased to tell the Legislature that we have reached the first goal of the waste reduction action plan. In 1992 Ontarians sent 25% less waste per capita to landfills than they did in 1987. We achieved this milestone through the efforts of hundreds of municipalities, thousands of businesses, schools, hospitals, community and environmental organizations and millions of Ontario households. These groups and individuals have shown how much can be accomplished through strong partnerships.

Ontario has come a long way since it had the dubious distinction of being among the world's leading garbage producers. In 1987 about one tonne of non-hazardous solid waste per person was generated in Ontario. In October 1990 the Minister of the Environment, my

colleague Ruth Grier, announced two ambitious goals: to reduce the amount of waste going to disposal in Ontario by at least 25% in 1992 and by at least 50% by the year 2000. These targets are based on the 1987 disposal rate.

To meet the 25% and 50% reduction rates, the waste reduction action plan was introduced in February 1991. It made the 3Rs—reduction, reuse and recycling—the cornerstone of our strategy. The strategy is working. Data collected by the Ministry of Environment and Energy, in cooperation with municipalities and the private sector, confirm that we have reached the 25% target. We believe that this is a great achievement. It shows that the waste reduction message has hit home with the people of Ontario and that they are willing to make the changes in their daily lives to protect the environment.

Many individuals and groups deserve credit. First and foremost, there are the more than three million Ontario households actively recycling with the blue box. The success of the blue box is the best indicator that people across Ontario are committed to diverting waste from landfills into productive use. This commitment also is reflected in the fact that nearly one million households are composting kitchen and yard wastes.

Municipal governments also share the credit because they helped build and are helping to maintain the infrastructures which enable the blue box and home composting programs to work.

In the private sector, many businesses voluntarily have established programs to reduce the amount of waste they generate. In fact a number of Ontario companies have already met, and in some cases exceeded, the 50% target. The newspaper industry deserves special mention because it recycles half of the newsprint it uses.

Within the provincial government, successful 3R programs have been set up within a number of ministries and agencies. For example, the head office building of my ministry has reduced waste by 77% in the past three months.

This province has made great progress in achieving the 25% reduction target, but an even greater challenge remains: the next 25%. To meet this challenge, I will soon release 3R regulations to expand participation in reduction, reuse and recycling activities across Ontario. These expanded 3R activities will spur green industries in the province and make us more efficient in our use of resources.

We need the continued strong effort of municipalities to reach the 50% goal. They need to be able to plan, develop and operate new 3R facilities. Later today, my colleague Mr Philip, the Minister of Municipal Affairs, will table amendments to the Municipal Act which will give municipalities these and other additional waste management powers.

Again I'd like to congratulate all who have partici-

pated and ask them to join us in the challenge of meeting the next 25%.

#### MUNICIPAL WASTE DISPOSAL

**Hon Ed Philip (Minister of Municipal Affairs):** As my colleague has just noted, sustaining the environment is one of the keys to our plan to put Ontario back to work. Our government is committed to encouraging the emergence and growth of the green industries and to environmental responsibility.

Today I'm pleased to introduce a bill that will give municipalities increased powers to develop and operate effective 3R programs. As you know, Ontario is a world leader in reduction, reuse and recycling efforts. You heard from my colleague the Minister of Environment and Energy, who a moment ago today told you about Ontario's laudable achievements in waste reduction during the past year.

The 25% reduction in the amount of waste going to landfill sites is an admirable effort, but we must ensure that we continue these efforts over the coming years in order to reach a 50% waste reduction target by the year 2000. That is why I am introducing our bill today. This bill gives municipalities the enhanced powers they need and want to develop and operate effective and comprehensive waste management programs.

Our extensive consultations during the last year with municipalities, with private waste management firms, with environmental groups and with ordinary citizens told us that we are on the right track. Our bill clearly defines which level of government is responsible for waste management programs while also giving municipalities the flexibility they need to meet local needs.

Our bill is both timely and necessary. Indeed, Mr Joe Mavrinac, the president of the Association of Municipalities of Ontario, stated, "We support the province's legislation, which represents a close fit with the recommendations AMO has made in the past for clear municipal legislative authority for waste management activities."

I thank all of those who have had input to this. I particularly thank the representatives of AMO who have been so helpful in this matter. We are confident that this legislation will help municipalities carry on with the 3R work that they are doing and provide them with greater powers for future years.

#### WASTE REDUCTION

**Mr Steven Offer (Mississauga North):** I'm responding to the statement of the part-time Minister of Environment. The minister stands in his place today and reveals earth-shattering news: Less waste is generated during a recession. He says today what everyone in this province already recognizes, and while we support waste reduction initiatives, let us be clear: The part-time minister has not announced anything new today. He says that targets have been reached, the measurements of those



targets which were eroded by the NDP government.

So why this announcement today? Could this non-announcement by the part-time Minister of Environment have anything to do with a rally that's planned to take place in front of the Legislature tomorrow? I hope the viewing public recognizes that tomorrow many hundreds of people will be coming to this Legislature concerned about the air they breathe, the water they drink and the place where landfill sites are situated. They'll be here tomorrow expressing their frustration at the policies of the NDP government and the way in which it carries out these policies. They are frustrated that their right of representation in matters of an environmental nature has been stripped away by this government.

I can tell you that in my riding we have the Britannia landfill site, and it's not that long ago that the now Premier made a statement that there would be no extension of a landfill site without an environmental hearing. Well, the people in my riding, the people in the region of Peel and in York and throughout the province know that this government and their policies have taken away their rights to be heard in matters that are so important to them.

The part-time Minister of Environment, if he were truly concerned about waste reduction, wouldn't be wasting the time of the public making statements like this today but rather would be there tomorrow meeting the concerns of people who have very real concerns about the policies of the government and the way it is carrying them out.

#### MUNICIPAL WASTE DISPOSAL

**Mr Ron Eddy (Brant-Haldimand):** I take pleasure in responding to the statement of the Minister of Municipal Affairs on this matter and indeed take the opportunity to congratulate the municipalities of Ontario for attaining a 25% reduction. Great work. Many have exceeded that guideline, of course, and will continue to do so.

Speaking to the responsibilities of municipalities, certainly they should have more responsibilities, and let's get on with it, but we have to remember the other side of the coin, and that's the cost factor. It is noted that the blue box funding will end next year unless more money is allocated. Municipalities want to continue the programs of reduction and recycling etc, but we have to be aware of what the local taxpayer can afford, because it's real estate taxation.

1400

This government must remember that downloading new costs to municipalities does not solve its problems; it only creates new tax burdens for local municipalities and taxpayers.

In this respect, what was missing from the statement is a response to municipalities concerning the costs of these programs and indeed the matter of downloaded

costs on sewer and water charges. It's a very great concern what's happening, because the Ministry of Environment has seen fit to charge Ontario municipalities an extra \$8 million for laboratory costs in the operation of various water and sewer facilities.

This has been going on while the disentanglement process between the municipalities of Ontario and the province is being negotiated. If the matter of responsibilities and costs between the municipalities and the province is so important—it is of great importance and will be discussed by the Association of Municipalities of Ontario and indeed municipal members on Friday—then the province must look at the cost of downloading services to municipalities.

#### WASTE REDUCTION

**Mr Charles Beer (York North):** In response to both these announcements, but in particular to the Minister of Environment, let the record show that today when he should have stood up and announced that the travesty we're going through in the region of York and in Durham and in Peel should end and that this whole matter of waste disposal should go through an Environmental Assessment Act process where all the options are going to be looked at, today when the minister should have risen in his place and said that, he chose to duck the issue. Tomorrow, people will be here for Earth Day and they will be here to send a message to this minister, to the former minister and to the government that they have not acted properly in this matter.

#### *Interjections.*

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Order, the member for Durham West.

#### MUNICIPAL WASTE DISPOSAL

**Mr Dave Johnson (Don Mills):** I recognize that this is the greatest challenge facing the municipalities in the province of Ontario and that's the issue of waste disposal. I do give credit to the municipalities for the leadership and the targets they have met in identifying and tackling this issue. I would be mindful in my comments, though, that the problem is not purely responsibility. The problem involves funding, and this is what has not been addressed in the announcement today.

The recycling programs across this province are very expensive programs. The municipalities are eager to get on with the job. The municipalities are getting on with the job, but the problem they're facing is not simply responsibility; the problem is funding, and they are not being given the resources.

They are not being given the resources to tackle the blue box program. In Metropolitan Toronto, for example, there is a very excellent system of collecting through the blue box program, but it cannot be extended to apartments because there is a shortfall in funding.

This government has not provided adequate funding to the municipalities to carry out the responsibilities to

date, and unless this announcement is accompanied by additional funding, then it will not be successful.

The second point I would make is that it's very interesting that just a couple of years ago the municipalities, such as Metropolitan Toronto, were making excellent progress in terms of finding a landfill site under their jurisdiction, under their authority, and that authority was wrestled from the municipality of Metropolitan Toronto and taken back by the provincial government. Metropolitan Toronto, through the process, had spent about \$15 million of taxpayers' money in identifying a solution to the problem. The Interim Waste Authority has taken that over, spent more money than that and has not found a solution—a waste of taxpayers' money.

It's interesting in that case that this provincial government went exactly in the reverse direction, took the authority away from the municipalities, took it unto itself and has not been successful in finding a solution—indeed has caused confrontation across southern Ontario, and we've yet to see the end of that confrontation.

The third point I would make is that in terms of waste reduction, again using Metropolitan Toronto as an example, the waste has been reduced from three million tonnes per year to about one million tonnes per year going into the Metro landfill sites because of the recession and because a lot of the garbage is being shipped south to the United States, unfortunately. Metropolitan Toronto has approached this government with the possibility of closing off the borders to the transfer of waste to the south and has been rebuffed in all of its efforts to achieve the closing off of the border.

#### WASTE REDUCTION

**Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West):** A couple of comments on this announcement: Firstly, it's astounding that this announcement comes forward today when a mini-budget can be announced on Friday, the only day this House doesn't sit, and that's not considered significant enough to come to this House. That's very disappointing.

Secondly, this minister needs a check on reality. The reality of the situation is, there's a recession. That's what has reduced the amount of garbage in the system today: the recession.

The blue box program is fundamentally broken. You've got the mayor of North York who's saying: "This program doesn't work, it's too costly, we're not participating." You've got the Metropolitan government saying to the local municipalities, "We're going to start charging you to run the waste disposal system or the blue box program."

So the Metropolitan government is saying it's too costly, the local municipalities are saying too it's too costly, and they've come to the province and said it's

not working. They're taking credit for diversion because it's a recession, and Metro's shipping maybe as much as 600,000 to 1 million tonnes of garbage to the United States, and you're taking bows for this. You should be ashamed of yourself.

Finally, it's not going to solve the problem by giving more powers. What these people need is a program that's implementable and money to run the blue box. If you don't fix this, this blue box program will be kaput in two years.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Before—on a point of order.

WILL FERGUSON

**Mrs Yvonne O'Neill (Ottawa-Rideau):** I'm rising on a point of privilege. People in this Legislature know that I have been working on an issue for a long time and the issue is Grandview, and yesterday I feel that my whole position on this issue was misinterpreted, and I can't say wilfully or unwilfully, by the Premier of this province.

Mr Rae, in his answer to me, said, "I want to say to the honourable member that she says the matter is now closed." I wouldn't have been asking the question if I thought the matter was closed. I used those words and I used them with quotation marks and said so in my remarks yesterday as what the Premier has said on this issue. I am not complete on this issue, the people of Ontario are not, and certainly the victims are not.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** To the honourable member for Ottawa-Rideau, I certainly understand and appreciate why she's concerned. The member will know that the only person who can correct the record is the person who made the statement.

I fully realize and appreciate what the member is referring to and it may be that when the Premier has returned and he has seen Hansard, that may allow him an opportunity to correct the record. It will certainly be drawn to his attention.

#### ROLE OF MINISTERS WITHOUT PORTFOLIO

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Before starting oral questions, some members may recall that a procedural concern was raised in the House yesterday and I undertook to consider it and to report back as quickly as possible and it was my anticipation that I would report back today.

I did receive, and for which I am most grateful, a lengthy written submission this morning from the Liberal caucus and it was, if I could say so candidly, a very thoughtful and helpful document.

This matter has turned out to be a touch more complex than it appeared at first blush, and so I do not have a ruling for you today. I will make every effort, and it's my expectation that I will have a ruling for you tomorrow.

I apologize for not being able to bring it to the House



today, but as I say, it's turned out to be a little more complicated than I had anticipated. I will make every effort to have it here tomorrow.

Yes? A point of order?

1410

**Mr Steven W. Mahoney (Mississauga West):** On that very issue, if I might, on a point of order: This morning I attended, along with others, the opening of a facility in Mississauga, the Astra Pharma Inc facility, and the associate Minister of Health was in attendance along with the Premier and with the Minister of Economic Development and Trade.

At that time, the associate Minister of Health was introduced to the people as a member of the Premier's cabinet and took the introduction, and that's fine. We in fact accept that because, as you know, yesterday the member for Renfrew North rose to ask a question of that particular minister.

Aside from a number of issues that clearly point out in the rules and in documentation and in past decisions that a Minister without Portfolio with certain responsibilities is indeed a minister within the cabinet, within the executive council, and has certain responsibilities, aside from that, the public perception—

**Hon Floyd Laughren (Deputy Premier and Minister of Finance):** And your point of order is? Spit it out, Steve.

**Mr Mahoney:** If the Treasurer would stop interrupting me, he might hear a point of order.

The public perception in introducing this minister and other ministers without portfolio as members of the Bob Rae cabinet would clearly add to our perception that they indeed are responsible for certain areas.

Just to summarize briefly, Mr Speaker, in our point of order, it is our respectful submission that any question put to a Minister without Portfolio to whom a specific responsibility for a ministry has been designated—and that designation would indeed be by the Premier—that a question posed by the opposition to someone in that responsibility does indeed warrant a response.

Standing order 33(h) addresses the fact that parliamentary assistants may indeed answer questions for their ministers. Now, they have to be designated by their minister to do that—in other words, have the permission, the agreement—and this standing order does not address ministers without portfolio. However, standing order 33(a) states, and I read for you, sir, that, "Questions on matters of urgent public importance may be addressed to the ministers of the crown," and according to the Executive Council Act, section 1, and I quote from that, "The executive council shall be composed of such persons as the Lieutenant Governor from time to time appoints"—and this is important—"and all executive councillors so appointed are ministers of the crown."

So if you put that back to standing order 33(a), where

it clearly states that questions on matters of urgent public importance may be addressed to ministers of the crown, it seems to me your decision is clear.

The Executive Council Act continues on to deal with the salaries of ministers of the crown, including subsection 3(3), which states, "The annual salary of every minister without portfolio is" and it goes on to outline that.

**Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West):** It's going to be 10% less than that.

**Mr Mahoney:** It's about to be less, I understand, the minister for Etobicoke central points out.

With the inclusion of ministers without portfolio in this particular section, being subsection 3(3), the Executive Council Act is clearly stating that ministers without portfolio are indeed ministers of the crown, as we contend.

It's necessary also to point out that ministers without portfolio in the current government, by admission of the Premier, are indeed assigned specific responsibilities, as in the case of the Minister without Portfolio responsible for Health. That statement has been made by the Premier and clearly is the direction this government is going. It's the Premier's own admission that by reducing the cabinet down to 25 and increasing the ministers up to 27, he's somehow magically reducing the size of the elected body of the particular government. So he assigns them specific responsibilities.

The question posed on April 19, 1993, was to the Minister without Portfolio responsible for Health, and according to the dictionary—I'll go through some of this a little quicker, if I might, because I think this is very important. The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines "responsible" as "liable to be called to account...; (of a ruler or government) not autocratic; morally accountable for...actions; capable of rational conduct." That may be the hook that lets them off, by the way.

**The Speaker:** I don't like to cut the member off in full flight. I take it that the member is reading from the document which he sent to my office. I don't want to impinge on the member's rights. If he feels compelled to read into the record that which he sent to my office, then of course I'll allow him to do so. I'm sure that he's aware of how precious our time is, and I would ask him to be succinct.

**Mr Mahoney:** I am using several documents here. I'm using Hansard, wherein yesterday—and you've given us your reason—you explained that you would attempt to come to it today. The reason that I rise and use these other documents is that every day, as you well know, opposition parties meet in their respective caucus rooms to discuss question period strategy or what we're about to ask the government on that particular day. Because we don't have a decision on this, sir, we're limited in our ability to perform our duties as members

of the opposition.

I think it's critically important that all documentation be a matter of public record, and we have given you a detailed document for you to study, as bedtime reading I'm sure you're going to enjoy. But I think members opposite, I think the media, I think the people at home would like to know that indeed there is a point of order of some significance to members of the opposition.

The dictionary assigns the word "responsible," as I said before, as "liable to be called to account; not autocratic; morally accountable for actions; capable of rational conduct; of good credit, position or repute; respectable; evidently trustworthy." As I said, those are all perhaps definitions that this government could use to avoid answering questions, because I think they could put an argument that they are none of those. However, in fairness, they are the government of the day, and this refers to the government.

The member for Renfrew North was attempting to ask the member for Perth a question regarding the Ministry of Health, a ministry to which the Premier has told this House and the people of Ontario that that member has now some form of responsibility.

In the 21st edition of Erskine May's Parliamentary Practice, the following is stated on page 285, and I quote, "Questions addressed to ministers should relate to the public affairs"—this is very, very important, Mr Speaker. "Questions addressed to ministers," and we all acknowledge that the member for Perth is a minister, "should relate to the public affairs with which they are officially connected," and we all, including the Premier, acknowledge that she is officially connected with the Ministry of Health, "to proceedings pending in Parliament"—clearly, my honourable colleague's question pertained to proceedings pending in Parliament—"or to matters of administration for which they are responsible," and you could also interpret that my honourable colleague from Renfrew North was asking about questions for which this minister is responsible.

In your own ruling, sir, on December 12, Speaker Warner states, and I quote, "that if the minister in question is a minister without portfolio, has no responsibility for a particular program, and is not officially acting for a minister who has a portfolio or program of responsibility, no question can be put to him or her." This is very key. "If the minister without portfolio does have a program responsibility," as the Premier has told us this person does, "then he or she can be questioned on a matter touching on that responsibility." That is not Erskine May, sir, that is Speaker Warner in this Legislature in Hansard.

You went on, sir, to say in the Hansard of December 12, and I quote, "that question period should not be used as a vehicle to question a government member about the duties of an office that is not of a ministerial or governmental nature." This ruling was made when questions

were posed by opposition members to the chief government whip. I remember it well. The Speaker concluded that the chief government whip performed duties of a party nature and did not perform duties of a ministerial or governmental nature.

It is our submission that the Minister without Portfolio responsible for Health indeed does perform duties both of a ministerial nature—I saw her today doing that at an opening in Mississauga—and of a governmental nature, wherein I'm sure she works with the staff and showed up with the limo and the supporting staff at the particular function today. That strikes me as being of a governmental nature and a ministerial nature, those being duties to formulate government policy within the Ministry of Health.

1420

Mr Speaker, those are just some of the submissions I would like to make. The reason I want to read them into the record and to suggest to you that it is critically important that we get a decision as quickly as possible from you, sir, even to the point where I think this House would be prepared to stand down today and allow you to consider the matter, is that it clearly affects our ability, and therefore each and every member of the opposition, to perform our duty as members of Her Majesty's loyal opposition. Our duty is to hold this government accountable. The only way we can do that, sir, when you look at the fact that they're apparently announcing to bring out a budget in a press release on Friday instead of in the Legislature where we're sitting, the only opportunity that we, as members of Her Majesty's loyal opposition, have to hold these people accountable is in question period. If you are restricting our ability, sir, then you are hampering our ability to—

**The Speaker:** Would the member take his seat, please. The member may not have been in the House earlier when I made an announcement. I appreciate the member's interest in this procedural matter. I had hoped to have had something ready for today. I think the member would not want the Speaker to come in with a decision which was hastily drafted and was perhaps flawed. In order to do the work properly, I require some additional time.

The member has read the document which was sent to my office this morning. As I stated, it's a document which is helpful. It was put together very thoughtfully and it assists me. In fact, I think the member can appreciate that this is not a simple matter, and I will do everything possible to have a decision here tomorrow so that everyone is clear as to the practice and procedure.

**Mr Ernie L. Eves (Parry Sound):** On the same point of order, Mr Speaker, I would like to reiterate a few of the points made by the honourable member for Mississauga West.

This indeed does place both opposition parties in a very difficult position. As I'm sure everybody is aware,



the opposition caucuses have question period meetings every morning to define their questions of the day. We now find out, at least argued by the government House leader yesterday, that six out of 27 cabinet ministers indeed aren't really cabinet ministers and can't be asked questions. Yet we talked at some length yesterday about the fact that they are indeed cabinet ministers, as defined by the Executive Council Act. In fact, we even read the Premier's own press release wherein he appointed these people and referred to them as ministers of the crown and went on to define their particular duties and responsibilities.

For my part, I fail to see why they therefore cannot be questioned in this place. To me it seems to be quite simple. The Premier has named them as cabinet ministers. They've been sworn in as cabinet ministers. As the member for Mississauga West quite correctly points out, this very morning the member for Perth appeared and was introduced as a cabinet minister, a member of the executive council in the province of Ontario. She has indeed specific responsibilities, as the Premier himself defined in his own press release when he appointed her as a cabinet minister.

Now, if she doesn't feel that she—or if any other one of those six junior ministers, or ministers without portfolio, are being referred to, and if any of them do not feel capable or qualified to answer a question, like any other of their cabinet colleagues they may simply refer the matter to another minister. So I fail to see why we're going through this debate in the first place. If they're not capable of answering a question relating to the responsibilities and duties that the Premier himself has said they have, then they, like any other minister, can simply refer the question.

I tried to point out to you yesterday, sir, that in Ottawa they do indeed have a similar system of junior ministers, except that they call them secretaries of state, and indeed they work with other senior ministers. A few examples are the Secretary of State for Transport, who works with the Minister of Transport, the Secretary of State for Agriculture, who works with the senior Minister of Agriculture, and the Secretary of State for Finance, who works with the senior Minister of Finance. They have paralleled the same system here, except that they choose to call them, as opposed to secretaries of state, ministers without portfolio with the following defined responsibilities.

Another thing that concerns me here today is that not only are we now being told that we cannot ask those six ministers any questions; the premier minister himself, the Premier of the province, is not here. I can recall all too well yesterday when my colleague, my friend the member for Renfrew North, was trying to ask the then senior Minister of Health a question, the Premier took it upon himself to answer the question. Perhaps the suggestion that was made by one of the members opposite here

yesterday indeed is the way it should be. Perhaps the only minister in this government who should be empowered to ever answer a question is the Premier.

But that presents us with another difficulty in that the Legislature, first of all, came back approximately one month or at least three weeks later than it was supposed to. We thought that after four months' time this government would have its act together and that the ministers of the crown, especially the Premier, would be here every day for question period. This is the fifth day we've had question period since we've been back, and the Premier's been here exactly two times in those five days to answer questions. The opposition benches are now told that the Premier won't be arriving today until 2:45.

The very least I would suggest, Mr Speaker, is that you stand down question period until you either decide that six out of 27 cabinet ministers can answer questions or that at least the Premier of the province, who chooses not to be in his place for question period after having a four-month vacation, show up and answer some questions.

**The Speaker:** To the honourable member for Parry Sound, he did indeed present a useful and thoughtful presentation yesterday. He has added some points of interest today.

I must say to him that as much as I would like to have a ruling for today, it is not possible. I believe that the complexities of the issue will become clear when the ruling is delivered.

The honourable member, as I know him, can never be accused of lacking imagination when it comes to Parliament, and I suspect that he will find a way to direct the questions on the subjects in which he's interested to an appropriate person on the other side of the chamber.

#### MINISTERIAL STATEMENTS

**Mr Ernie L. Eves (Parry Sound):** I have another point of order, Mr Speaker.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Yes.

**Mr Eves:** On a separate point of order altogether, I was rather astounded today, when ministerial statements were read, that there was not one by the Treasurer of the province, or whatever he calls himself, the grand Poo-bah of finance in the province of Ontario. I cannot recall another time in the history of the province of Ontario when a mini-budget has been introduced by a government and not introduced in the Legislature of Ontario. I can recall just last November 1992 when the very same Treasurer of this province introduced not a mini-budget but indeed an economic statement, and he did it, quite properly, in the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

I can recall in the early 1980s—I believe it was 1981—when the economy of the province happened to encounter a recession, and the Treasurer of the day, Mr Miller, introduced his mini-budget in the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order. I think the honourable member for Parry Sound knows my views on this subject. I hold a very strong view that matters of substance dealing with Parliament should be announced in Parliament. I think that's a very sound principle.

The member will also know that for better or worse there is nothing in our standing orders or procedures which compels ministers to make statements in the House, including budgets, and indeed there is nothing out of order about announcing a budget outside of the House, and if memory serves, that in fact has occurred in this province.

But I would reiterate that all matters of substance of a parliamentary nature should be made here. I have no control over making that happen. I can only ask that people do that.

**Mr Eves:** As a gesture of goodwill, Mr Speaker, I would like to suggest that we get unanimous consent to allow the Treasurer of the province to introduce his mini-budget in this House this Friday afternoon, where it should be introduced.

**The Speaker:** Do we have unanimous consent?

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** I heard at least one negative voice. It is time for oral questions.

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## ORAL QUESTIONS

## LABOUR RELATIONS

**Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North):** My questions today will be addressed to the government and will concern the Premier's social contract. The first question to the Premier—and what a difference a day makes. Yesterday, the cabinet and Michael Decter couldn't describe, define or put flesh on the Premier's social contract and today details begin to flood forth. Happily, the social contract talks are leaking like a sieve.

**Hon Floyd Laughren (Deputy Premier and Minister of Finance):** Tabloid speculation.

**Mr Conway:** My first question to the Premier is this: Can the Premier—

**Hon Mr Laughren:** The Star saw Elvis too.

[Laughter]

**Mr Conway:** Well, they laugh opposite, but it is their fiscal mismanagement that has led us to this chaos.

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Order.

**Mr Conway:** Will the Premier confirm that key elements of his social contract include a cut of between 7,000 and 8,000 Ontario government jobs, almost all of which are in the managerial category and almost none of which are in the bargaining unit represented by OPSEU, and can he further confirm that his social contract will

mean that in this fiscal year, 1993-94, his social contract will cause a clawback of between 3% and 5% of provincial government grants to hospitals, school boards, children's aid societies, municipalities and all other partners in the province?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** I can't confirm either of those things. I'm not surprised the member would engage in all kinds of speculation. That's his wont, I think is the word I'd use.

I would say to the honourable member that, as I said yesterday—and he may not have asked me these questions before, but when anybody asks me a question in a scrum, and I get asked questions in scrums all the time, I've answered very clearly, put out as clearly as could be stated, and so has the Treasurer. We did it in the initial press conference that he and I held, in which we said very clearly that there will be the following elements to what the government is facing:

There will be a social contract negotiated with our own employees. There will be a vigorous exercise in expenditure reduction. There will be a continuation of our commitments to investments in infrastructure and investments in jobs and in partnerships with the private sector. There will also be revenue increases in the next budget. Those four points have been very consistent. We've stated them consistently. We've stated them as clearly as we can.

**Mr Steven W. Mahoney (Mississauga West):** Is that like tax revenue increases? Tax increases: Why don't you say it?

**Hon Mr Rae:** In answer to the question from Mississauga, there will be tax increases in the next budget. That's no secret, no secret at all. We've said that for some time. The Minister of Finance has been saying it for quite some time. Those elements are all there.

If the honourable member says, "Well does that mean this, does that mean that?" I can say to him that the social contract is being negotiated with the representatives of the 900,000 people who work in the broader public sector. The government is still working on the expenditure reduction plan and we're still working on the budget. So any further comment on that would simply be pure and simple guesswork, speculation or allegation by the member for Renfrew North.

**Mr Conway:** Since the Premier and his Treasurer will not come clean with this House, since they will not talk to all of their partners—oh, they'll talk to Sid Ryan and Fred Upshaw, but they're not talking very much to the managerial group in their own public service; they're not talking to small business; they're not talking to a lot of other people in this province. They are truly a very, very selective group of negotiators.

My supplementary to the Premier is, since very specific issues are now on the table, being advanced by Messrs Decter, Kaufman and others, since other people



in this province are now being given specifics, I ask him to give the Legislature and all the people of Ontario that this Legislature represents some of the specifics that are now very much on the table.

Will the Premier further confirm that in fiscal 1993-94, this fiscal year, his social contract will claw back \$500 million from the education sector and \$600 million from the health sector, including in the health sector a \$200-million clawback of physicians' payments and a significant increase in user fees for those seniors who participate in the Ontario drug benefit plan?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I say to the honourable member that I think the Minister of Finance has already said that whatever information is provided on Friday will be shared with the general public. There will be briefings for members opposite, there will be briefings for whoever wants them, and as much information as we're providing to any of our partners will be provided to others.

I just want to say to the honourable member that the statement he made as a matter of allegation, that there were discussions going on with some that were not going on with others, is, as are many of the statements that he makes in the House, a complete and utter fiction. The negotiating teams have been discussing these issues with a broad range of people. There has been as much as can be. We're being as open as we can be. As I say, when the government has determined its overall position with respect to one aspect of the challenge we face, not the entire picture but certainly one aspect of the expenditure reductions, that information will be fully shared.

**Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines):** My supplementary is to the Premier. Just two months ago, it was, I think, February 12 of this year, your government announced that it was going ahead with its planned job relocations to the following communities: Brantford, Guelph, Haileybury, Niagara Falls, Orillia, Peterborough, St Catharines, Windsor, Chatham and Elliot Lake. Today, the Chair of Management Board admitted that this program could be on the chopping block as part of your social contract. This means 5,000 jobs are at stake in 10 hard-pressed communities.

Will you, Mr Premier, confirm, once and for all, are you going to proceed with this program or are you going to renege on your promise to the communities of Brantford, Guelph, Haileybury, Niagara Falls, Orillia, Peterborough, St Catharines, Windsor, Chatham and Elliot Lake in your desperation to extract concessions from public service unions in Ontario?

**Hon Mr Rae:** Again, I think the member is engaging in speculation that is really not positive or helpful. The government, in the course of our expenditure review, and I think it would be unfair to put it in any other context, one of the first decisions the cabinet made was that all aspects of expenditure—all aspects of expenditure—had to be legitimately considered. That is precisely what we are doing. But I wouldn't want the member to read into

that anything other than the simple fact that all aspects of expenditure are being considered.

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#### TAX INCREASES

**Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North):** I have a second question on the social contract, to the Treasurer. Though I note that Bob Rae, author of the Agenda for People, has the nerve to come and talk about fiction elsewhere, I repeat, two and a half years into this mandate we are in a calamitous, chaotic fiscal situation, brought to you, in large measure, by Bob Rae and others who can't read a balance sheet, who don't understand what recessions mean to revenue lines and continue to spend in a way that has now brought all of us, from hospitals to the public service, to this situation.

A second question to the Treasurer: The Premier has just reiterated the view of the Rae government that what Ontario needs in the spring of 1993 is significant tax increases levied on Ontario citizens. The Treasurer has himself indicated and press reports today suggest that a very significant part of the social contract brought to you by Bob Rae is going to involve billions of dollars worth of revenue enhancements.

Let me say on behalf of my friend the member for Scarborough-Agincourt that we understand that you expect to achieve hundreds of millions in revenues by a fire sale of the public's assets, but it is equally clear that you're planning to raise hundreds of millions of dollars in additional taxes.

Will the Treasurer confirm that intention, and will he indicate further how raising taxes by hundreds of millions of dollars upon this very fragile economic recovery which we've got at the present time is going to help the number one concern of all members in this Legislature and all citizens of Ontario, namely, economic growth and employment growth?

**Hon Floyd Laughren (Minister of Finance):** I'll try to give a measured response to that question, because coming from a senior member of a government that raised taxes substantially when there were boom times in the 1980s and miscalculated on its projections of revenues and deficits as well, sometimes by over a billion dollars a year, I can tell you, Mr Speaker, that this government is dealing with the problem.

We do have a serious problem. We do, as the Premier said, see that in order to resolve the problem, we need to address the expenditures of this province and we need to address the shortfall in revenues. But I can tell the member opposite that unlike his party, we're not going to run and hide when we see a problem. We're going to deal with it.

**Mr Conway:** A supplementary to my friend the Treasurer: The sad and pathetic and painful reality in this province for the last two and a half years is that my friend the member for Nickel Belt has for some reason

been running and hiding from a clear and consistent fiscal situation that everyone else in the province has been pointing to. Of course other parties have their accountability to give, but no party in this province has ever had to face its public service now with the kind of draconian measures that you are going to be offering everyone from orderlies in hospitals to the clerks working for the public service. No other government has ever had to talk about an in-year deficit of \$17 billion.

My supplementary to my friend the Treasurer: It's just a few days ago that the Treasurer told the Canadian Business Life journal that he was very concerned, and I won't quote him, but I could. The Treasurer said just a few days ago that he was very, very worried that any kind of tax increases would stall or snuff out the very fragile economic recovery. He said that just a few days ago, and I accept him at his word because he was right when he made those comments.

Given that, I think, quite proper analysis and given our collective concern about economic growth and job creation, how in heaven's creation can he imagine that raising taxes by hundreds of millions of dollars on Ontario workers and business people is going to do anything but freeze and snuff out this economic recovery and kill job creation?

**Mr Steven W. Mahoney (Mississauga West):** I'd love to hear you if you were still—

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Order. The member for Mississauga West, please come to order.

**Mr Mahoney:** I apologize.

**The Speaker:** Accepted.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** The member for Renfrew North is correct on a couple of accounts: one, when he says that we have to be very careful in selecting the ways in which we raise revenues in this coming fiscal year. We will be very careful and we'll try and strike the appropriate balance. He's also correct when he says that no other government has addressed the problem of compensation in the public sector and government spending the way we have; no other government has negotiated with its employees the way we have.

**Mr Gregory S. Sorbara (York Centre):** It's never happened before and pray God it will never happen again.

**The Speaker:** Order. The member for York Centre, please come to order. Would the minister complete his response, please.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** Mr Speaker, I'll try and be as non-partisan as possible in addressing this very serious problem, but I can tell you that it really is inappropriate for members of the opposition to imply that the fiscal problem that we're dealing with was created in the last two years.

To be fair, the other two governments, the Liberal and Conservative governments, in this province layered

program after program on top of program after program and never did anything about existing programs that were already there.

It is time that some government, and it happens to be this one, addresses the problem of expenditures of this government, and that includes the compensation in the public sector. We are prepared to do it in as fair a way as possible and to negotiate it with our employees. We very much want to make that happen.

**Mr Conway:** A final supplementary to the Treasurer: I think it is clear that job creation is the primary concern of all honourable members. I think that is a shared objective obviously. The Canadian Manufacturers' Association estimates that one job is killed for every \$40,000 of tax revenue that's taken out of the economy. I repeat, the CMA estimates that one job is killed for every \$40,000 worth of tax revenue pulled out of the economy. If that kind of benchmark is to be credited and if you are serious about increasing taxes at this time by hundreds of millions of dollars in a recession, then clearly you are bound and determined to kill thousands of jobs.

My question to the Treasurer is, can he indicate, since he and the Premier have made plain their intention to significantly raise taxes, what impact studies have they done at treasury or elsewhere in the government about those kinds of tax increases at this time upon the employment base in this recession-ridden economy, where everyone is concerned, rightly, about keeping their job and ensuring that other people in their family and their circle get a job?

**Hon Mr Laughren:** When we brought down the budget about a year ago we indicated that we had three priorities. One of those priorities was investment, training and job creation in this province. We haven't altered from that view. But I can tell the member for Renfrew North that paying billions of dollars to service the public debt also kills jobs in this province, and we're determined to get that under control. Finally, I say to the member opposite, if we applied his formula to all the tax increases that the Liberals brought in when they were in office, there would have been nobody working at the end of their reign in office.

**Mr Conway:** By your works you will be judged, and I'll ask people if they're better off today than they were four years ago in Don Mills and in St George and in Essex and in Burlington.

**The Speaker:** Order. Leader of the third party.

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**Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing):** I have a question for the Treasurer. While we have the same information on job cuts, on the program cuts that have been expressed by the Liberal Party, I want to be very clear and I want to indicate to the government we're concerned about not consulting with all the partners, we're



concerned about how you're proceeding 24 hours a day, we're concerned with policy on the fly.

But I want to be very clear, through you, Mr Treasurer, to the Premier and the government, that we are supportive of the amount of cuts and we don't think you've gone far enough yet. I want that on the record, that unlike the Liberals, we do believe you have a spending problem and you must significantly reduce the size of government and the amount of spending. I want that clearly understood.

However, Treasurer, one issue has been brought up by the Liberals and that concerns quite reliable information that we have that in your mini-budget you plan to table on Friday—or whatever you call it, the documentation—in addition to some of the spending cuts that you indicate direction, as a sop to your union partners you've also had to come up with a pretty full budget before they're going to talk meaningfully to you and, the real cruncher, that you plan \$2 billion minimum of revenue enhancers, which I call tax hikes.

Can you confirm, Treasurer, that on Friday you will be indicating, either by way of mini-budget or by tabling of a document or as part of the negotiations, that you plan next year to extract \$2 billion more from taxpayers through taxes or fees?

**Hon Mr Laughren:** I'm a little disappointed that the extensive research department that the leader of the third party has hasn't gone beyond reading the Toronto tabloids.

I would simply say to the leader of the third party that we are not bringing in a mini-budget on Friday. What we're going to do is table very publicly a set of expenditure reduction proposals, and we intend to share that with the public at large. The leaders of the two opposition parties have been invited to a briefing at the same time so that there is no abuse of the privileges of members. They will get the information at the same time as anyone else.

**Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West):** Why don't you do it here?

**Hon Mr Laughren:** As far as the question, "Why not do it in here?" it simply isn't ready, and we'll have the entire package ready by that time.

I would just reiterate to the leader of the third party that I hope he's able to attend that briefing on Friday.

**Mr Harris:** Aside from the fact that I'm disappointed that it's the union leaders who are setting the timetable and the schedule of announcements in this province, aside from that, you could easily have done it on Monday if it's not ready, or we would agree to have a full sitting of the Legislature on Friday. But no, you wouldn't give us consent for that. So now we have the union leaders telling us the schedule of when announcements will be made and when your mini-budget will be announced.

My question, though, is very simply this: Can you confirm that on Friday you plan to indicate \$2 billion of new revenue enhancements as part of the plan as the Treasurer of the province of Ontario?

**Hon Mr Laughren:** I'm surprised to hear the leader of the third party refer to Dennis Timbrell as a union leader, but nevertheless, if that's how you wish to describe him, that's fine.

**Hon Mr Rae:** That's the nicest thing he has to say about him.

**Mr Harris:** I don't know why it would surprise you for me to say that.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** I'm going to tell Dennis Timbrell you said that.

First of all, it's not a case of anybody setting the agenda for us. We have been through an exercise in which we've tried to come to a conclusion, shared with all cabinet members, to come up with a set of proposals that will reduce expenditures in the province. I think that, unlike governments in the past, we want to be as open as we possibly can with everybody in the province, and we intend to share that information. We will be judged according to how fairly we're seen to be distributing those expenditure reductions all across the province.

I'll repeat my invitation to the leader of the third party. I very much hope that you can attend on Friday morning.

**Mr Harris:** We are going to find out on Friday that the Treasurer plans to take \$2 billion more out of consumers' pockets, out of taxpayers' pockets, out of the private sector, out of the economy. I say to you, Mr Speaker, that is the most ludicrous thing this government has done to date, and that's saying a lot, because you've done a lot of ludicrous things in the first two and a half years of your mandate. To get \$2 billion of revenue enhancements will be the biggest tax grab in the history of the whole province, bigger in one year even than David Peterson, and that is saying a lot because he was a master taxer.

Treasurer, I ask you this, since this is what you are going to table on Friday—if it isn't, you can tell me what the actual figure is—you must then know how you're going to get the money, because to get that amount of money, you'll have to double gas tax to 31 cents a litre, or you could raise income tax by 7.5 percentage points or you could hike sales tax to over 10%. Any one of those measures will stifle jobs, will slow and reverse recovery in this province and very likely throw us back into recession.

I would ask you this, Treasurer, since you're putting a number on the table on Friday, can you tell us what taxes, what fees you plan to hike to generate \$2 billion worth of revenue?

**Hon Mr Laughren:** The examples that the leader of

the third party uses should not be considered a budget leak. On Friday it is not our intention to table a package of tax moves or revenue moves. I would say, however, that it is true that we do intend to have a revenue package in the budget to increase revenues. Because we intend to raise taxes and engage in some asset sales does not mean it's a fire sale. There are some assets that we think should be sold. We were not the people who made the arrangements for the SkyDome. It was the Conservatives and the Liberals who ended up with a package on SkyDome that we're trying to get out of. It's as simple as that, and we intend to do that.

**The Speaker:** New question, leader of the third party.

**Mr Harris:** Thank you very much, Mr Speaker. My second question is for the Minister of Health who was here, and I see her papers there. Maybe I could go to the associate Minister of Health. Treasurer, if you could confirm that she's coming, fine. If not, I'll stand down the question if that's acceptable to everybody.

**The Speaker:** Do you wish to stand down the question?

**Mr Harris:** If the Minister of Health is not here.

**The Speaker:** We'll move to the official opposition for a question. The member for Ottawa-Rideau.

#### REPORT ON VICTIMS OF ABUSE

**Mrs Yvonne O'Neill (Ottawa-Rideau):** My question is to the Attorney General and the minister responsible for women's issues. When asked a question on December 7, 1992, Madam Minister, regarding the release of the 1976 report on sexual abuse at Grandview School for Girls, you said, and I quote, "It is a question that the Attorney General has areas of responsibility that he alone can exercise."

Madam Minister, you are now the Attorney General. Will you tell the House today if you are going to accept the decision on your requested judicial review reached yesterday at Osgoode Hall regarding the release of the very heavily edited report as first recommended by the freedom of information and protection of privacy commissioner on September 22, 1992, a full six months ago?

I ask you the same question my leader asked you on that very day six months ago. I ask you to determine what possible justification you and your government can give to these women, especially now after yesterday's decision, for withholding this information from this province, this Legislature and these victims.

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**Hon Marion Boyd (Attorney General and Minister Responsible for Women's Issues):** The decision was rendered yesterday but the oral reasons will not be given until next week, and until we see the oral reasons we will not be making a decision on whether to appeal that. I would remind the member that the only reason that I

and the previous minister have taken the position that was taken on this report was in the interests of preserving the prosecution case. It will be reviewed when we have the reasons that were delivered yesterday.

**Mrs O'Neill:** Madam Minister, there are many people in this province who have not agreed from the very beginning with that position, but you have stated it.

We have known from the beginning that this report, especially in its edited version, would not jeopardize the investigation. We've had that from the victims; we've had it from the privacy commissioner. The release would indeed, as we know, add to the credibility of the victims, who have long suffered and have requested from day one, over and over again, that it be released.

It's clearly a responsibility through both of your portfolios to support women in their efforts to bring forth their evidence of violence suffered over 20 years ago in a government institution. Will you stand before this House today, Madam Minister, as Attorney General and as minister responsible for women's issues, and accept the responsibility that you know you have and is by your very statement? Will you begin to show the victims of Grandview that you really are going to take action on their behalf? Promises are just not good enough; just not good enough from this so-called open NDP government.

**Hon Mrs Boyd:** I would say to the member that we have done many things to assist these victims, not least of which is to insist that this investigation go forward with integrity. That is the most important thing that we can do for these people. If this investigation is jeopardized in any way, they may not have their day in court, and that is our biggest concern.

So I would say to the member, yes, I can stand here and say very clearly that I have advocated and will continue to advocate on behalf of those people who have made complaints about Grandview, and that every action that we have taken as a government has been directed at maintaining the integrity of the investigation with the hope that we indeed will be able to bring responsibility where it belongs.

#### SEXUAL HARASSMENT

**Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South):** My question is to the Premier. Premier, we have in this province today a very uncertain situation around the subject of sexual harassment. We believe the reason for that is the chaos that's been caused by your personal mismanagement of the Masters case.

We have right now going on in this province an investigation by the police into a civilian employee's case—and I'm going to send the particulars over to you. In this case, this civilian has been accused of sexual harassment, not sexual assault, so one would understand very simply that if it isn't sexual assault it's not a criminal charge and therefore should not be investigated



by the police.

I have the permission of the accused to give any information, publicly and in this House, about his case. I ask you, Premier, because it was your handling of the Masters case that has set the precedent that is sending out all these uncertain signals around this province to where we can have cases of false accusations, to where we can have cases of serious legitimate complaints and nobody is going to know what to do about them.

Premier, do you think police investigations are appropriate in cases of sexual harassment where there are no accusations of criminal behaviour?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** First of all, I can't comment on this because you've just sent it over to me and it would be, I think, really quite injudicious of me to wade in, only having just seen the letter as you've sent it over to me. I could refer it to the Solicitor General but I'm not sure he'd be in a position to comment either. So all I can say is I'll take her question under advisement and ask the Solicitor General to respond to her tomorrow.

**Mrs Marland:** As well as this accused being placed in the position of a police investigation although he's a civilian employee—and he's a civilian employee, by the way, in the OPP—in his case, he, as the accused, has had no right to even know the names of witnesses who were interviewed, nor does he have the right to test their evidence in cross-examination.

Obviously, the danger here is that a complainant could make a false allegation without needing corroborating evidence or independent witnesses. The accused would have more rights if he were accused of a criminal wrongdoing.

We have seen through our examination of the Masters case and this example that I give you today that the Ontario government's process of handling sexual harassment complaints serves neither the complainant nor the accused in a fair manner, and I think we have heard from Mr Masters in his own personal defence on that aspect.

Premier, I ask you, will you investigate not only this case that I have raised today but the whole policy and the process, particularly the process, for investigating and settling allegations of sexual harassment in the civil service, so that any man or woman in any employment in this province is protected and has the protection that he or she needs?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I think the member makes some excellent points in terms of the latter part of—without wanting to comment at all on the particular instance, because I can't. I think her concern about process and the issues that she's raised are quite legitimate issues. I don't take them lightly at all. I can assure her that these are issues that are being reviewed by the government, by Management Board and by others, precisely because of

the kinds of concerns that she's raising.

I would say to her in addition, however, without wanting to comment on anything, that I would be very concerned if the names of complainants, for example, were released in any information that's being provided today by the honourable member to me or to others. I would hope very much that the complainants' names are not released and in fact are not part of the public record which she is establishing today, because if that were to be done, then that causes concerns from a particular perspective as well.

I can say to the honourable member: These are not easy issues. I think we all have to recognize that in every workforce and every workplace and every part of our society we're wrestling with these questions as to how they can be judged effectively. I can just say to the honourable member that I've listened very carefully to her question. As I said before, I think with respect to the particular instance that she's raised, I'd prefer that the Solicitor General answer her tomorrow in an answer to a previously asked question.

#### HEALTH CARDS

**Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing):** Since the Minister of Health is obviously not going to be here to answer questions and we can't ask the associate or junior or whatever Minister of Health, I will ask the Premier a question concerning health cards in the province of Ontario.

Premier, I'm sure you'll be aware, as you flip to both the minister's briefing book on health cards and your own briefing book on health cards, that this is an issue that was raised by the auditor, it's an issue that was raised by the member for Simcoe—

**Interjection:** East.

**Mr Harris:** Was it Simcoe East?—our critic for Health on numerous occasions. I'm sure the Premier will be aware as well that the deputy minister, Mr Decter, somebody whom I know the Premier has great confidence in, under intensive grilling before the legislative committee said in February that, "We have a \$20-million problem that we're pursuing." He called it a \$20-million problem.

I would like to know if the Premier has been made aware that Mr Decter had a report commissioned for him over a five-month period, that he has had this report in his hands now for some considerable period of time, certainly since April 1 at the least, which shows that health card fraud is at least eight times worse than he told the legislative committee and in fact is virtually out of control. Is the Premier aware of that? Has Mr Decter told him that? Has this come up at the cabinet table?

1510

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** If it's come up at the cabinet table, I suppose the rules of cabinet secrecy would prevent me from replying directly to the honour-

able member. But I can say to the honourable member that naturally I've had the kind of conversations with the minister that one would have about an issue like this, indicating that it's obviously a concern to everyone. It's a concern to patients, it's a concern to doctors. I might add, it's a profound concern to the government since, if there are examples of misuse of cards or of fraudulent use of cards, then obviously we have a major issue for OHIP itself. I can honestly say to the member that I'm not aware of any reports which may have been commissioned, but obviously we'll look into it and ask the Minister of Health to reply directly to the member.

**Mr Harris:** Mr Premier, CKLC, a CHUM affiliate in Kingston, has obtained a document prepared by the documents registry, programs branch, Ministry of Health. This is from OHIP in Kingston. The report is dated March of this year. It was prepared for deputy minister Michael Decter. He didn't tell the committee that the report was being prepared. We've had no statement from him that the information he gave the committee was totally inaccurate.

One of the aspects of this report shows, from the period November 1992 to March 1993, a five-month period, that of the number of fraudulent claims, over 60,000 of them were made by non-residents who gave US drivers' licences, that the total amount involved was \$85 million, or on an annual basis, over \$200 million, identified as out-of-the-province-of-Ontario claims. Has Mr Decter made the Premier and the minister and the cabinet aware of this information that he's had now since April 1?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I think I indicated already to the honourable member that I haven't seen that information and I can't answer whether the minister has or not. I can only say directly to the honourable member that I think that the Ministry of Health is to be commended for having commissioned such a study, for having attempted to get to the bottom of what is obviously an issue that's of concern to all of us. I'm quite confident that the minister and the ministry together will be responding effectively to this issue. No government could be happy about such a situation and I'm sure that there will be a very effective response from the minister.

**Mr Harris:** Do you think that Mr Decter should be commended for appearing before the committee on, I believe, February 23, making no reference to the study, saying, "We have a \$20-million problem. No, you critics in the Conservative Party, no, it's not that big a deal. We're concerned, but it's a \$20-million problem," when at the same time the study came out—just one month later it would have been under way for a five-month period—that said that \$691 million in fraudulent claims were made by 600,000 people, over \$200 million a year from out of province, many of them using US addresses? You commend this Mr Decter of yours for hiding that information from a legislative committee, for not coming

forward and apologizing once he found out, all the things that our critic and the member from Simcoe East had been saying were true and more so? You're proud of that, Mr Premier?

**Hon Mr Rae:** Let me say to the honourable member, in my experience in this House if you want to call me a dud, an incompetent, a louse, anything you want to call me, that's fine. I'm here to answer and I'm here to take it and I'm here to respond, and you can do that, but to turn this into some kind of character assassination against a member of the public service of this province is quite inappropriate, quite unfair and quite out of line.

I haven't seen the report, I don't know all the contents of the report. Now that the member has brought it to my attention I will look into it and I will have to judge and make the assessment as to whether the member has characterized it fairly or inaccurately, but to turn what is a public policy issue which everybody in all parts of the House can agree is a problem, has to be dealt with, has to be dealt with effectively, into an attack on a member of the public service of this province is truly unworthy of the leader of the third party. He's better than that and I'm surprised he'd stoop to that in order to try to get a headline.

**Mr Harris:** I criticized you for praising a guy who's lying to the committee, lying to the Legislature and lying to the people of this province. That's what I complained about. It's your attitude that's under attack, Bob.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Order. The leader of the third party, please come to order.

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** New question, the member for Sault Ste Marie.

**Mr Tony Martin (Sault Ste Marie):** My question is for the Minister of Environment and Energy.

**The Speaker:** Does the member have a point of order?

**Mrs Yvonne O'Neill (Ottawa-Rideau):** I have my point of privilege. When the Premier was present, I was trying to let question period progress, but now he has left before question period ended and I do not get my point of privilege answered.

**The Speaker:** I appreciate the member's concern. She will know also that we do attempt to deal with points of privilege outside of oral questions. With any luck, it will be dealt with at the earliest possible moment.

The member for Sault Ste Marie.

WASTE DISPOSAL

**Mr Tony Martin (Sault Ste Marie):** My question is for the Minister of Environment and Energy. I'd first like to congratulate him and his ministry on the announcement of today. However, I have some concern as to the impact this will have on northern Ontario.



You are aware that I recently chaired a consultation called SCAN North on the impact that the 3Rs will have on us who live in the north, both from a cost perspective but particularly from an industrial perspective. We traditionally do resource extraction, and this will impact in significant ways on our ability to make a living up there. I was wondering if you'd seen that report and what you intend to do in light of some of the recommendations that are in that.

**Hon Bud Wildman (Minister of Environment and Energy):** I want to thank the member for Sault Ste Marie for his question and commend him for the work he did, along with others, on the SCAN North project, looking into recycling and waste management in northern Ontario.

I have read the report. My colleague the Minister of Northern Development and Mines and my ministry are reviewing its contents and have already started to implement some of the recommendations. We're currently reviewing a proposal from the town of Ignace to study waste options in northwestern Ontario. It's important to ensure that the development of green industries in the north will proceed, as well as waste management initiatives. So I hope to be making an announcement in regard to that very soon.

**Mr Martin:** I appreciate that. I know that any information that you will gather will go a long way towards our ability in the north to develop new industry to help pay for some of the initiatives you're bringing forth. However, I'm wondering what you're going to do in the northeast.

**Hon Mr Wildman:** I'm pleased to have the opportunity to answer this question during Earth Week. It's very appropriate. Based on the recommendations of the member's SCAN North project, I went to Kirkland Lake—

**Mr Gregory S. Sorbara (York Centre):** This is just like the Politburo, for God's sake.

**Hon Mr Wildman:** Well, there are some people in the House who are concerned about northern issues.

I did go last week to Kirkland Lake, and I announced a pilot project, along with the mayor of Kirkland Lake, Joe Mavrinac, to look at a pilot project for the northeast. The study will identify ways of processing facilities and markets for the viable 3Rs initiatives in northeastern Ontario. The study will be completed within a year.

Kirkland Lake and my ministry are also working on a pilot project to be conducted this summer for the testing of rubberized asphalt in northern Ontario to see if we can identify new economic opportunities and the possibility of establishing jobs based on recycling, reuse and reduction of waste in northern Ontario.

1520

## TOURISM INDUSTRY

**Mr Hugh O'Neil (Quinte):** My question is for the

minister responsible for tourism in the province of Ontario. Minister, the economic and social importance of the tourism industry to the Ontario economy, as you know, is immense. It is a fact that the tourism industry is Ontario's largest employer of women, youth, indigenous peoples and visible minorities, the province's fourth-largest export industry, the economic mainstay in areas of the province where economic alternatives are few or nonexistent, and also the largest industry in the service sector, which accounts for 72% of all new jobs in Ontario.

On January 20, 1993, the Tourism Ontario group submitted its proposal, entitled A Competitive and Sustainable Recovery Strategy for Ontario's Tourism and Hospitality Industry, to your Premier and the government for consideration. Minister, could you tell us, what is the delay in the implementation of the tourism sectoral strategy?

**Hon Anne Swarbrick (Minister of Culture, Tourism and Recreation):** I am very happy that the member for Quinte is raising the issue of the problems facing the tourism industry in this House, and I was very happy that yesterday he and the member for Wellington were able to join my associate minister, Shirley Coppen, and I in meeting with Tourism Ontario, particularly in congratulating the new chair, Bruce Stanton, on assuming his new position within that organization and congratulating the former chair, Ted Zientara, on the years of wonderful work that he has provided there.

I agree wholeheartedly with the member for Quinte that the tourism industry in fact has probably been the industry that's been hardest hit in this province. As our fourth-largest industry and an industry that's growing globally, there's a lot that our government needs to do, and has been doing, in fact, to be helping it.

With regard to the overall direction of coming out of the hardship of the recession and positioning itself for the future, my government has made the development of a tourism sectoral strategy a major priority. I look forward very soon to being able to announce to the members the minister's advisory committee for it so that we can work on the tremendous research that we've already prepared as a basis for that committee to develop that sectoral strategy to better position this industry to become the global leader in tourism that it's possible of being.

**Mr O'Neil:** Of course, minister—and I hope the Treasurer is listening to some of your comments and what's being said here—the problem is that when you talk about the sectoral study, it's been around for some time now and nothing is happening. Of course, we have the summer season fast approaching, and the tourism industry is hoping to see positive signs of support and encouragement from your government. According to industry officials, the lingering recession and the inequitable fiscal environment have resulted in indefinite

layoffs—and I ask the Treasurer again to listen to this—for more than 62,000 employees.

So I would ask you, Minister, with the Treasurer listening very carefully, how will the problems faced by the tourism industry in this province be addressed in your government's upcoming budget?

**Hon Ms Swarbrick:** This government certainly didn't cause this recession that's creating hardship to industries like the tourism industry, but we are doing a lot to help this industry to come out of the recession.

As the new minister, I've been sitting down looking at, just whom do I want to be on that minister's advisory committee? I've been making some changes, one of course to reflect the composition of the new ministry. I think there's a lot to be gained by the Premier's wise decision to put culture in with tourism, to their mutual benefit, and I'm making sure that the minister's advisory committee will include people from the cultural industry as well so that synergy can take effect in making it work.

This government has put \$26 million in Jobs Ontario funding to help the tourism industry. We've been developing a new central registration and information system that will provide tremendous structural support. For the second year in a row now, we've organized the Prospect Ontario marketplace to bring buyers and sellers together. We've introduced a new consumer-led rating system, working with the industry on that, called Canada Select, and finally—

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Would the minister conclude her response, please.

**Hon Ms Swarbrick:** —not finally, but since I appreciate I'm running out of time, I want to say that we've developed in partnership with the industry the new Ontario Tourism Education Council. For the first time ever, we have a government in the province of Ontario that's effectively developed apprenticeship training for the staff who need it in our hospitality sectors.

**The Speaker:** Would the minister conclude her response, please.

**Hon Ms Swarbrick:** It's high-quality service, and I appreciate the tourism industry's hard work with us in developing that important council.

#### WORKERS' COMPENSATION

**Mrs Elizabeth Witmer (Waterloo North):** My question is for the Minister of Labour. The decision to provide WCB coverage to college and university students on work placement will be finalized on April 30. You have announced that your government will pay \$1.5 million to cover the cost of this decision—a ridiculously low figure, I might add, because the former Minister of Colleges and Universities estimated the cost at \$8 million and the Ontario Hospital Association estimated it could cost \$12 million. Unfortunately, this decision

has also been made without the benefit of any cost impact analysis to determine the impact on the WCB's \$11-billion unfunded liability.

Given the huge budgetary deficit the province is facing, could you explain why your government has decided to assume the cost of covering students under the WCB when they are currently covered under private insurance at no cost to the taxpayers?

**Hon Bob Mackenzie (Minister of Labour):** I think all of the trainees are not covered. I think the member across the way knows that. I think what we intended to do right from the beginning is to make sure that the training programs we're putting in place in the province of Ontario to deal with some of the problems we have in terms of unemployment are not at risk, and that's why we're making sure that they are covered in training programs for the WCB coverage.

**Mrs Witmer:** Minister, you didn't answer my question. I asked you to explain why this government, with its huge deficit, was going to assume more deficit. And furthermore, the students at the present time are covered under tuition fees.

Minister, according to the definition of "learner" and "student" under the Workers' Compensation Act, employers believe that you do not have the authority to cover these training participants. As a result, they're concerned that if they cancel their private insurance, they might be liable to future lawsuits.

Can your government guarantee individual employers that they do indeed have the protection of the act against legal action brought on by individual training participants? Can you guarantee that?

**Hon Mr Mackenzie:** The responsibility at the moment is for the Workers' Compensation Board. We are undertaking the cost of the coverage, and I think that frees the employers.

#### SOCIAL ASSISTANCE REFORM

**Mr Gary Malkowski (York East):** I have a question for the Minister of Community and Social Services.

I have received many letters from my constituents in my community raising concerns about the government's intentions on social assistance reform. Media reports have noted that the ministry will be putting out a white paper later this spring.

Could the minister clarify for myself, my constituents and other members of the House what the purpose of the paper is and what work is being done to ensure that Ontario's fragmented and inequitable system of social assistance is in fact reformed?

**Hon Tony Silipo (Minister of Community and Social Services):** I thank the member for York East for his question. As he has noted, there has been some speculation about the government's white paper on social assistance reform. Some have referred to it as a study paper or a consultation paper. I can say very clearly to



the members of the House that it is neither of those things. It will be a position paper.

We clearly have consulted very broadly over the past two years and are now in a position, or will be in a position very shortly, to come back to the people of the province who are greatly concerned about our present system and to tell them what we've heard and, more importantly, what we as a government are going to do about it. So when we release the paper in early summer, we plan to set out in that paper our plans for action and the framework for an entirely restructured system of social assistance in the province.

**Mr Malkowski:** I appreciate the minister's clarification of the position paper. The minister will be aware of the concerns expressed in my community and no doubt in other parts of the province that in the difficult economic times—government revenue has dropped and the province is facing a severe financial challenge—the reforming of social assistance may not be possible. Could the minister clarify for the House what his ministry and the government will be doing in this regard?

**Hon Mr Silipo:** Certainly the financial situation that we are in does present some problems for us, as it indeed does for the whole government. However, in many ways this is also exactly the time for reform.

As we mentioned in the throne speech, the system isn't working. We need substantial reform, and in fact we need to get at the financial situation in order to, among other things, allow us to bring about some changes in the social assistance area.

Our present system, as we know, too often encourages people to stay on social assistance rather than assisting people to gain employment or to gain the skills they need to seek employment in today's economy. Current case loads are up 150% since 1989. We have over a million people in the province who are relying on social assistance and, clearly, experience shows that the economic recovery we experienced in the mid-1980s to late 1980s did not benefit social assistance recipients. We have to therefore be prepared for the next economic recovery by moving on the reform of social assistance now.

1530

#### ORGANOCHLORINES

**Mr Frank Miclash (Kenora):** My question is to the Minister of Environment and Energy. Mr Minister, on February 2, your predecessor announced proposed regulations relating to the discharge of chlorine compounds in the production of pulp and paper. The announcement, and what has been said since, has confused not only the people in the pulp and paper industry but your own colleagues as well.

The announced regulation refers to reaching the goal of zero discharge by the year 2002. Since pulp mills

have to submit plans to achieve zero discharge, it does not appear to be a voluntary provision. Yet the Minister of Northern Development and Mines and the Minister of Transportation have both said it is only a guideline; achieving zero is not mandatory. The Minister of Natural Resources, on the other hand, says you need a plan by the year 2002, but don't have to reach the goal. You have said yourself that you will decide what companies will have to comply.

Minister, I ask you, what is the difference between a goal, a ban and a plan? Exactly what does your draft regulation require companies to do? Can we get one clear statement from you on your government's position. Lastly, Minister, how does this meet your government's commitment to develop partnerships, to help industries compete and to provide more and better jobs?

**Hon Bud Wildman (Minister of Environment and Energy):** I thank my colleague for this important question and the opportunity to deal with some confusion that has arisen, and there really is no reason for it. Frankly, it is quite clear, the difference between a goal and a regulation. A regulation is a requirement that the industry must meet by a certain date, and the regulation is that the industry, by a certain date, must reach 1.5 kilograms per ton, and then by a later date, 1999, it must meet 0.8 kilograms per ton, by that date.

The ministry and the province are committed to a goal of reaching zero discharge of organochlorines from kraft mills by the year 2002, and that is indeed a goal. What is required, though, under the regulation is for the companies to file a plan on how to reach that; first, an interim plan, and then a final plan to be filed with the ministry by the end of 1998. I should point out to the member that two of the kraft mills in northern Ontario already can meet the 0.8, and all of them can already meet the 1.5. We don't believe this to be an onerous regulation at all, but one that will assist us in cleaning up the environment. I thank the member for the opportunity to clarify.

#### PETITIONS

##### GAMBLING

**Mr Hugh O'Neil (Quinte):** I have a petition that was submitted to me by a Mr Dave Switzer in the village of Frankford in my riding and is signed by many other people, and I'd like to read it if I may.

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the NDP government is considering legalizing casinos and video lottery terminals in the province of Ontario;

"Whereas there is a great public concern about the negative impact that will result from the abovementioned implementations,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the government immediately cease all moves to

establish gambling casinos by regulation and that appropriate legislation be introduced into the assembly along with a process which includes significant opportunities for public consultation and full public hearings as a means of allowing all the citizens of Ontario to express themselves on this new and questionable initiative."

I add my name to this petition.

**Mr Dennis Drainville (Victoria-Haliburton):** I rise again in the House to add these signatures to the thousands that have already come forth against casino gambling.

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the New Democratic Party government has traditionally had a commitment to family life and quality of life for all the citizens of Ontario; and

"Whereas families are made more emotionally and economically vulnerable by the operation of various gaming and gambling ventures; and

"Whereas the New Democratic Party government has had a historical concern for the poor in society who are particularly at risk each time the practice of gambling is expanded; and

"Whereas the New Democratic Party has in the past vociferously opposed the raising of moneys for the state through gambling; and

"Whereas the citizens of Ontario have not been consulted regarding the introduction of legalized gambling casinos, despite the fact that such a decision is a significant change of government policy and was never part of the mandate given to the government by the people of Ontario;

"Therefore, we, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the government immediately cease all moves to establish gambling casinos and that appropriate legislation be introduced into the assembly along with a process which includes significant opportunities for public consultation and full public hearings as a means of allowing the citizens of Ontario to express themselves on this new and questionable initiative."

I am very pleased to affix my signature hereunto.

#### AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE

**Mr Ted Arnott (Wellington):** To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, I have a petition that reads as follows:

"Please be informed that we are highly opposed to Bill 164. We feel that the passage of Bill 164 would increase auto claim costs and therefore premiums by 20%. It would also force drivers in low-risk groups to pay higher rates, subsidizing higher-risk drivers. As a result, over 80% of all drivers would pay more.

"We feel the government should stay out of the auto insurance business and deal with more important issues,

such as the high unemployment rate."

It's signed by approximately 50 residents of Fergus and Fort Erie, Ontario.

#### WEST SCARBOROUGH NEIGHBOURHOOD COMMUNITY CENTRE

**Mr Alvin Curling (Scarborough North):** I've got a petition submitted to me by the West Scarborough Neighbourhood Community Centre asking for support. In the city of Scarborough, there are over 21,000 residents of Italian origin. Few ethnocultural groups exist for this community with the exception of the bridging project with West Scarborough Neighbourhood Community Centre.

Through this program over 500 people, largely seniors, enjoy many valuable social, educational, recreational, cultural and health programs and services. Moreover, the programs serve to bring the scattered communities throughout Scarborough together.

It is hoped that the government will respond to the plea of this community and that they would warrant the assistance of this government to make sure that this project comes into being.

#### GAMBLING

**Mr Robert Frankford (Scarborough East):** I've a petition from about 30 residents of Scarborough East calling for the government to immediately cease all moves to establish gambling casinos and refrain from introducing video lottery terminals in the province of Ontario.

#### HEALTH CARE

**Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North):** I have two petitions. The first is on behalf of Mrs Iona Lynch and hundreds of people in the Matawatchan and Whitney portion of south Nipissing in my constituency, and these people are extremely concerned about not being able to retain, on a full-time basis, a medical practitioner under the underserved area program and are petitioning the province of Ontario that this deficiency in health care provision be remedied forthwith.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** And your second one?

#### WOLF POPULATION

**Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North):** The second petition I proudly present on behalf of Reeve Gilbert Welk, the reeve of Brudenell and Lyndoch township and hundreds of other citizens in Renfrew county who are extremely concerned about the dramatic growth in the wolf population. I'll just read a very short portion of this.

"Whereas the wolf population is increasing in rural areas of Renfrew county to the point where wolves are attacking domestic farm dogs, killing newborn calves, attacking sheep herds and wounding animals that farmers have to destroy;

"We petition the government that action be taken to



remedy the situation, in part, by reinstating the wolf bounty."

1540

#### POLICE USE OF FORCE

**Mr Hugh O'Neil (Quinte):** I have another petition which I would like to present. It has been sent to me by a Mr Keith Bottoms from the city of Trenton, along with many other signatures, and it reads:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"We, the undersigned, beg leave to petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"Whereas it is the duty of a free people to constantly guard and, if necessary, defend their freedoms; and

"Whereas it is the duty of the police officers of Ontario to exercise primary responsibility for upholding and enforcing the laws which guarantee these freedoms; and

"Whereas the people, through their Legislature, must fully support and not encumber the said police officers in the lawful performance of this very important duty; and

"Whereas police work inherently involves life-threatening situations, many of which cannot be seen in advance; and

"Whereas the police officer must therefore be allowed sufficient discretion to defend himself from these situations, with full accountability after the fact; and

"Whereas the new use-of-force regulations may well cause a police officer to pause momentarily before taking appropriate defensive measures, to the detriment of his life;

"Therefore, be it resolved that in order to allow the police officers of Ontario to continue to perform their duties in the fine manner to which we have been accustomed, without undue restrictions on their right to defend themselves, we ask this House to reject and cancel the implementation of the proposed new use-of-force regulations."

I add my name to this petition.

#### ONTARIO HYDRO

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** Mr Speaker, on a point of order around the petitions, if I might: Yesterday, I attended at a public meeting with the honourable Minister of Natural Resources, the Minister of Environment and Energy, as he now is called, and I received a petition of some 15,564 people in the province to present to the Legislature with respect to the issue of Bruce A and making sure that it continued in operation and that the people of the province had reasonably priced power.

Mr Speaker, my question to you is around the circulation of that petition to ensure that the petition itself will go to the broadest number of people. I presume that if I bring it here to this place, it is appropriate only to circulate it to the Minister of Environment and Energy

and that this is all the duty the Legislative Assembly requires.

It seems to me, sir, that because of the interesting nature of the relationship between Hydro and the minister, my point of order really is to inquire whether or not the Legislative Assembly will forward it also to Ontario Hydro, because of its unique content and because of the attempt by the government of today to distance itself from the decision of the chairman, or at least the type of decision taken by the chairman.

I wonder if I can count on the Legislative Assembly to forward it not only to the minister, but also in its entirety to the chairman of Hydro so that he and the board members will be aware that 15,564 people in the province have signed a petition over a very short period of weeks asking that the Bruce A plant stay in operation, and in fact asking that the viability study, which was halted by the chairman of Hydro be completed so that we can have the full story on Bruce A and its operation.

**Hon Bud Wildman (Minister of Environment and Energy):** On the point of order.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** On the point of order, yes, Minister?

**Hon Mr Wildman:** I'm sure that the member did not intend to give a speech but rather really wanted to express his concerns about how the petition might be forwarded. I would say to you, Mr Speaker, that it is my understanding as a member of this House for a number of years that a petition to the Legislature is also often addressed to the Lieutenant Governor in Council. So that then is to the whole government, and in fact from the tradition of an ordinary citizen being able to petition the crown. I would say that therefore a petition going to the assembly is directed not just to the Minister of Environment and Energy but to the whole government, and frankly I'd be happy to turn over the petition to the chair of Ontario Hydro.

**The Speaker:** Indeed, the minister seems to have answered the inquiry by the honourable member for Bruce. I will say to the member for Bruce, first of all, that I appreciate the point he's brought to my attention. Indeed, the procedures are quite clear, and the minister's correct: The petitions are addressed to the Lieutenant Governor in Council. It is not up to the assembly to forward the petitions to crown agencies, of which Ontario Hydro is one. However, the minister has made an undertaking to in fact do as you had asked and that would seem to be a good resolution to the request.

Are there any other petitions?

#### MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES

**Mr Gary Wilson (Kingston and The Islands):** I have a petition signed by nearly 700 people in my area.

"To the Legislature of Ontario:

"Whereas the Ministry of Health is proposing to reduce the budget of the 10 provincial psychiatric

hospitals by \$45 million without first having developed community services for the seriously mentally ill; and

"Whereas we believe that this measure will have tragic results for those individuals who have major illnesses such as schizophrenia, which afflicts one out of 100 people at some time during their lives and places an enormous burden on them and their families if left untreated,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislature of Ontario as follows:

"We, the Kingston chapter of Ontario Friends of Schizophrenics, and others who support us wish to petition the Ontario Legislature not to cut back the funding to those people who need care and services in our psychiatric hospitals and in the community."

I affix my name to this petition.

#### RESPONSE TO PETITION

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: Again, concerning petitions, under standing order 36(h)—and I will read it for you—"Within eight sessional days of its presentation, the government shall file a response to a petition with the Clerk of the House and shall provide a copy of the response to the member who presented the petition."

Under this standing order, I would like to bring to your attention that while there may have been some materials being filed with the Clerk, there has not been, to my knowledge at least, on several occasions from members of our caucus, a receipt of that filing by the government.

It may be that they have omitted to send notice or the filing of the copy with the Clerk's table to the members. If that is so, sir, I would ask that a report be obtained from the Clerk as to the number of filings that he currently has in his possession and that we then will be able to seek the copies from the government as they are required to provide for us within the eight sessional days.

As you know, Mr Speaker, I probably wouldn't stand on this point of order this early in the session, except that we have come to discover that if we overlook any part of our standing orders at any time, it is taken as being a consent to a change of the standing orders. We know from past habits that the standing orders are being manipulated far too often for our liking and it is causing us considerable concern about our ability to provide dissent and provide some opposition to the matters that are being brought forward to be studied by the government party.

So, Mr Speaker, I would ask, if you could, to verify that all petitions in the last session were reported to the Clerk and that, if there were some omissions, we should pursue those, because the petitioners require a response and we, as their representatives, require that copy so that we can pursue our duties.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** The honourable member for Bruce raises a concern and one which I would share with him. The standing order is there to ensure that the petitioner receives a response and that the government responds within eight days.

I think the member can appreciate that there is quite a volume of petitions that are filed during a session. We will, however, endeavour to track down the information which he seeks. This may take a little bit of time, but we'll do our best. Of course, at the same time, we would ask that, if at all possible, the minister to whom the petition is directed would respond as quickly as possible so that no one is inconvenienced.

**Mr Elston:** Sir, I should apologize. Of course the volume of petitions is extremely high. What I should do, I think, in fairness to the Clerk and the table, because there are a number of these, perhaps I should go to at least the members I know about and first identify them so that I can bring their names and the dates, roughly, to the Clerk.

If there is a problem, by the way, that the eight sessional days are passing without the filing and if there is a problem with many of these petitions not being properly responded to, I think that perhaps in a general sense we should do something about it. We should require absolute compliance with the petition standing orders. We can't put anything on the table that's not in good form, but if they get there and if they are in proper form, then we ought to be assured that there is a response.

#### 1550

I sense that there are a number of non-replied-to petitions, and if that is the case, then I think we ought to pursue that here in this House to force compliance. By the way, I might ask, if that is the case, what can we do to force compliance with the standing orders?

**The Speaker:** It may be of some disappointment to the member to learn that there are no sanctions. There's a standing order. It asks that certain things be done. If the eight days, for example, are not complied with, there is no particular penalty for that.

I would certainly agree with the member's point that the standing orders should be adhered to, just as all standing orders should be. It would be helpful, of course, as he mentions, if he could give us specifics as to which petitions have not been responded to that were in acceptable form, and I would certainly urge all involved to provide answers as quickly as possible.

**Mr Elston:** One final point, one observation, Mr Speaker. I understand this. I know your patience is growing a little thin, but it looks like the only people against whom there is any ability to enforce the standing orders are in fact the minority. If in fact there is a clause in here that prevents us from speaking more than four days, because a motion comes on or whatever under the



new rules, then a vote of the majority can force us to be silenced on certain matters.

However, if representatives of the majority in this Parliament decide that they will not comply with the standing orders, either by refusing to answer questions, as is sort of the spirit of the standing orders, or if they refuse to provide within eight sessional days an answer to the petition, there isn't apparently anything that this House can do. I don't understand how the standing orders are to be enforced always against the minority but hardly ever against the majority.

I ask you, sir, to consider your role. I don't want you to have to tell the Premier he's going to lose an extra 10% or 15% on top of the salary cut he's going to take, but there must be something if these standing orders are to have any real merit for the entire House and the operation of the entire House. I really do say to you, sir, that if a petition is to be responded to in eight days and it is not and there is no sanction, then there is nothing worthwhile in producing the petition for this Legislative Assembly.

There is all the tradition around the requirement of the crown to respond to subjects when they come by petition to ask for some relief. I don't know what we can do, sir, as the minority, always having the standing orders enforced against us by sheer weight of numbers when in fact the minority has no ability to require those people to play by the rules.

We understand this government never really has understood how to play by these rules, but to be quite honest, sir, it is partly a responsibility of the chamber to ensure that every member is treated equally and fairly. In fact the standing orders are enforced against all members if they transgress them.

We have a problem. The Liberals and the Conservatives feel the weight of these standing orders as amended by the majority party, but those people don't have to comply hardly at all.

**The Speaker:** Rather than prolong the discussion, I think the member will realize that if sanctions are to be placed in the standing orders, then it requires a change in the standing orders. There is a committee whose responsibility it is to take a look at the standing orders from time to time and that may very well be what it wants to do in this instance.

#### INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

EDUCATION STATUTE LAW  
AMENDMENT ACT, 1993

LOI DE 1993 MODIFIANT DES LOIS  
EN CE QUI CONCERNE L'ÉDUCATION

On motion by Mr Cooke, the following bill was given first reading:

Bill 4, An Act to amend certain Acts relating to Education / Loi modifiant certaines lois en ce qui concerne l'éducation.

**Hon David S. Cooke (Minister of Education and Training):** This bill contains all provisions previously included in Bill 37 and all but one of the provisions contained in Bill 88. Amendments in this bill will continue to make provision for junior kindergarten mandatory for school boards by September 1994; however, the bill allows a phase-in period of three years according to conditions to be set out in a regulation.

Among the new measures introduced in the bill is one which will allow school boards, French-language sections of school boards and provincial schools to use American sign language and la langue des signes québécois as languages of instruction for deaf and hard-of-hearing students. It's the first jurisdiction in the world to do this.

The bill also amends the act to allow Ontario to pay towards the education cost of elementary and secondary students who have received prior approval from OHIP for out-of-country medical treatment, in line with the request from the opposition critics. These are some of the measures contained in this bill.

506548 ONTARIO LIMITED ACT, 1993

On motion by Mr Harnick, the following bill was given first reading:

Bill Pr1, An Act to revive 506548 Ontario Limited.

REGIONAL MUNICIPALITY OF DURHAM  
AMENDMENT ACT  
(NEWCASTLE-CLARINGTON), 1993

LOI DE 1993 MODIFIANT LA LOI  
SUR LA MUNICIPALITÉ RÉGIONALE DE  
DURHAM (NEWCASTLE-CLARINGTON)

On motion by Mr Mills, the following bill was given first reading:

Bill 6, An Act to amend the Regional Municipality of Durham Act / Loi modifiant la Loi sur la municipalité régionale de Durham.

**Mr Gordon Mills (Durham East):** This bill changes the name of the town of Newcastle to the municipality of Clarington. Clarington is derived from Clarke and Darlington, the names of the two original municipalities that are now contained in the current municipality.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Introduction of bills. The Minister of Municipal Affairs.

**Hon Ed Philip (Minister of Municipal Affairs):** As someone who has plenty of my cards that he hands out from time to time, I thought he'd recognize me.

MUNICIPAL STATUTE LAW  
AMENDMENT ACT, 1993

LOI DE 1993 MODIFIANT DES LOIS  
RELATIVES AUX MUNICIPALITÉS

On motion by Mr Philip, the following bill was given first reading:

Bill 7, An Act to amend certain Acts related to Municipalities concerning Waste Management / Loi modifiant certaines lois relatives aux municipalités en ce

qui concerne la gestion des déchets.

**Hon Ed Philip (Minister of Municipal Affairs):** This bill amends various municipal statutes to expand the waste management powers available to municipalities.

JOHN G. TODD AGENCIES LIMITED ACT, 1993

On motion by Mr Cooper, the following bill was given first reading:

Bill Pr21, An Act to revive John G. Todd Agencies Limited.

1600

### ORDERS OF THE DAY

#### THRONE SPEECH DEBATE

Resuming the adjourned debate on the amendment to the amendment to the motion for an address in reply to the speech of His Honour the Lieutenant Governor at the opening of the session.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** I recognize the honourable member for Eglinton.

**Ms Dianne Poole (Eglinton):** Thank you, Mr Speaker. I would like to address a few remarks on the speech from the throne that has been put forward by this NDP government.

When I was preparing my remarks, I thought I'd go back to the first speech from the throne given by this government to see if there was any marked difference. When I read the first speech from the throne, I noticed that there was something in it that was noticeably absent from this speech from the throne, and that is any reference to the word "integrity."

Let me read you some of the words that were in the speech from the throne dated November 20, 1990:

"My government's first challenge is to earn the trust and respect of the people of Ontario. My government's integrity will be measured by the way this government is run and our relations with the people we serve....We will set clear standards of behaviour for the conduct of ministers, members of the Legislature and senior government officials....We will introduce legislation on conflict of interest at both provincial and municipal levels....We must create a greater sense of integrity in the work of government. We are under no illusions that this will be easy, since the public remains distrustful of governments and other large institutions. It is our job to address that cynicism and to overcome it. When my government makes mistakes, it will admit them."

**Mr Gordon Mills (Durham East):** We've already read it.

**Ms Poole:** Now Mr Mills across the way calls out, "We've already read it." That isn't the point, Mr Speaker. They may have read it, but they certainly didn't heed it.

So when it came to this speech from the throne, I was particularly interested to see if they made reference to

the word "integrity," because they have badly fallen short. The people of this province will not only judge this government on its integrity; they will also judge it on competence, they will judge it on whether it has listened to the people, they will judge it on management. But I think, above all, people will be looking for integrity in their next government, because they have not found it in this one.

I would like to read to members from an article which was in the Ottawa Citizen recently. It was by Professor Rob Martin, who's a law professor at the University of Western Ontario. It's also interesting to note that Professor Martin was a candidate for the federal NDP. I'll just quote excerpts from it.

First of all, he goes on to ways that he thinks the NDP has betrayed its own party by what it has not delivered in government. Then he says:

"I think the Rae government has done more than simply betray its supporters....The Rae government has fundamentally corrupted our public life and done so in ways from which we may never recover.

"No government has so rigorously or so effectively politicized the province's public service. Ontario once had a public service we could be proud of. But today loyalty to Rae and his party and its ideology is more important than competence. People of questionable ability have been recruited and promoted. Morale is said to be low.

"But the greatest sin of the Rae government has been its arrogance. The failures have not been because of inexperience or incompetence, although there's been plenty of both. The real culprit has been arrogance," because "Rae and his government simply do not believe the rules or traditions of our political system apply to them.

"And in manifesting this arrogance, Rae and his ministers have done enormous damage to the legitimacy of our institutions. The survival of democratic institutions is not automatic. We have no special historical guarantee as Canadians that we will always enjoy democratic government.

"Democratic government demands politicians respect the institutions temporarily placed in their care. It demands politicians who realize these institutions are more important than they and their egos. But Robert K. Rae through his political career has been guided solely by his ego.

"The jig is up. This government has lost its legitimacy. It's lost its authority to govern. That was the point at which Rae should have resigned. But he stays on without ideas, without policies and without direction."

I find that particularly interesting because it comes from a person who was very committed to the NDP and to the ideals of an NDP government and profound



disillusionment because he feels that this government has not met what it had said in its promises, that it has not shown competence, it has not shown that integrity.

There was another article which caught my eye which was by Geoffrey Stevens, and I think he's a very respected columnist with the Toronto Star. He talks about the impact on this government of the lack of integrity. He says that Bob Rae misread his mandate, and I'll quote:

"Because he misread his mandate, Rae misjudged Ontarians' tolerance for the escapades, sexual or other, of some of his members.

"Ontario voters are a conservative lot. They were offended by the cabinet clown who had the hots for a barmaid and allegedly dangled the prospect of a government job to lure the lass into bed; by the tacky attempt to leak the criminal record of a woman who had precipitated the resignation of another Rae minister; by the spectacle of Rae steadfastly defending a third minister who took a lie detector test to prove that she had fibbed when she purported to disclose confidential information about a doctor. And so on and so on."

No matter what this government thinks, integrity is very important to the history and the traditions of not only this Parliament but of this province and the expectations of people in this province. And yet we have a minister whose office attempted to fix parking tickets. We have another minister who took a lie detector test to prove that she had lied, and still remained in cabinet. We have yet another minister who was linked to the sexual abuse inquiry at Grandview and then had the audacity to joke about it afterwards. We have another minister who was found to have gouged her tenants. We have a minister, in fact, the prime minister of this province, the Premier, Bob Rae, whose executive assistant wrote a letter to the chair of the Ontario Municipal Board encouraging expedited hearings and expressing support for a development in the Premier's own riding. Then we have the affair, what's called the North affair, where the minister resigned as tourism minister after police began investigating a woman's report that she was offered a job in his ministry in exchange for sexual favours.

And two very recent things that have dominated I think not only the media but also the minds of people in this province are the integrity or lack of integrity shown by the Piper affair and the Masters affair. In both these instances the government of Ontario has shown that it was more interested in hiding the facts and in covering up its own record than it was in protecting the interests of people of this province and in particular protecting the interests of women in this province.

If we want confidence in our government we have to demand integrity. We have to demand that this government change its ways. We have to say that they should not be politicizing the Ontario civil service. We have to say that they have to be showing confidence and com-

petence in what they are to do. We have to be able to say that the deputy ministers and the civil servants have confidence in this government, and we cannot say that. By September 1992, 20 deputy ministers had been demoted, fired or in fact driven away. One of the particularly sad facts about that is that many of the female deputy ministers recruited by the previous Liberal government have left. They have left because they could not tolerate working for a government in which they have no confidence and which they feel has no integrity.

As we look at this speech from the throne and we find that there's no mention of integrity, we know why: because this government does not have any. We cannot expect miracles. Over the next two years of their mandate, we cannot expect what they do not have to give, but I can tell the members of the NDP this thing: If they do not lead by example, if they do not take responsibility for their mistakes, then the people of Ontario will have an answer for them in the next election, and it is utter rejection.

1610

**Mr Dave Johnson (Don Mills):** I rise in response to the throne speech. This is my first opportunity to speak.

[Applause]

**Mr Steven W. Mahoney (Mississauga West):** That's the last applause you're getting from over here.

**Mr Dave Johnson:** Okay, but I appreciate that. I haven't got the same experience, obviously, as the honourable members in the House, so I hope you'll bear with me in my comments. But I do have the experience of having gone through a recent by-election and I do have experience municipally, and perhaps that experience, along with the results of that particular election, will assist me in making my comments today.

I thank the people of Don Mills for having elected me. It was quite an honour and a privilege to run in the election and to be elected.

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** Did the NDP run a candidate in that by-election?

**Mr Dave Johnson:** There was a deposit that was lost, in response to a question that's coming up on my right.

I must say that there were a number of concerns that were raised by the people of Don Mills through that by-election. This comes as no surprise, I'm sure, to the members of this House, that there's a great deal of concern out there in the general community, many different concerns on many different topics, one of them, for example, being the field of education.

There is a great deal of concern regarding the cost of education, regarding the quality of education. I'm very pleased to see in the throne speech that there's some recognition of the fact that education should be an issue to focus on over the next period of time, but I must say that I'm disappointed that the focus seems to be very

limited, a little bit of too little, too late.

The throne speech recommends the setting up of a Commission on Learning, which I think could well be a process that consumes a lot of time, consumes a lot of energy. You can ask the people today when you go to the doors, and the people have valid suggestions. I think there's a sum of knowledge in this House that can deal with the issues on education without prolonging the matter through a Commission on Learning.

I talked to the parents. The parents are concerned about the quality of education for their children. They're aware of the fact that children come through the education system and graduate and some of them have the ability neither to read and write nor to do basic mathematics.

Now, I talked to one person at one door during this campaign who expressed to me concern. She was and is in the personnel section of a large company here in Metropolitan Toronto. Her function is to interview the young people who are coming to her company to assess their abilities and to see if there's a position within her company. She expressed shock and dismay to me at what she was seeing: young people coming to her seeking a position in an age of technology, in an age where skills are required to suit them for the challenge of the future, and yet these people, in many cases, did not have the ability to read, did not have the ability to write and did not have basic mathematics skills.

During the election campaign I received a letter—and perhaps this letter expresses it as well—from a constituent. The writer says:

"Ontario is the greatest province in Canada. It achieved that plateau by hard work, high morals and an excellent educational system. I was shocked recently to hear from a teacher that he had chosen to teach his grade 6 students to learn to write;"—grade 6 students to learn to write—"that it was not a requirement. Computers can never replace the basic 3Rs."

That's the sort of problem we face today and that's the problem I was hoping would be addressed with a little more vision, with a little more imagination, through the throne speech.

The aspect of testing in grade 9, in some fuzzy way at an odd time in the year, on a selected topic and not a mainstream topic, without testing mathematical skills, for example, I think is again a very timid step. I think it could well be a great deal of cost with very little benefit for the parents or the educational system within the province of Ontario. So I'm very disappointed with regard to the throne speech's approach to education.

But at least the throne speech did mention education. One topic that wasn't mentioned in the throne speech was crime and safety within our communities. Again through the by-election process, I've come to understand that people are very concerned, across not only my

riding but across this province, about the incidence of crime in their communities. People who live in apartment buildings, people who live in houses, are uniformly expressing this concern that we need to address crime, that we need to make our communities safer places to live. There's no mention in the throne speech about this concern that many people are expressing.

I think the throne speech should have mentioned this concern. It could have mentioned, for example, that in Metropolitan Toronto drug and alcohol abuse pertains to about 40% of the crime within our community. We really need to address this kind of problem, but it was silent on that issue. It could have mentioned that education could have been an important component of a crime package. Obviously, full employment will be of assistance.

It could have mentioned the tough job that our police, our Ontario Provincial Police, our Metropolitan Toronto police, have to deal with in their communities. It could have acknowledged that they do an excellent job under very trying conditions and that we need to, as a provincial government, work with the police forces and develop programs to assist the police forces in dealing with the crimes within our community. But it was silent in that regard and I think, frankly, that that's a serious omission.

Notwithstanding those concerns, having gone through the by-election process, the prime concern that I have heard through my municipal days concerns the economy and the financial status of the province of Ontario. When I first arrived in this House about a week ago, I became aware that the deficit of the province of Ontario, which had been \$30 billion in 1985, a deficit that had accumulated since the inception of the province of Ontario, up to \$30 billion in 1985, now is estimated to be about \$68 billion. So in the course of about seven or eight years, the deficit has climbed from about \$30 billion to about \$68 billion, and the projections that we now hear from the government are that it's possible that within three years' time, the deficit will climb to \$120 billion, a tremendous mortgage on the future of our province, on the future of our children and our grandchildren.

Why did this happen? Why are we in such a difficult position? Some people have said that the problem is spending and some have said that the problem is revenue, so I checked those numbers. The spending in 1985, through the province of Ontario, was about \$28.8 billion. That grew, year after year, till the most recent year, in which the spending was \$53.9 billion. That is an increase, each and every year since 1985, of about 12% a year. Spending has increased by about 12% a year each and every year since 1985. The rate of inflation, I might add, during that period of time was 4.3% each and every year, so that the rate of spending was almost triple the rate of inflation.

I have been associated with no other level of gov-



ernment, either regional or local, that has had expenditure increases of that magnitude; indeed, we've experienced considerably less. But then, we've had to tackle the issue of government spending.

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I can say that at the local level in East York we identified the problem of spending, we looked at ways and means to make the government operations more efficient, and we reduced our spending. The spending in East York, the municipality I represented until very recently, will actually be less in 1993 than it was in 1991. We did that by making our operations more efficient, by reducing staff through attrition, by reducing equipment and by any number of ways. I might add that we did this in concert with the private sector as well—this is sometimes called contracting out—where we found that the private sector could be more efficient than we were. So our expenditures have gone down.

In Metropolitan Toronto, another level of government I've been associated with, we're in the second year of a program of flat-lining the services—the second year. We didn't start this year; we didn't wait till 1993 to start. We saw this problem coming over a year ago, indeed about two years ago, and we started the budget process then to attack the spending.

I looked at the revenue side as well, and what I found was that in 1985 the revenue for the province of Ontario was \$26.2 billion, and that has climbed to a present \$41.8 billion. That represents almost 9% a year in terms of revenue growth. I've heard that it's been said that we have a revenue problem, that we don't have an expenditure problem—which I certainly disagree with—but that we have a revenue problem. There may be some who think that 8.5% to 9% revenue growth a year for the last seven or eight years is insufficient for a government to operate, but I certainly would not be the one to convey that message. That is a significant growth in revenue and one that should have, through that period of time, served to provide the programs needed by the people of the province of Ontario without huge spending increases.

The message, again through the by-election, was that we need initiatives to cut spending. I'm pleased to see that the throne speech addresses that. I'm far from convinced that the government is serious in accomplishing that, but at least I'm pleased to see that it has identified that.

We don't need new taxes. What I've heard clearly through the by-election process is that people and businesses cannot tolerate more taxes. We need to create jobs. And how do we do that? Again through the by-election process, there's a great deal of concern about unemployment, and what I've heard is that, for example, the commercial concentration tax is a tax within southern Ontario that is sucking \$120 million each and every year out of the economy of southern Ontario. This is a severe disincentive to job creation, it's a severe disincentive to

investment within southern Ontario. That tax should be repealed. If we repeal that tax, that will assist in job creation.

I must say that Bill 40, the labour bill, is a severe disincentive to business creation and to investment. I have been involved in meetings with the mayors of the GTA, and almost unanimously the mayors have indicated that Bill 40 is a concern of the businesses within their community. As a matter of fact, the mayor of the city of Mississauga related to me a story. She had been in Europe, and one of the first questions she was asked in Europe by potential investors was what was going on with Bill 40. There was concern by potential investors in Europe with regard to this particular bill.

In East York, we created an economic development task force. We sat down with the business community and said, "We have a problem: We have a problem in our municipality, and of course we have a problem in the province of Ontario." We sat down with the business leaders and the community leaders and said: "What can we do to promote business growth? What sort of measures can we take to promote business growth to create jobs, to create investment and to create assessment for the municipality?"

We investigated different areas such as planning, we investigated infrastructure, but what we kept coming back to, time after time, was the cost of doing business within Metropolitan Toronto, within the province of Ontario. We are losing businesses because they cannot be competitive. They are going south into the United States.

Taxes: We cannot impose more taxes on the business community; again the commercial concentration tax. Finally, an issue that kept coming up over and over again was the cost of school education on the property tax. Businesses and individuals are carrying a serious load, a load that is too much of a burden on their property taxes. This is a tax that the business community cannot afford if it's going to be competitive, particularly here in Metropolitan Toronto, where 100% of the cost of education is being paid by the property taxpayer and the province of Ontario subsidizes education not at all. There is no provincial support here in Metropolitan Toronto.

In just a few closing remarks, I could say that I was also disappointed that there was no mention made in the throne speech of the complete picture in terms of waste disposal. Yes, there was mention made of recycling, reuse and reduction of waste, but one of the major issues that is faced by many municipalities is the one with which we started off this meeting today, in terms of finding landfill sites and the environmental process and looking at all the options.

We want to reduce as much garbage as we can, we want to reuse as much of the material as we can, and we want to recycle certainly as much as we can, but there

will still be waste left over and that waste must be addressed. The system that's put in place today to address that waste is not a good one. I was hoping that the throne speech would offer some initiatives in this regard in terms of working with the municipalities in terms of the environmental process that so many municipalities find so cumbersome, so costly and time-consuming, and that we might look at alternatives such as the Kirkland Lake alternative for waste disposal, and that we might look at incineration as part of that package, as they do in Europe in so many cases, with high-technology incinerators, and as they do in Japan. We should look at those alternatives. But you see none of those initiatives in the throne speech, and I'm disappointed by that.

I must say that that's my general feeling about the throne speech. Although I have no previous throne speeches to compare it with, I was disappointed and a little bit puzzled by the throne speech.

**Mr Bob Huget (Sarnia):** I'm pleased to rise today to speak to the throne speech, and I'm proud of the fact that this government is continuing its commitment to the people of Ontario by emphasizing the need to get people back to work.

Last week, we heard our government's plan to help Ontario come out of this recession as strongly as possible. Our plan consists of 10 points, 10 points that are all geared to revitalizing and securing Ontario as a leader in this country. The goal is to return Ontario to a prosperity that is based on responsible fiscal management, investments in jobs, partnerships between government, business and labour, principles of fairness and human dignity, respect for the environment and an abiding concern to provide for the vulnerable among us, including our children.

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To achieve those overall objectives, our government is investing in our communities. Quite simply, we must create jobs. Last year alone, the Jobs Ontario Capital fund created about 75,000 jobs. I know there is criticism from the opposition parties in this House that we are simply recycling an old program. Quite frankly, it works, and we will recycle it and we will continue to ensure that it does work.

The government, municipalities and the private sector will invest some \$6 billion over the next 10 years. That investment in our highways, public transit, water quality and telecommunications will help maintain Ontario as a good place to live, work and invest in.

Our government is also emphasizing education and training. We must ensure quality education and training. That investment in education and training is an investment in our future and our youth. I look forward to a comprehensive study on our elementary and secondary education and to the forthcoming reading and writing skills testing for grade 9 students. Quite simply, I believe

we must continue to strive for the best levels of education possible so that today's children are ready to take the reins of the future strongly and confidently.

Jobs Ontario Youth will again this summer provide opportunities to our youth. The additional \$25 million allocated for this program will create 10,000 summer jobs, and thousands of people have already benefited from the Jobs Ontario Training funds in this province. A growing awareness of the benefits of this program will ensure that thousands more will benefit.

The Ontario Training and Adjustment Board will complement the success of the training funds. OTAB is yet another example of how partnerships work. While I'm on the subject, I urge the opposition parties in this House to stop holding that bill up in committee. This is not a time for filibuster; this is a time for action.

**Mr Elston:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: That last statement by the member does not fully convey the truth of the existence of that bill's—

*Interjection.*

**Mr Elston:** He was casting aspersions on the motives of the members of the opposition and that is not allowed.

**The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin):** Thank you.

**Mr Elston:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I wish you to ask him to withdraw his allegation that we were doing something we are not doing in that committee. We have the right to examine the bill. He was saying something that was not true. He was casting aspersions on the motives of our members in that committee and I ask that he withdraw the allegation, because we have been allowed only a very brief time to do the questioning on that bill. Mr Speaker, you cannot allow those types of assertions to go on and cause this House to break out in a very disagreeable state of affairs.

**The Deputy Speaker:** I do not consider this a point of order.

**Mr Elston:** Why?

**The Deputy Speaker:** I do not consider this a point of order.

**Mr Huget:** Our government is also working to build partnerships and strengthen industry and it's clear that we must work together in this province. There is much truth to the saying that there is strength in numbers. The Ontario innovation and productivity service and the Ontario investment centre will make it easier for companies to take advantage of new technology and easier for potential investors to invest in Ontario. The Ontario investment fund, government and private sector in partnership, will give Ontario companies access to long-term capital and investment.

Our government is supporting communities and small business. We must simply recognize and support the



grass roots of Ontario. Our farms and small and medium-sized businesses have been an extremely important element of Ontario society.

By establishing community investment share and loan programs, we will allow small and medium business more access to money. This initiative, along with providing farmers access to \$100 million over the next year through the commodity loan guarantee program, shows this government's support for the backbone of Ontario.

The government is expanding worker protection and participation. We must protect our workers. More worker partnership agreements will be sought in order to help save communities and recognize the crucial role of employees.

Pay equity will be extended to an additional 400,000 women, showing this government's commitment to working women in this province.

The government is also reforming health care. We must protect our health care system. This government is committed to the ongoing reform of our system to ensure its integrity, efficiency and affordability. The long-awaited, long-term care reform will provide a better way of dealing with the many areas of care needed by our elderly and disabled members in our society.

Our government is sustaining the environment. We must ensure the health of our environment. Our commitment to the environment has been strong and we will continue to meet the challenge of sustaining our environment.

The environmental bill of rights is going through revisions before being introduced into this House. This bill will give Ontario residents unprecedented rights and powers to ensure that government upholds its environmental laws, policies and regulations. It will also provide more protection for employees who report environmental wrongdoing in their organizations and make the decision-making process on environmental matters open to public scrutiny.

We have shown our leadership in North America. Ontario was the first jurisdiction to place a ban on new municipal solid waste incinerators. We responded to the serious human health and environmental concerns associated with incineration by enacting this ban.

I am pleased to note the Minister of Environment and Energy's comments today on waste reduction. I am proud that we have achieved a 25% reduction in the amount of waste going to municipal landfills, and I'm very optimistic that the second target, 50% reduction by the year 2000, will also be achieved.

I recently made an announcement in Sarnia that granted \$255,000 for our local blue box program. After expansion of our reduce, reuse and recycle programs, Ontario will be a leader in this area in Canada. Recycling is working, but there is more work to be done.

The Ontario Clean Water Agency was announced on February 9 of this year. The agency will make provincial investments and assist municipalities in planning and developing water and sewage services in a way that protects human health and the environment, encourages the conservation of water and efficient use of resources, and supports provincial land use and human settlement policies.

We are actively working towards a healthier environment in many other ways as well. The pollution prevention office will encourage all stakeholders to make pollution prevention the primary means of achieving their environmental priorities. We have made much progress in improving the efficiency and effectiveness of approvals and the environmental assessment process.

It's interesting to note that the environmental industry is a significant force in the Ontario economy, and the Ministry of Environment and Energy is committed to promoting it. The green industry in this province is expected to grow at a rate of 14% a year for the next five years.

Our government is strengthening social justice in this province. We must continue to fight to end racism. Proceeding on with the work of Stephen Lewis's report on race relations, the Cabinet Round Table on Anti-Racism and passage of the Employment Equity Act will bring about positive change, change in attitudes and practices that has been much slower than the changing face of our society. We must strive for the equality of all individuals in Ontario.

Our government is supporting families and helping them get back to work. We must change our social assistance programs. There is a great need to overhaul our present system, how it is administered and what the objectives of the program are. Support is needed to help people break free of social assistance and become self-sustaining. We will continue our process of reform.

#### 1640

Our government is also controlling government costs

and it's clear we must start right there. This government is faced with a very serious situation. We must control costs, reduce the deficit and maintain services and investment in jobs. We will obtain our goal by balancing government spending cuts, fair revenue increases and negotiating a social contract with our partners in the public sector.

We have an agenda, one that bears hope: hope that all persons may be treated equally, hope that we all have the basic education and training that we need and hope that we can all obtain meaningful work. I sincerely hope our agenda, our plan, will be supported by business, workers and government in a spirit of working together for the benefit of all Ontarians.

These are definitely plans laid today for a brighter

tomorrow. I and my colleagues on this side of the House are anxious to get on with the job, the job of rebuilding our economy and at the same time continuing our work to build a fair society.

**Mrs Yvonne O'Neill (Ottawa-Rideau):** I rise today to participate in the debate on the throne speech, a speech, I feel compelled to say, that is more notable for its deficits than its assets.

As critic for Community and Social Services and for seniors' affairs, I looked and listened for an indication that the less fortunate, those in need and seniors who have lived out their lives in Ontario could find a small beacon of hope.

As the speech itself states, the social assistance system is not working in Ontario. It has been referred to as an administratively inefficient nightmare. With rising incidents of family breakdown, more families are headed by single parents. With deinstitutionalization, there's been a significant increase in the number of disabled and family care givers who find it necessary to access the system.

With changes to the federal unemployment insurance legislation, more of the unemployed, that is more UI recipients, enter welfare rolls sooner. With these and many other situations, we have a social assistance system in crisis. This government's answer is a white paper to be released some time in early summer, we heard today. Unbelievable.

What we really need is some action on the recommendations of the reports which have already been completed and accepted in this province: Transitions, Back on Track, Time For Action. We do not need more study—we definitely do not need more study—we do not need more costly paper gathering dust up on a minister's shelf. We need to get on with the real work of reform following the blueprints and frameworks which already exist—I repeat, already exist. Decades of study and input from both recipients and professionals are already available.

What passes for action, as defined by this government, is its one touted initiative, the Jobs Ontario Training fund, a program where job training masquerades as job creation, a program with very disappointing results to date.

The supports to employment program, STEP, once a very effective social policy tool begun by the previous Liberal government and embraced by all sides of this House, is becoming more and more restrictive in its entry criteria, thereby discouraging the very people it was intended to help.

Nearly three years into their mandate, the Back on Track social assistance reforms can best be described as derailed, yet the best this government can offer—white paper. Where is the real social assistance reform? I humbly suggest nowhere in sight.

The throne speech has even less to say about seniors. Ontario seniors continue to have feelings of uncertainty and instability and express them to most of us on a daily basis. They are trying to interpret the policy decisions of this NDP government. They are discouraged by the perception that the government is trying to solve its economic problems at their expense and the expense of others in this province who are in need.

Bill 164, this government's answer to auto insurance, will hit seniors hard. During the public hearing process on this piece of legislation the people of Ontario made it very clear that they believe Bill 164 will make auto insurance more expensive, especially for seniors, an expensive burden with no improved coverage. No improved coverage, but more expensive.

We hope and trust, again on behalf of the seniors of this province, that the long-term care reforms will proceed despite, to this date, lack of detailed funding plans, fuzzy time lines and continued reannouncements of reannouncements. We still are anxious for the studies of the chronic care role study which were due in January. We are anxious for the promised announcements of the details of the task force to provide compensation to family care givers, to the frail elderly or disabled persons.

I urge this government to get on with it. I urge them to finally bring to this House in a concrete form a long-term care proposal with real time lines, with real financial commitments and with real initiatives.

I regret that I have to turn again to the tragedy of Grandview, an apex of violence against women. At the very highest levels of this government to the very doors of the Premier's office, this administration has proven itself devoid of action, indeed of integrity, in dealing with this important issue, this issue of violence against women.

The contemptible behaviour of members of this government, both elected and appointed, is dismissed out of hand by the Premier and the cabinet, who hide behind police investigations and refuse to come clean day after day and again today within this Legislature or to the people of Ontario. By not confronting the hard decisions forced upon him by the scandals of his staff and a member of his caucus, the Premier is seen as condoning behaviour which in his very own words is "frankly appalling and quite unacceptable." The Premier's own words.

To me and to the people of Ontario, this is perhaps the saddest disappointment of all, the lack of integrity in this government, its persistent and consistent lack of support for the survivors of Grandview.

Access to training opportunities, financial aid for legal costs and compensation, these things have been promised again and again by minister and by minister over on the government side, but promises are not good enough for



these victims. We grow tired of the hollow words from the Premier, the Attorney General and the Minister of Community and Social Services in view of the mishandling, foot-dragging, perhaps even coverup of the tragedy of Grandview.

It is in this environment of mistrust that we receive this speech from the throne, a speech which contains no leadership for job creation or economic growth to attract much-needed investment in Ontario. It contains indeed no fulfilment even of past promises for those in need or for seniors whose patience is wearing very, very thin.

This throne speech contributes to an environment of hopelessness and despair in which many people of this province are worried about both their immediate future and more seriously their long-range future. This throne speech represents a complete failure to restore either public confidence or the public's faith in the efficient and competent operations of their political institutions. This throne speech provides no inspiration and no new beginnings. Ontario in the 1990s needs boldness, needs leadership, and I regret to say that we find neither in this government blueprint for the future.

I close by sharing an editorial cartoon from the Windsor Star of March 3, 1993. The headline reads, "Ontario Government Caucus Meets at Five-Star Resort," and the caucus is depicted at a very extravagant toga party. Mr Premier stands in the centre like Nero, asking, "Has anybody got a fiddle?" Mr Speaker, we all remember Rome in the fifth century.

1650

**Mr Mike Farnan (Cambridge):** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: Just for clarification, I believe the Liberal cabinet met at Langdon Hall at twice the price and twice the cost of the facilities that this government met in.

**Mrs O'Neill:** I ask, as I close, where is the leadership? It's certainly not in the cartoon I've depicted. Where is the hopefulness? Where is the plan for action that Ontario needs as we begin a new session in this 35th Parliament? Sadly, I and many Ontarians, we sought and we sought and we did not find.

**Mr Leo Jordan (Lanark-Renfrew):** On behalf of my constituents of Lanark-Renfrew, I welcome this opportunity to respond to the throne speech.

**Mr Elston:** On behalf of your constituents, can I thank you in advance?

**Mr Jordan:** Yes, you can, because I think the ones in Bruce are also thanking me daily with letters regarding your problems there, so maybe we should have a meeting after this presentation.

**Mr Elston:** Okay.

**Mr Jordan:** You realize the Bruce generating station—I was going to mention it in my talk, but—

**The Deputy Speaker:** Would you please resume your speech.

**Mr Jordan:** The first question I must ask to the members of the government is, how do they go to their constituency offices each week?

**Mr Elston:** They don't.

**Mr Jordan:** They don't? I don't blame you for not going, because if you're hearing what I hear when I go to my constituency office—I think you should go and listen to them and bring their suggestions and policies back to your leaders here, because the only thing that's really going to save you is listening to the people. They have some very good ideas, and it does not include higher taxes and more spending.

The people of Ontario expect a throne speech to set out new ideas and new directions for the session, a plan for this third session of the 35th Parliament. We didn't get any plan. We didn't get any direction. Really, it makes us wonder why the government decided to take the time to present a throne speech at all, because it would seem that they are yet trying to prepare a plan, and they will not have a plan prepared until they get an agreement with the union leaders. That came out very clearly today. They can't even present their mini-budget here in the House until they take it down Friday afternoon and have it approved by the union leaders. That's the situation we're in. They're telling me that in the constituency office, and it's being confirmed here in this Legislature.

Really, the Premier at times, and his cabinet, remind me of a farm operation in my riding. It was operated and managed for 42 years by the farmer and his son worked along beside him for about 20 of those years. During all that time he criticized his father on how he operated the farm. He should have done this different, he should have bought more equipment, he should have spent more money on this. But the farmer was successful in his business and he passed on and left not only the farm and the operations but over \$200,000 to the son to continue the operation. You can tell me, without me going into detail, exactly what happened. When the son actually had the responsibility and the job to do, he started right away by spending the money: new silo, \$100,000, new manure dispenser, another \$100,000. What happened? He was bankrupt, and now the farm of course has to be sold.

This is really what's happening here, because, really, you people, when you were on this side of the House, you knew everything that should be done. Now here you are, given the job to manage the province, direct the province, and look at the mess we're in. We're bankrupt. You're going to sell your assets, the same as the young farmer had to do. He's lucky if he has a house left to live in, and so you will be with the province of Ontario if you don't stop spending.

We've heard the same message from this government that we've been hearing for over two years. It's all packaged up this time in the pomp and circumstance of

a formal speech from the throne. I know it will be difficult for the NDP to face its constituents, but face them you'd better. It will be difficult because the NDP has demeaned and devalued the high standard and value that Ontario citizens have assigned to the speech from the throne.

The people of Ontario expected a commitment to economic recovery, not a continuation of high-taxing, high-spending NDP socialism. They wanted a new commitment to jobs, not the old commitment to employment equity and pay equity. We were prepared to hear new solutions that would take us out of the deficit crisis, not the old rhetoric that got us into it.

This government inherited the spend-crazy ideology of the Liberals when it took power. They laughed when we warned them that the deficit had to be controlled and that today's deficits are, really and truly, tomorrow's taxes, and now they tell us they have a projected deficit of \$18 billion.

Since day one, our leader and our party have advocated the urgent need for limited spending and deficit control. Instead of taking heed of our advice, they tried foolishly to spend their way into prosperity. They threw money at job creation strategies that put 1.2 million people on welfare. That was really the result of all that money that was spent on job creation, and you wonder why you're in such a financial position today.

They threw more money at education, yet standards and quality are lower than ever.

They gave 92,000 civil servants between 13% and 16% increases in 1991, and in 1993 they say they are going to try to get some of it back through what is known as a social contract. I don't know why they are hanging this fancy name on this social contract, because we are elected here to lead—

**Mr Pat Hayes (Essex-Kent):** A point of order, Mr Speaker: I really do take offence to the comments that the member over there said when he used the example of the farmer who was doing well and then the son took over the farm. In fact what he was really alluding to, he was saying that young farmer was a poor manager, and that's some of the philosophy that has been used by these people for years. I think the member should apologize to the farmers in this province for calling them bad managers.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Dennis Drainville):** I'm sorry, the honourable member does not have a point of order.

**Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West):** Kick him out.

**Mr Hayes:** Go sit in your seat, Stockwell.

**Mr Elston:** Mr Speaker, on a point of order: That wasn't even close to a point of order. I would ask that you would put back on the clock an extra minute and a half for the member.

**The Acting Speaker:** I thank the honourable member for Bruce. The honourable member for Lanark-Renfrew.

**Mr Stockwell:** Put the time back on the clock; they could do that all day.

**The Acting Speaker:** Order.

**Mr Jordan:** This NDP spending spree has increased the debt by 58% since they have taken office. The government's debt, which now stands at \$68 billion, amounts to—listen to this now—a \$6,600 financial burden on every man, woman and child in the province.

While the government is trying to maintain that it is merely a victim of circumstances, it remains very clear that it was the primary cause of this predicament.

1700

**Mr Elston:** It's not that often you hear people claiming to be victims after being elected to government, do you?

**Mr Jordan:** Thank you. The NDP have taken a bad situation, namely the recession, and made it worse by raising taxes, running deficits and by increasing the burden of the debt.

The number one issue on the minds of my constituents in Lanark-Renfrew is taxes. More specifically, my constituents speak to me about the devastating effects of overtaxation, the effects on their personal lives, on their businesses, on their community, and the overall relation between high taxes and low employment. It is indeed very unfortunate that this government is unwilling to see that relationship between high taxes and low economic activity.

Despite all the warnings from the public and by my leader in the Progressive Conservative Party, the NDP is going to hit Ontario with more tax increases. They're going to hit Ontario with more tax increases. That means they're taking the money out of our pockets and putting it in here, and as soon as you do that, you lose a third of it right off the bat in just government administration costs. They're out building houses, they're buying out day care centres, they're using our money in all these areas where it would be much better to allow the private sector to use its money there and have the economy back on track. We'll never get it on track by taking the money away from the private sector and channelling it through the government.

They're threatening to raise all types of taxes: wealth taxes, inheritance taxes, pollution and corporate taxes. As it stands now, individuals, families and businessmen are taxed to the hilt. Most people realize that what we need right now are tax reductions to relieve the burden and to serve as a stimulus to get our economy booming again. The Premier and his government had the opportunity to make that choice, a choice that would have offered new hope for families and investors. Instead, this government has chosen to try and create a false sense of helplessness in order to raise taxes. While most people



in Ontario would not have trouble with the notion that this government is indeed helpless, the government has engaged itself in a massive media spin campaign designed to manipulate public opinion.

Over the course of the past two months, the NDP government has been transformed into advocates of debt crisis hysteria. Now that we have heard the throne speech, I understand why the government has gone through this charade of recognizing the fiscal crisis: so that it could create the ultimate excuse to raise taxes and continue on its high-spending way. In order to accomplish this spin, the NDP employed common bargaining techniques to try and fool the public. By projecting an \$18-billion deficit, they can make their \$12-billion deficit seem acceptable, along with their tax increases.

The simple message from the people of Lanark-Renfrew is, "We're just not buying it." The people of Lanark-Renfrew are tired of the political games that come at their expense. Thank you very much.

**The Acting Speaker:** I thank the honourable member for his participation in the debate. Further debate? The honourable member for Cambridge.

**Mr Farnan:** Mr Speaker, first I would like to take the opportunity on behalf of the government benches to congratulate the member for Don Mills on his maiden speech. It is very clear from his participation to date that his experience at the municipal level and his commitment to his constituents mean they will be well served during his tenure at Queen's Park.

The throne speech is an occasion of the continuity of our parliamentary traditions. For a few minutes we are lifted beyond partisanship as we listen to the Lieutenant Governor talk about the aspirations of our government in times ahead. Listening to the throne speech this week, I felt acutely conscious of continuity at another level as well; that is, a continuity of ideas and of commitment from our government to the people we serve.

In the throne speech we made one thing clear: Our government is committed to putting Ontario back to work. Critics have complained that there weren't a bunch of brand-new programs introduced in the throne speech. That's simply because work has always been at the centre of our government's agenda.

We have always believed that we have an obligation to work with and for all persons in the province as individuals and as communities, at work and out of work. We have had a chance to show exceptional leadership for workers, and for us that has meant supporting democracy in the workplace, not just in this Legislature.

What do I mean? The first example that comes to mind is an early partnership that has had time to show extremely positive results. The worker partnership with the Spruce Falls mills at Kapuskasing has been brought back from bankruptcy by an innovative plan combining

the resources of workers, the company and the government. This year Spruce Falls showed a profit. In Sault Ste Marie, worker ownership is helping Algoma Steel to success.

What are the key elements of these early partnerships? Let me go through them. Everyone knew what was at stake. Jobs and the survival of the company were threatened by a bad financial situation. An opportunity for investment in the future—their own, their children's and their community's—encouraged cooperation. Everyone was willing to change the way they did business to streamline and improve service to the public. Perhaps most important, there was a commitment to the sharing of risks in a climate of trust.

This government embarks on a huge undertaking. We have to build a new culture of partnership based on shared contributions of all our stakeholders. Business, labour and government must work constructively in cooperative partnerships. We cannot face the 1990s and the future with old models of alienation and confrontation. This government has clearly enunciated a dedication and a commitment to leadership that says, "Let's work together."

Indeed, we are prepared to ensure that everybody knows what's at stake. The books are open. It is a very, very frank accounting of our situation. Certainly it is serious, but we are not in any way attempting to run away from it. On the contrary, we are saying, "Yes, we have a serious situation and we invite you to partnership." Yes to the business community: "Come and sit down with us." Yes to the labour leaders: "Come and sit down with us." Yes to the private sector. Indeed, to all of the stakeholders we are saying: "Come join us in facing this crisis. Come join us in formulating solutions. Come join us in meeting the challenge. Let us go forward together as a province in a strong partnership."

It is extraordinary that this is indeed the cutting edge. It is extraordinary that during 43 years of Tory government, it is extraordinary that as late as the late 1980s under a Liberal administration, such a vision was never there, and yet a new government, still relatively young, two and a half years into its mandate, has a vision, a vision that says to the people of Ontario that the old ways will not work. The old system of hiding debts will not work. The old system of government playing games with business and labour and people working in their separate and divided camps will not work.

What we're saying to the people of Ontario and what we're saying to all of the stakeholders is that indeed there is a different way, there is a better way, there is a way in which we can use the strengths and talents and abilities of all our partners.

1710

We, as government, are saying quite simply that we don't have all the answers. We certainly have the commitment, we certainly have the desire and we

believe fundamentally that reasonable people in business and reasonable people in labour share the commitment to working in a new manner, a new direction: a direction of cooperative partnership.

We say to our opposition parties, "Don't take the customary stance of the opposition ritual," because, again, there has to be a new way of doing business. We have the opportunity for the leadership in both the Liberal Party and the Conservative Party to say, "You know, something different is happening here."

Indeed, I almost heard the leader of the third party today suggest that yes, the government is on the right track. Now obviously he is entitled to say a little bit more here or a little less there and to make constructive suggestions, but indeed the leader of the third party recognized that yes, there is a crisis, and recognized that yes, this government, the first government in the history of Ontario, has the determination and the will and the commitment to face that crisis.

The leader of the third party perhaps said we're not doing enough, but you see, you can't simply go in and bulldoze your way through things and say, "You're not doing enough; we're going to do more," because he loses the essential element of what we're trying to do, and the essential element of what we're trying to do is to say to people, "Let's work in partnership."

So it is indeed important for us to recognize as a Legislature that something very significant, something very novel, something very exciting, something very creative, is happening in the province of Ontario. The Premier of Ontario and the cabinet of Ontario are issuing the people of this province a challenge that says, "We will lead, we will make tough decisions, but we want you to work with us in partnership in making these decisions." To what purpose? So that we can protect the kinds of services that this province has established, because without this strong leadership, without this commitment, many of the services we hold so dear are vulnerable.

There is so much we can learn from the example set by the staff and management at Algoma and Spruce Falls, but it is important to keep in mind that situations differ. Those were cases where a viable option existed to preserve jobs and where the workers had limited alternatives. In all too many cases, those alternatives simply do not exist.

One of the things I think we can be proud of as a government is supporting workers to ensure that there is a proper adjustment package available in cases where layoffs have been inevitable. In these recessionary times, the price tag on this package is by no means small, but there is no doubt in my mind that this, again, is an indication of the sensitivity of this government.

Let us be clear. The worker protection package was available to previous administrations. Indeed, we called

from the previous Liberal administration for this, but we had to wait. The workers of Ontario had to wait until the New Democratic Party was elected so that we could put in the kinds of protective measures that will protect workers their rights, their benefits, their vacation package, whatever, in the case of a layoff.

It makes no sense to snatch these programs away from workers when they need them most. In an economy that is accurately described as the worst since the Depression of the 1930s, the 24% increase in our government's investment in training and adjustment is not only fair, it's smart. We've kept our commitment on training.

Nor have we cut social assistance or made it more difficult to qualify for assistance just because times are hard. We have resisted pressure to cut the supports that those who are economically vulnerable need to rely on. In the throne speech, we made a commitment to reform the system, but our goal is going to be to improve assistance recipients' chances of getting back to work. Mere cutbacks will not improve the system, nor will they make it work more efficiently.

In the development of Jobs Ontario, our employment program for people on social assistance and whose UIC has run out, we have tried to keep a commitment to training at the forefront of our minds. There are two themes in the program: one, we work to meet employers' expressed needs; and two, we are spending government job-creating dollars wisely by making sure employees gain and use new skills that increase their value on the labour market and put them in a better position to win jobs for the future. We have expanded Jobs Ontario Youth to help young people get a start at employment to improve their chances at the start of their careers.

I'm going to cut my remarks short in the possibility of individuals coming forward.

Our commitment to putting Ontario back to work has been at the forefront of our agenda since day one. It has been behind our investment in infrastructure and our attempts to control cost. Just as we saw at Kapuskasing and in the Sault, it is a commitment to keep working and to workplace democracy that is motivating us to move forward with the unprecedented social contract negotiations now under way. In these negotiations I think you will see the same principles at work.

I want to end on a note that I think is an invitation: It's an invitation to the opposition parties to get off their doom and gloom, to get off their negativity, to think positively for a change. We cannot build partnerships based on negativity. We cannot build partnerships based on doom and gloom.

We have a vision. We have a vision of cooperation. We have a vision of partnership. We have the leadership that's determined to provide strong leadership as we face tough challenges. I know that honest, hardworking



people out there, small business people out there, large business presidents out there, at this stage are commending the resolve, the determination, the commitment of this government to do the things and do the job that previous administrations shied away from.

We've set the course. We invite the opposition parties to join us. They may not join us, but we will still go to the people and we'll get the job done.

**Mr Steven Offer (Mississauga North):** I was listening intently to the speeches today and especially to this past speech by the member for Cambridge. He said, "We have a vision," and he mentioned it over and over. I kept on looking in the throne speech, and my goodness, I just couldn't find it. I just don't know where it is.

I noted in his speech that he was talking about his being but two and a half years in his government, but two and a half years into its mandate. I wish the member would be a little bit more positive. I wish the member would not be so doom and gloom. I wish he would remind everybody that they are not just two and a half years into their mandate, but they are probably two and a half years from their mandate ending. I think that is a much more positive message to send out to the people of this province.

I want to get right into the throne speech. Without any question, I'm critical of the throne speech and I want, in the time permitted, to reflect some of the thoughts that I've heard from my constituents, and indeed some of the things I've been reading about. I know we have a task force to review Ontario's technology fund and a whole variety of individuals who are very committed to looking at the type of province that we want in the future.

1720

When I reflect on some of those things that I've read about and the comments and the concerns that I've heard from my constituents, I can only be disappointed with this throne speech. Let me just read a few parts of it. It says on the first page: "This speech from the throne is not about business as usual. We are living in times of great change." I guess my first comment is that this throne speech is about business as usual. There is nothing in this throne speech to reflect times of great change.

It goes on to say, "300,000 jobs were lost in Ontario over the past three years," and that's absolutely correct. It's unfortunate that it doesn't go on to indicate that many of the people who did lose their jobs have lost jobs for the very first time in their lives and that there has been a tremendous impact on those who have lost their jobs and what the government's view is as to how it's going to deal with those people and others who are worried that the job they have today may not be there tomorrow.

So I am critical of this throne speech because of the fact that it is very much business as usual with no new

ideas, no direction for the future. There are so many people out of work; the last thing that we needed was a speech of this type. I believe that this speech was sort of written through a rear-view mirror; it tells people what the government might have done in the past. But everybody wants to know what you are going to do in the future. We are concerned with the direction the government has taken in the past in a variety of areas. We want to know about what areas, what road, what path you're going to take in the future, what vision you have for the building of this province.

So, for me, the first concern that I have in a very direct way is that, far from the words within the speech from the throne, the actions of the government are without direction, without any new ideas and in fact tell us where we have been; many of the people in this province, if not all, are most concerned about where we are going.

My constituents are asking me some very difficult questions about what it is we want this province to be and to stand for and what it is that we want this province to do. They know they are facing difficult choices and they want to see an acknowledgment by a government in a speech from the throne that there are difficult decisions that too have to be made by government.

We recognize that this is not just a recession but a time of real structural change and there is an increasing pressure on our social programs in light of the fiscal situation of the province. How are we going to meet those two concerns? Do they have to be at odds with one another? Do the social programs and the provision of social programs have to be at odds with necessarily the fiscal situation of the province?

My constituents are saying, "Why doesn't the government look at what areas, what direction, what ideas can be created in order to meet both those concerns, social programs and meeting the economic realities of the day?" This speech from the throne is totally silent in those two areas, and those are some of the areas that my constituents are talking to me about. They want and do hold very dear the provision of social services while at the same time recognizing that the debt and the deficit are matters that have to be taken into account.

But the government is totally devoid of any ideas as to how best those issues can be addressed and is negligent by not even acknowledging that these types of issues and challenges and pressures are in fact in existence. People are saying, "What direction does government want to take?" The throne speech is silent.

Secondly, I want to bring forward this whole era of competition. I think it is a phrase that is used time and time again: We are in a new era of competition. What is the role of government in this era of competition, in this era of investment? What should government be doing? What should government not be doing in order to foment new investment, in order to create a positive climate for

companies to invest in this province, for existing companies to expand in this province, for there really to be some real job creation, some real wealth creation?

I read through the throne speech many times and I've heard members speak on the throne speech, and again I do not hear anything in the throne speech that deals with the issue of investment, the role of government in investment, the role of government in enhancing the competitiveness of our companies.

Is government's role in the area of investment merely to provide dollars for investment? Or is there something else? Is there something else, as we are moving along this decade, that governments should be doing? Is the traditional way of investment provisions something that is going to be left in the past and should we be looking to something different and new in the future where firms in our province of Ontario will be the direct beneficiaries and not just from the old way of a government providing dollars, but for something different?

How does government view its role in terms of labour, management and investment? How does government see its ability to deal with those areas? What is said in the throne speech? The throne speech tells me a lot about yesterday; it doesn't tell me anything about tomorrow.

It doesn't tell me anything about how the government views its role in the area of labour and management and the provision of investment, and it doesn't say or chart out any new course as to maybe there is a different way in which government should be dealing with these areas. Maybe it isn't just to provide dollars. Maybe that is something which may have worked in the past and no longer will. Maybe there's something new that should be a charter, and this speech from the throne is absolutely silent.

So in the area of investment, the throne speech is totally silent. In the area of what direction the government should take, the area tells me where we were last year, and let me tell you, my constituents do not like where they were last year and do not want to be reminded of where they were last time.

What about the area of competition? Do governments compete? I've read materials which say, "Listen, when a government thinks that it's them that compete, it is on the totally wrong track." Governments do not compete. Firms and industries within jurisdictions compete. Why isn't there in the throne speech an acknowledgement that this is the essence and the principle of competition and that the role of government is not to compete with another jurisdiction, but rather the role of government is to enhance, to encourage firms within its own jurisdiction to be able to compete with firms in another jurisdiction?

Do I read from the throne speech and see some ideas about this? No, I do not. I see an awful lot about

yesterday, but nothing about tomorrow. What areas should governments be involved in? Again, the throne speech is totally silent.

I speak to the issue, a following point, on the creation of wealth, the creation of prosperity. The government's throne speech speaks about things that happened yesterday. My constituents, and I trust many within the province, are looking to tomorrow. The government's throne speech does nothing to speak to the area of investment. It does nothing to speak to the issue of the intermingling of social programs with the fiscal realities of the day, and the throne speech says nothing about the creation of wealth.

When you read the throne speech it is as if the government views the economy as some sort of fiscal faucet to be turned off, that the expenditures in the government are X amount of dollars and the money coming in is less than that, and so all efforts by the government should be directed to reducing the amount of expenditures so that they will pare and compare with the amount of money that is coming in.

1730

Though I am not opposed to making government programs and departments and a whole variety of areas as efficient as possible, what about increasing the wealth that comes into the province? Why must there just be this mindset of reducing, reducing, reducing without also looking at increasing wealth, increasing investment, increasing job creation, increasing and enhancing competitiveness, increasing the ability of governments to enhance the competitiveness of their own industries that operate within this jurisdiction?

I find this throne speech, in the main, to be without any new ideas. I find this throne speech to be, in a word, very pessimistic. I think that reading this tells me a lot about a province mired in a recession without any hope of getting out.

I believe that a throne speech should be charting a new course, a new way in which we do business, a new way in which we enhance investment, a new way in which we help our industries compete with industries in other jurisdictions. I believe that we can have the best educated, most flexible workforce. I believe that we can enhance the competitiveness of our own industries. I believe that we can create wealth, thereby ensuring not only a more stable fiscal position but also ensuring the continued existence of our social programs. I believe we can make our system more efficient. But this throne speech lays out no plan, this throne speech lays out no new ideas, and this throne speech, without any question, has no vision.

When my constituents are looking to tomorrow, this government is looking at yesterday. This throne speech is of no benefit, no help, no hope to the people in my area. There is an opportunity where we could have charted a new course in which this province can deal



with the economic and competitive realities of the 1990s. This throne speech is absolutely without any new idea. For that, I am extremely critical. I know that many people in my riding have come before me and said: "We are looking for a new way. We know that the rules of yesterday are very much yesterday and they may have been very appropriate to yesterday, but we have gone through an economic restructuring. We have a choice to make." Are we going to continue on with yesterday's rules and without question lag behind as other jurisdictions do adapt, or are we going to—I know this is an oft-used phrase, but I can't help but use it now—seize this opportunity?

It is an opportunity where people recognize that change is required, is necessary. It is an opportunity where we can send out a positive message as to how this province can be restructured to meet the competitive demands in the next century. But a throne speech of yesterday doesn't do that. A throne speech dealing with last week won't help next week. A throne speech that tells the 300,000 people who have lost their jobs in this province that they have lost their jobs in this province is no news to those people. A throne speech that talks about programs—I can be critical of many of the programs—that have been set up by the government does not tell the people what they should look forward to, what they should be part of. It does not give a hope to the people that the province has dealt in truth with the realities of the day.

**Mr Mahoney:** Tax increases.

**Mr Offer:** In the throne speech, as the member for Mississauga West reminds me, we have tax increases. I know that the member is going to be speaking and I imagine that he wanted to speak today or—

**Mr Mahoney:** No, I'll go tomorrow. I want to hear you today.

**Mr Offer:** Okay. He says that he'll wait until tomorrow.

We have a speech from the throne which doesn't give hope to people, doesn't send out a message as to how the province views, itself, an ability to create wealth or to create new jobs. We have a throne speech which talks about tax increases. Now that is going to be a great hope to those who have lost their jobs. That is going to be a great hope to those who are worried that the job they have today may not be there tomorrow.

This is a throne speech which is going to cause a great deal of disappointment to those who truly care about the future of this province, who truly care about whether this province will be the place where they and their children and their children's children will have an opportunity in terms of making certain that the education they receive is the absolute best, that there will be an adaptable, flexible workforce. This throne speech is silent on that measure.

You know what bothers me absolutely the most? When you go out of this place and when you meet with your constituents and when you meet with people from the boards of education, from the municipalities, from the private sector, from a whole raft of individuals, there is a willingness to make this new era of competition and investment work.

The problem all of those individuals have is that they don't have a government that recognizes that these are the areas that have to be addressed. They feel very much excluded from the process. They seem very much left out. Their ideas, their energy, their enthusiasm seems to be always on the outside and never on the in. A throne speech like this is absolute evidence that the dynamic, energetic ideas from people in the fields of education, be it primary, secondary, university or the colleges, that ideas from the private sector, that ideas from a whole raft of individuals have not been listened to. This is about as flat, as pessimistic a throne speech as one could hope to imagine and it is one which does no service to the people of the province of Ontario.

**Mr Ted Arnott (Wellington):** I'm pleased to be rising this afternoon, so privileged to be here representing the people of Wellington to contribute some brief, hopefully constructive, comments to this throne speech debate.

Much has already been said in defence of this third throne speech of the NDP government, and there are two specific points that I would like to raise from the outset where I think the government has recognized the benefit of entering into a policy that will be beneficial to the people of Ontario.

The first one is the province-wide testing of grade 9 students that's included in the throne speech. I believe that's going to be a beneficial improvement to our education system. It's something that our caucus has called for for over six or eight months since we've been putting forward that view as part of our New Directions policy discussion paper series.

Another positive initiative is the government's intention to develop community economic development initiatives. That is something our caucus has been calling for, for a number of years as well, and I raised that specific issue in the House in November 1991. I'm very pleased to see those specific ideas that our caucus has put forward recognized by the government as positive initiatives, and it looks like we're going to be seeing them as government policy.

But in the throne speech debate we have also heard many expressions of concern about the weaknesses in the speech and the flaws in the government's legislative plan. I intend to respond to the throne speech as positively as possible under the circumstances, those circumstances being that today a provincial government dogged by questions of competence and integrity is guided by a philosophy that stifles creativity, initiative and enterprise

and rewards and encourages mediocrity. It is a philosophy that does not work and that people do not support. This is a government which has negligently retarded Ontario's economy as surely as if it were done wilfully. This is a government now putting in time, watching the clock, and I say to the government: "This is not good enough. Your shift is only half over."

1740

This throne speech was, to say the least, a substantial disappointment. The government has missed an important opportunity that it had to restore confidence in Ontario's future. In every recession that this economy has ever sustained over our history, the only way you get out of a recession is if there is a general restoration of confidence in our future: business confidence and consumer confidence. Business confidence must be restored. Business people have to believe that they can sell their good or service before they will hire any new employees. Consumers have to believe that their job is secure for the next few weeks or the next few months before they will undertake any major, substantial spending. Consumer confidence is essential, business confidence is essential, before the recession will end.

This throne speech could have been a signal to restore that confidence, but it was not. The throne speech could have been a first step, a positive plan of action. A throne speech by its very nature should articulate a vision, inspiring people to believe in themselves, inspiring people to pull together, inspiring people to believe that they can achieve more than they themselves believe are capable, so that they will do that. But this throne speech is devoid of any semblance of that kind of leadership which is necessary to achieve that particular end.

In only the very second paragraph of the throne speech—this is the kind of leadership we're seeing—the very second paragraph goes into a vicious shot at the federal government once again, the government blaming all its misfortunes on the federal government. I'll read the pertinent section: "High interest rates, an overvalued dollar and trade agreements that have not ensured access to markets." Interest rates are at historical lows right now; they're the lowest they've been in 30 years. An overvalued dollar? The dollar has lowered significantly in the last months and has stabilized at a rate at which manufacturers can compete. Trade agreements, they say, have not ensured access to markets. Well, our exports to the United States have never ever been higher. What they are saying in this throne speech is absolutely false, and it's about time they recognized it.

The kind of leadership we're seeing from this Premier has been absolutely abysmal. He started off the new year by stating that his number one priority would not be jobs, not the economy, not even the environment or social issues; it would be the defeat of the federal government. We're seeing, with that sort of leadership, a situation where there will be no cooperation between

federal and provincial governments: cooperation that people want, cooperation that we need and cooperation that we're not going to get when the Premier starts off the new year by declaring war on the federal government, on another elected level of government.

Three weeks later, he travelled to Davos, Switzerland, to speak at the World Economic Forum, a very, very important opportunity for the Premier of Ontario to sell Ontario as a place to do business. What did he do? Instead of selling Ontario, he spoke negatively about Ontario, he spoke negatively about Ontario's economic prospects. He said that the free trade agreement did not provide access to American markets. We have no idea how many jobs we will have lost as a result of that statement. He was in a room with some of the most powerful economic, political and cultural leaders in the world and he stated a negative comment about this province and this country. That statement, I think history will show, will be one of the biggest mistakes this Premier made during the course of his mandate.

Every morning when I get out of bed, I ask myself, "What can I do today to help the people of Wellington and to help the people of Ontario?" I know that most, if not all, members in this Legislature do exactly the same. The very nature of this job means it's all-consuming; at all times you're thinking about what you should be doing. I believe Bob Rae once did that and I hope he still does, but I sometimes wonder. When you read this throne speech, the total package the government has presented here, you see that the government is devoid of ideas. I would take it one step further to say that the government appears to be clinically depressed. They don't know what to do to solve the problems.

What has Bob Rae learned from the defeat of the constitutional referendum that he fought so valiantly to save? There are a lot of lessons in that defeat for politicians and for anyone who wishes to engage in the art of politics. But I wonder, does the Premier have a firm grasp on the degree of scepticism and cynicism on the part of the citizens in this country, and does he recognize and see the desire for change that people have, the desire of people to see the government putting the interests of the people first and not the interests of the government or the governing party? We see no recognition of that basic fact, that basic, imperative change that is required in this throne speech.

Does he understand the desire in people's minds for the government to respect people, to be sensitive and reasonable and responsive to their views? Where in this throne speech is there any indication that Bob Rae understands any of this?

Where is there any indication in this throne speech that the government understands how jobs are created? Jobs are created simply if business people recognize that there's an opportunity to sell a good or service and that they require staff to do it. That is how jobs are created.



Government cannot create jobs.

Mr Speaker, the clock is winding down and my time is up, but I thank you very much for your indulgence. I hope the government listens to some of the views put forward by the opposition, as it should have done in 1990 when it first was elected.

**Mr Gary Malkowski (York East):** I am very pleased to be able to participate in the debate on the throne speech. I feel it's very important that all Ontarians listen to the important historical value and the facts that we have included in the throne speech.

These are the facts.

I'd like to talk about the historical perspective. The Ontario government, the previous Liberal government, had an economic plan. When they saw the deficit growing and growing, they decided at that time to call the election early. All the alarms went off and they called the election because of the deficit. They had an economic plan that wasn't working.

The federal government, the Tories, has certainly had an economic impact on us because of the GST, free trade, the high rate of interest and the transfer payments that were supposed to come to Ontario. These have all contributed to the terrible economic times that we find ourselves in.

Two years ago we were elected, and since that time we've taken the courage to borrow the money that we needed to invest in the people and jobs and training. We have taken a proactive approach. Over the last two years there have been 300,000 people laid off, and that's the fault of the previous Tory and Liberal governments. So let's be proactive and make sure that we develop those 110,000 jobs and make sure that takes off.

I'll tell you, we do have an economic plan to put Ontario back to work, we do have a plan, and this plan includes investment in jobs, investment in people and assistance to small businesses and the economy.

The provincial deficit: If you remember, we borrowed money to control that to make sure that all Ontarians are able to contribute fairly to their tax responsibilities.

We have a commitment to social justice which will also help our economy develop, and this is through the introduction of the employment equity legislation. This is a key factor in the global international economy. We'll be hiring various people who are very skilled, we'll be hiring women, visible minorities, people with disabilities and aboriginal people. They are all important contributors to the development of our economy. Also, social justice reform, social assistance reform, will be involved in training development.

We will maintain our green environment and we will introduce the environmental bill of rights. People will be involved in helping us make those decisions to clean up our water and our air, to create a healthy environment for all people.

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We will increase our reuse, recycle and reduce program. We will also be investing in the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board, OTAB. This will include business people, employers, employees, everyone working together as partners to strengthen our economic development. Jobs Ontario, which we have already established, will be hiring thousands of people. We have already hired 100,000.

We will also be involved in early education from junior kindergarten on through elementary and high school levels. We will make sure that the accountability is there, that those people have access to a learning environment and lifelong learning, using a global perspective from childhood through adulthood.

We will be handling the provincial deficit. We will make sure that all people are paying their fair share of taxes and make sure that the government services are effective and efficient. The Liberals used to spend and spend and create—they had 44 deputy ministers. We have reduced that number to 28, and that is just one example of reduction and reducing government waste and running more efficiently.

Social justice is important. We must invest in this. We must work at anti-racism, educating all communities, getting all people working together in cooperation. This is a very key point as the economy grows and we take our place within the global world.

I have a success story which relates to my own riding. We have the Thorncliffe Neighbourhood Office, which is a community-based organization that provides services to a variety of people and residents in the Thorncliffe area. TNO is the only organization which provides community-based, culturally sensitive information in multilingual and various other ethnic languages. They are a Jobs Ontario broker and over the last two months have already hired over 200 people. They have been placing those people in various positions.

The Pape Village business association has informed me that it has been successful in using Jobs Ontario funding to help finance economic development in that area. This is another success story, and I'm very proud of the Ontario government and our proactive stance, our creativity, our ability to become proactive and competitive in all aspects of the economy, getting all groups to work together, making sure all people have access, and we are all working towards the goal of economic renewal.

The proof is our history, and I challenge opposition members, who tend to talk at length, to work together to become effective and successful. That is the challenge I issue to all opposition members, all members of the House, and that is what our throne speech is all about.

**Mr George Mammoliti (Yorkview):** I don't have much time, but in the time that's remaining I do have to

touch on a couple of items. Of course, I want to pick at the 10-point plan that we've got, in terms of Jobs Ontario, and of course I want to talk a little bit about the social contract that has got everybody's attention, but before I get there, I've got to share my frustration in terms of the uphill battle that we've had as a government from September 1990.

We got elected in 1990 and we found ourselves in debt. It's like that little engine that could. We were trying to get elected; we got elected. We got elected on our ability. We got elected because people trusted us. We got elected. As soon as we got elected, we found ourselves in debt, a debt that we didn't expect. The Liberals went around during 1990 and preached and said that the province was in the black. We weren't. We were in debt and we found out too late.

So that little engine I was talking about—

*Interjection.*

**Mr Mammoliti:** The member across says, "I think I can, I think I can." Yes, that's what it feels like, because as soon as we got elected, big business decided to take this no-listen attitude, attack the Premier whenever it could, make sure it opposed anything that this government did, and we were still saying, "I think we can, I think we can."

The media is another threat to me in Metro. The good things we've done that have helped Yorkview have never been front page of the Sun, have never been front page of the Star. No matter what I do in my constituency office, no matter what we do in my Queen's Park office to attract attention, we've never been front page. The good news is not being reported out there, and frankly I'm sick of that. So the media have been a thorn on my side personally since I've been elected, and the member from Etobicoke laughs because it's easy for him to get media. All he has to do is scream and yell and throw temper tantrums and he gets it. But Yorkview doesn't get it.

The good news in the throne speech is of course one item: Jobs Ontario. Jobs Ontario, in my opinion, is a good thing. Jobs Ontario for Yorkview is positive. There are some flaws that I see and I don't try and hide those flaws. We've got to definitely improve on some of them, but for the most part the government has done something for this province, something that the federal government has refused to do, and that's to create jobs. That's creating jobs. Jobs Ontario is helping the youth. In February, 30% of the youth who are out of school are also out of jobs. Jobs Ontario will give them some hope this summer.

In terms of training, our commitment to training, training is very important. When you talk about social assistance, when you talk about people who have just finished their UI, have got nowhere to go, Jobs Ontario is going to help them. Jobs Ontario is very important to me and to this government.

The social contract is something that I'm very proud of because for the first time you've got a friendly government—

**Mr Hayes:** Open government.

**Mr Mammoliti:** —and open government and for that reason we're willing to negotiate. There's a crisis in this province. We have a problem in this province and we want to negotiate with the people who run the province. Those are the workers.

**The Acting Speaker:** The honourable member's time has elapsed.

**Mr Stockwell:** Point of order, Mr Speaker: I think that speech was so good I would like to move unanimous consent that we let him finish.

**Mr Mammoliti:** Mr Speaker, very quickly—

**The Acting Speaker:** It now being 6 of the clock, this House stands adjourned until tomorrow, April 22, at 10 of the clock.

The House adjourned at 1800.





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Third Session, 35th Parliament

## Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Troisième session, 35<sup>e</sup> législature

# Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Thursday 22 April 1993

# Journal des débats (Hansard)

Le jeudi 22 Avril 1993



Speaker  
Honourable David Warner

Clerk  
Claude L. DesRosiers

Président  
L'honorable David Warner

Greffier  
Claude L. DesRosiers



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Thursday 22 April 1993

The House met at 1000.

Prayers.

**PRIVATE MEMBERS' PUBLIC BUSINESS**

**ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AMENDMENT ACT  
(NIAGARA ESCARPMENT), 1993**

**LOI DE 1993 MODIFIANT LA LOI  
SUR LA PROTECTION DE L'ENVIRONNEMENT  
(ESCARPEMENT DU NIAGARA)**

Mr Duignan moved second reading of Bill 62, An Act to amend the Environmental Protection Act in respect of the Niagara Escarpment / Loi modifiant la Loi sur la protection de l'environnement à l'égard de l'escarpement du Niagara.

**The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin):** Pursuant to standing order 96(c)(i), the honourable member has 10 minutes for his presentation.

**Mr Noel Duignan (Halton North):** It's a great pleasure to rise today to seek support for my private member's bill, which is an act to amend the Environmental Protection Act. I believe successful passage of this bill will help to continue to ensure the preservation of the Niagara Escarpment. As you know, the escarpment is one of our most unique natural resources. We can continue to protect the escarpment, I believe, by prohibiting all further waste management systems and waste disposal sites in the area set out in the Niagara Escarpment plan. Let me point out that this plan is limited to the escarpment itself and does not include the surrounding areas.

As members know, the escarpment is renowned for its inspiring scenery, lush farm land, flourishing wildlife and abundant recreational opportunities. It provides unique access to a natural environment found nowhere else in the world and which lies so close to Canada's most densely populated area. The pressures to clear, pave and develop this area are immense.

If I look at what's happening in my own area of Halton Hills, for example, 80% of all the aggregates mined in Ontario come from the Halton Hills area and we have many large quarries. Right now, there's an application by RSI in Halton Hills to use one of those quarries as a private landfill site. I believe this application in Halton Hills will set a precedent if this company is allowed to fill the Acton quarry with garbage. If that happens, many applications for landfill sites will be introduced in other parts of the escarpment. This threat does not just affect my riding but residents of many ridings along the Niagara Escarpment. I believe not enough can be said in defence of the goal of protecting this escarpment from any further damage caused by landfills.

There are many key facts that distinguish the escarp-

ment from any other areas in Ontario. First and foremost, as already mentioned, the Niagara Escarpment is a unique and natural beauty deserving protection.

As members know, the Niagara Escarpment stretches some 725 kilometres from Queenston near Niagara Falls to Tobermory at the top of the Bruce Peninsula. It was formed some 450 million years ago, along the shore of a shallow tropical sea that covered vast areas of Ontario and Michigan.

The Niagara Escarpment and lands in its vicinity, some 183,000 hectares in eight counties and regions and 37 local municipalities, are regulated by the Niagara Escarpment plan. Adopted by Ontario in 1985, it is Canada's first large-scale environmental land use plan. It took 16 years to have the plan enacted, and during those lengthy deliberations some 530,000 hectares were negotiated away from the original plan. The plan that we now have ensures that the escarpment will be maintained substantially as a continuous natural environment. It strikes a balance between conservation, protection and environmentally compatible development.

Within five years of the plan's approval, the Niagara Escarpment was recognized by the United Nations agency UNESCO as a world biosphere reserve, one of only six such areas in Canada. The designation confers local and international recognition and confirms that Ontario's Niagara Escarpment is endowed with natural characteristics of global significance.

When I was elected, I pledged to the citizens of Halton North that I would endeavour, as my predecessors have done, to continue to protect Halton Hills' and Ontario's most important natural assets, and with members' help here today I want to expand this protection for this world-recognized area of natural beauty and significance for all the people of Ontario.

I would also like to stress that the Niagara Escarpment Planning and Development Act was supported by all parties, and its purpose is "to provide for the maintenance of the Niagara Escarpment and lands in its vicinity substantially as a continuous natural environment, and to ensure only such development occurs as is compatible with that natural environment." My purpose in bringing forth this important amendment is to strengthen this resolve.

In the case of Halton Hills, a protracted and expensive landfill search was conducted. Ultimately the Acton quarry, which was one of the sites for the landfill, was rejected as the region's landfill because of the risk to drinking water. The hydrogeologist hired by the company proposing the landfill site, RSI, admitted in August 1988 that leachate from the quarry would get into Halton Hills' drinking water. As all of Halton Hills' water comes from an underground aquifer, we cannot

risk any leachate getting into our water supply. If that happens, who is going to pay the hundreds of millions of dollars for piping a water supply into Halton Hills, Milton etc?

Not only must we consider the imminent danger to the water supply and the costly after-effects in terms of health care and endeavours to purify the water. The escarpment currently enjoys an international reputation as a scenic, long-distance hiking trail—that's the Bruce Trail—which is visited by over 300,000 people each year and which is a tourism resource for all of Ontario. Strangely enough, this number exceeds the visitation of most provincial parks. There is no doubt that these numbers would dwindle if applications such as RSI's were allowed to carry garbage to the various landfill sites. The appeal of hiking alongside garbage-laden trucks on roadways or quarries, with the ensuing mass of seagulls, would not entice local or indeed international visitors.

There are over 123 parks within the Niagara Escarpment—in my area alone we have Crawford Lake, Halton Hills and Rattlesnake Point—which provide protection to ecological and historic areas, opportunities for outdoor education and recreation, public access to the escarpment and, of course, the world-renowned Bruce Trail. It also has the greatest concentration of cold-water streams in southern Ontario, which at this time are supporting healthy populations of trout. Indeed in some cases the salmon have returned.

There are some 400 historical and architectural sites and 250 archaeological sites, 25 of which are first nations burial sites. One of them is located in my riding in the Crawford Lake area. Also, researchers have recently discovered 1,000-year-old cedar trees growing in the crevices of the escarpment cliffs near Milton and on the Bruce Peninsula.

The escarpment is home for and provides vital habitat for over 300 species of birds, 53 species of mammals, 90 species of fish and 36 species of reptiles. It is also home to 23 endangered, threatened and rare species of wildlife, such as the West Virginia butterfly, the red-shouldered hawk, the spotted turtle, the eastern bluebird and the massasauga rattlesnake.

The lands of the Niagara Escarpment have been internationally noted for the unusual richness of plant species, including 37 species of wild orchids and the greatest concentration of ferns in Canada.

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It is also important to note that the southern escarpment formation shelters tracts of rich farm land from adverse weather conditions. I'm talking about the area between Niagara Falls and St Catharines, which produces a thriving tender fruit industry as well as a world-renowned wine industry.

Over the years the escarpment has enriched and

nourished not just the people of southern Ontario but people from around the world. We cannot and must not compromise one of the most significantly important natural assets of this province.

For the last 25 years this common goal has been supported by all governments and all parties in Ontario. I am today appealing to all members again to further protect the Niagara Escarpment by supporting the provision to prohibit further waste management systems and waste disposal sites in the Niagara Escarpment plan area. Do this for your children and grandchildren so they too can have a place they truly can call unique: the Niagara Escarpment.

**Mr Steven Offer (Mississauga North):** I'm pleased to take part in this debate from the member for Halton North. I think that all members of this Legislature and many, many people outside this Legislature recognize the importance of the Niagara Escarpment and the richness of that area.

But when I hear the member speak in the terms that he does today—one just seethes. I recognize that there are probably individuals in the community who very much support his position. I'm wondering if the member has told them that he stood in support of his government's Bill 143. And what did that bill do? That bill took away the rights of individuals to participate in an environmental assessment hearing. It took away their rights to participate in matters that were important to them. It took away their rights to say what was important, what is important, and the positions they want.

Where was the member when his government brought forward Bill 143, which took away those rights from my constituents, when his Premier stated in the last election that there would not be any expansion of an existing landfill site, that there would not be any new landfill site without a full environmental assessment hearing? Where was that member when those rights were taken away from my constituents when the Britannia landfill site was extended by your government without giving my constituents and the people in the region of Peel the opportunity to voice their concerns?

That member stood in favour of taking away their rights. That member stood in favour of Bill 143 on second reading and on third reading, and the member has the audacity to come here today and say: "Well, we don't want to take away the rights of everybody. There are other people who should have those rights."

He speaks about the importance of the Niagara Escarpment. Many of the areas we know of. He talks about the leachate problem, he talks about leaking, he talks about the uniqueness of the area, he talks about the wildlife, all of which we recognize as aspects of importance. But his party's bill, Bill 143, takes away the rights of individuals to bring forward those concerns in an environmental assessment hearing.



Where was that member when this matter was debated? That member stood in favour of taking away the rights of all Ontarians that he seeks to try to bring forward for his constituents. I find it hypocritical in the extreme.

He speaks about the importance of not having a landfill site on the Niagara Escarpment. Where was that member when his Minister of the Environment said that the policy of his government is that there shall not be any transportation of garbage outside of the—

**The Deputy Speaker:** Order for a minute. I would ask you to tone down and choose your words a little more carefully, just a little more carefully.

**Mr Offer:** Thank you very much, Mr Speaker, but I think that you will recognize—and I can't imagine what words were improperly used—as many members will recognize, this is a government which took away the rights of individuals to voice their concerns in matters of the environment in terms of the air that they breathe, the water that they drink, the places where landfill sites are situate. It is an area where this party, the official opposition, and I believe the third party stood opposed to the government because of the direction that the government was taking.

You stripped away the rights of individuals to voice their concerns, and when these issues are today being addressed, does the now Minister of Environment stand in his place and give to the people of the province a guarantee that their rights will be heard through an environmental assessment hearing? Does the minister stand in his place, as he could have yesterday, and do that? The answer, Mr Speaker, is no.

This is an issue which has hurt the people in the region of Peel. It is an issue which has disturbed the people throughout the province. It is an issue where the government has operated in a way which strips the rights of individuals to speak on matters which are crucially important to them, to their future and to the future of their children. Mr Speaker, that is something, with the greatest respect, I will always stand for, in terms of people having the right to voice their concerns, and I will always be as excited as I am today when a government like that strips the rights of people in this province to be heard on matters of importance to them, to the air they breathe, to the water they drink, to the landfill sites where they're situate, to the future for their children.

I would like to know from the member how and why he then supported Bill 143, which in fact guaranteed that people would no longer have rights to voice those concerns.

**Mr Norman W. Sterling (Carleton):** I'm not going to go into the same kind of speech that the member who has just spoken has gone into about anger about other issues. I wanted to talk particularly about Bill 62 and

the community of Halton Hills, because I had the pleasure of meeting Russell Miller, the mayor of Halton Hills, yesterday, really at the instigation of the member for Halton North who is introducing this bill, and I appreciated the opportunity to talk first hand with the local people in the area about this issue which is of great concern to them.

I think that everyone has these kinds of issues in their ridings, in their townships, in their municipalities etc. And I'm not certain that this bill addresses this particular problem in the correct way because I think that what we have in front of us is a planning problem, not only in the Niagara Escarpment area, which is a very special area of our province, but we have a planning problem across the province of Ontario.

In the past 15 years it has become increasingly difficult for a land owner to locate a waste disposal site on his or her land. And as a result of that, the problem is that the value of a registered or a legal dump in the province of Ontario has become extremely high and therefore it is in the interests of land owners to go through a very long, a very expensive process in order to have their land site approved under our environmental laws, under our zoning and planning laws so that they can do this.

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We have never really faced this kind of planning dilemma in the province of Ontario before. Usually, when high value is added through a zoning or a land use change, those kinds of areas were located in the downtown core of large metropolitan areas. For instance, in downtown Toronto, if somebody wanted to up their zoning or increase the value of their land by increasing the zoning or the permissible uses of that particular land use, we had a sophisticated developer against a sophisticated and well-heeled municipality. Now, because of the change in terms of the value of a dump site, we have sophisticated developers still in the game, but we don't have well-heeled municipalities to fend off an assault by that developer or subsequent developers on the same piece of land.

In talking to Russell Miller, he tells me that his small township of 35,000 people has spent about three quarters of a million dollars in the past, I don't know, 8 or 10 years in turning back previous owners of this piece of land to convert this to a waste disposal site. Now, \$750,000 to the city of Metropolitan Toronto, or Toronto, is not a lot of money to put out to deal with a zoning matter in a significant part of their municipality, but I'll tell you, for Halton Hills that's a big amount of money.

I think Russell Miller, the mayor, has put forward a very, very compelling argument to me, not only for Halton Hills but for every other township in this province. I feel that the huge increase in value to a piece of land, often a worthless piece of land, by the change of

use to a waste disposal site should in fact put this kind of zoning or land use change into a different category, and I'm not certain that this particular act is fair to those other municipalities.

I must also say that because of the kind of process we go through here in private members' hour, we are not giving the other 43 municipalities along the escarpment the ability to come in front of this Legislature and say, "We agree with this," "We disagree with this," "We disagree with parts of it," or "We don't disagree with parts of it," but that's not a fault of the proponent of this bill; that's a fault of the process that we're going through. Nor does it give the opportunity for people along the escarpment or—particularly along the escarpment, because it affects them not only in Halton Hills but it affects them in Tobermory; it affects them in the other end. We're not giving land owners the opportunity to make their feelings heard on this, and therefore I would hope that the member would send it out for public hearings so that people will have an opportunity to make those submissions.

What I would like to see, perhaps not by this proponent but by this government or a future government, is a provision placed in our planning laws which would say that after a land owner has made a submission to change the use to a waste disposal site and he or she has lost, or the company has lost, the fight in one instance and the municipality has been dragged through that process, then an order is put against that particular property for a period of time, I don't know whether 10 years, 20 years, 30 years or 50 years. That owner and subsequent owners of that land would be put on notice that they could not apply for a waste disposal site on that piece of land for a period of time unless they receive some kind of special permission to bring it, because Halton Hills has not only been put through the expense of fending off the assault of this particular owner; it has already fended off previous assaults by previous owners for this kind of land use change, and it is unfair to small municipalities, which are characteristically the townships that have to fend off these kinds of assaults, to put them through future expenses like this.

There also is an equity argument here in terms of Halton Hills. Halton Hills and its municipal councils have said to the rest of the province of Ontario, "We will allow you to take out aggregate from our municipality; we will bear the inconvenience," the problem with huge numbers of trucks going in and out of their community, hauling aggregate from their community down here to the city of Toronto.

I think if there is some kind of equity in terms of how much one particular municipality gives to the rest of the province of Ontario—and I think there is a very, very valid argument that because 80% of the aggregate to build this city of Toronto in which we are debating this bill has come from the Niagara Escarpment, from

trucks that are going through their municipality and in some ways leaving perhaps a blight on the municipality, or that would be viewed that way—do we really have, or should we as a province be saying, "Well, you've got to take the trucks from the municipality of Toronto taking the garbage back into that municipality"? Everybody, I guess, is responsible in some way for his brother and has to make a contribution to the overall province, but I would say that Halton Hills probably has made its contribution.

I'm going to vote for this bill because, notwithstanding that I'm not certain of the method with which the member is trying to reach the end, I agree with the end result of what the member is trying to do with Bill 62.

**Mr Donald Abel (Wentworth North):** It's a pleasure to rise in the House today and speak on Bill 62, An Act to amend the Environmental Protection Act in respect of the Niagara Escarpment. The focus of this bill, authored by my colleague and my friend the member for Halton North, is to totally disallow landfill sites within the jurisdiction of the Niagara Escarpment Commission plan.

The province of Ontario is blessed to have 725 kilometres of this geographical feature. This escarpment has received international recognition by being designated as one of UNESCO's world biosphere reserves. The escarpment is a dominant feature in my riding of Wentworth North, and having lived near the escarpment my entire life, I am very appreciative of the escarpment as a scenic and recreational feature.

However, the importance of keeping landfills out of the Niagara Escarpment goes far beyond scenic, social or recreational issues. The primary issue is one of health and preventing pollution. The fact is that groundwater moves through the fractured dolomite of the Niagara Escarpment hundreds of times faster than groundwater moves through other kinds of rock. In fact, the traditional methods of predicting groundwater velocities are inadequate for this kind of rock. In fractured dolomite, only tracer tests give a realistic idea of velocity, and well testing of hydraulic conductivity alone is inadequate.

We would be well advised in this province to learn from the experience in the United States, which, I might add, has exactly the same kind of rock. As I said, Ontario has 725 kilometres of the escarpment, but the escarpment continues beyond the border, and in fact it goes into the Michigan basin and down into Wisconsin.

I'd like to bring to the members' attention a 1992 report to the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources. It's entitled Hydrogeology and Groundwater Monitoring of Fractured Dolomite in the Upper Door Priority Watershed, from Door county, Wisconsin. Based on well testing of hydraulic conductivity, which is the standard method that's commonly used here in Ontario, it was predicted that the groundwater should



move at a rate of 0.039 metres per day. The hydraulic conductivities and predicted velocities found in Wisconsin are within the exact same range as those found here in Ontario in the Niagara Escarpment. Obviously, this movement is slow enough that it would be easy to contain the flow of leachate from a landfill site.

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However, when actual tracer tests were done in Wisconsin, it was found that the groundwater actually moved 19 metres per day; for those of you who are not metric, that's 55 feet in one day. That's 490 times faster than the predicted velocities, and as far as I'm concerned, that's certainly cause for alarm. Very little of this type of tracer testing has been done in Ontario, but the evidence shows that we can expect similar velocities here. It's foolish to think that technology could adequately contain contaminants flowing out of a landfill site into surrounding rock at that rate of 19 metres per day.

The fractured dolomite of the Niagara Escarpment allows groundwater to move through the cracks very quickly and is certainly not an appropriate kind of rock in which to try to contain contaminants from leaking out of a landfill site. We all should be striving for sustainable development here in this province. Putting a landfill site in a leaky basin is not sustainable and will only cause problems with water contamination for the future. Again, our neighbours in the United States have already learned the difficulty, in costly ways, about the hazards of pollution in fractured dolomite, and ironically, the legislation in the United States regarding land use involving this kind of rock is much more advanced than ours.

This topic hits home with me and the approximately 70,000 people of the riding of Wentworth North. We have a dump site that's been there for years, located on the brow of the Dundas Valley. Only about 50% of the leachate is being collected, and God knows where the rest is going.

To make matters worse, there is a proposed 200-acre megadump just across the road from an existing dump—200 acres of fractured dolomite sitting there waiting to become a landfill site. If this proposal is approved, one company will stand to make millions and millions of dollars at the expense of thousands of people in Wentworth North. If this proposal is approved, it will change Wentworth North for all time. And Wentworth North is not alone, because there are other locations in the Niagara Escarpment facing similar proposals. They too, if dump sites are allowed, will change those areas for all time.

I'd like to commend the member for Halton North for having the courage to bring forth this bill. I'd like to urge all members of the Legislature to support Bill 62, because this bill is essential to the protection of our health and our environment, for all people who live

within the jurisdiction of the Niagara Escarpment.

**Mr Charles Beer (York North):** I rise as well to speak on Bill 62. Let me say at the outset that I think we share with the honourable member the desire to protect the escarpment, that that is something of great value to all of us, not only in this province but in this country. I think it would be most useful for this bill to go forward, to go to committee and to allow for a much broader discussion in terms of whether the particulars that you've set out in terms of how this would work could be explored.

The honourable member for Carleton has raised for me, often very useful in these debates, some approaches around how we handle, from a planning point of view, a number of these questions. Clearly, there are a variety of municipalities and other interests that would want to look at it, but I think the principle of protecting the Niagara Escarpment is one that people support.

I say that at the outset because I must then say to the honourable member that he needs to appreciate in particular that for those of us who are from the region of Peel, the region of York or the region of Durham, we stand here today knowing that at noon there will be a major demonstration of groups coming down from our areas that are tremendously concerned about the whole process that was unleashed under Bill 143 and the fact that an enormous dump site is going to be selected, one for each of those areas.

In the government throne speech it was stated on page 12 in the Lieutenant Governor's address the other day:

"Improving the environment is key to Ontario. In this session, my government will seek approval of the environmental bill of rights. This bill will ensure that people and communities have the right to a cleaner and safer environment through a more open and accountable decision-making process."

It is here where we part company with the whole process that has been unleashed in terms of York, Durham and Peel. Many of the arguments made, both by the member for Halton North and the member for Wentworth North in support of their bill and in support of their proposal, the arguments around health and safety and the movement of water and leachate, all of those are arguments which we have in terms of the proposals in our own areas, and simply because those areas do not have the protection afforded to the escarpment does not make them any less real to the people who live there.

I am a member from the region of York and I want to address my concerns specifically to that area, because it is our area that has, in Bill 143, unilaterally been told, "You will take all of the garbage from Metropolitan Toronto and you will only be able to take it in terms of a gigantic dump."

The member for Wentworth North was talking about a megadump of some 200 acres and expressed a concern about that, and I quite appreciate that. Understand that the Keele Valley dump is larger than that and the one that is proposed for York region would be even larger: some 80 SkyDomes, 13 storeys high. This is what is being proposed in our area, and all that we've been asking is that the Environmental Assessment Act and the ability to look at all of the different options be examined and that the government not simply say, "You can only look at waste disposal through a dump, a megadump."

The concern expressed by the member for Halton North around the whole issue of dumps and the whole issue of what kind of protection we afford different areas is the same one that we feel. We simply say to him, if he is asking the government to protect his area for a series of reasons, we are asking that the process be fair everywhere in this province; and that when looking at what is going to happen in York or Peel or Durham, not only should the dump that is being proposed in our area be placed on the table but also rail haul to the north, also energy from waste, that all of these are very legitimate options that need to be considered.

When we look at Bill 62, which is asking for certain protections under the Environmental Protection Act, those can be seen. They are clear, they are understandable, but they fly in the face of some of the underlying principles that are in Bill 143, and they certainly fly in the face of the so-called proposed environmental bill of rights. Because what, I ask, does Bill 143 do to ensure that the people and communities of York and Peel and Durham are going to be protected when in Bill 143 the Minister of the Environment has the power, and has exercised that power, to exclude a series of options other than dumps?

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If we go back over the past year in discussing all of these questions around dumps, whether in terms of Bill 62 or Bill 143, we have statements and questions, we have had special debates that have dealt with the specifics of this bill and what it proposes to do in a way quite different from what the member for Halton North is talking about doing in his own area. We have to focus very clearly that despite the special characteristics of the Niagara Escarpment, special characteristics that I think everyone here respects and wants to ensure are protected, there are other areas of the province that have equally valid and real concerns in terms of what they want protected.

In the town of Maple today there is the second-largest dump in all of North America. It is proposed that not far from that dump, as one moves up the highway towards the community of King City, a second, even larger megadump is going to be put in place; this in an area of the province where one can argue very strongly

that that area has taken its share, that there is equity. The member for Carleton has talked about equity in terms of Halton Hills and Toronto and I think makes a very valid point. What about the social equity in terms of the people in Maple and King City in looking at the existence of one major dump and then another one that is proposed to be placed right next door?

It is this which leads us and which has led my colleague the member for Mississauga North to talk about the hypocrisy between the words that are in the throne speech and what has actually happened in Bill 143. That is why it is difficult to debate purely and simply the principles around the bill you propose, Bill 62, principles with which I have no argument but where I say, if one can do that, then how is it that you as a member of this same government and others of your caucus can in fact support Bill 143, which has placed upon the people in Peel and Durham and York a system, a process, that is neither democratic nor fair? It is arbitrary, it is unilateral and it continues to cause tremendous stress and tremendous concern to the people who live in those areas.

It is for this reason that today, the day before Earth Day, the day on which we are to protect our environment, people from all over those regions are coming to Queen's Park to protest what this government has not done in protecting the environment in York and Peel and Durham.

So I say to the honourable member that we share with him the desire to protect the Niagara Escarpment. We simply say again that what is fair in the protection of the escarpment and what is fair in terms of dumps should also be applied to our areas. If this goes to committee, that will then provide us perhaps with an opportunity to make the changes that are necessary.

**Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel):** I am pleased to participate in this debate dealing with Bill 62 as introduced by the member for Halton North.

The member for Halton North's riding adjoins my riding of Dufferin-Peel and specifically the town of Caledon, and many of the problems that occur in his riding occur in mine. We have issues of aggregates, we have the issues he's raising today. So I do rise in support of the philosophy of his bill, although obviously, as has been raised to date, there are a number of issues that might be resolvable in a committee or at some later time. But certainly, I will be voting in favour of this bill and do support the philosophy of his bill.

Certainly when one looks at what the philosophy of the Niagara Escarpment is—and I will refer to some of the sections from the plan telling what the Niagara Escarpment is doing, as has been stated very ably by the member for Halton North—you look at why you set these areas up. Were these areas designed to place dumps? The answer is that I don't think they were, although there may be certain areas within the plan that



maybe shouldn't be within the plan and that perhaps should be taken out. There may be areas in the plan that are suitable for dump sites.

So again, philosophically, if you're going to have a plan, if you're going to designate an area to protect our natural resources, then I quite support the member for Halton North's bill.

Certainly, the Niagara Escarpment has been quoted—and I'm going to make a similar statement to the member for Halton North which comes from some of the pages from the plan—"The Niagara Escarpment includes a variety of topographic features and land uses extending 725 km from Queenston on the Niagara River to the islands off Tobermory on the Bruce Peninsula, and a particular combination of geological and ecological features along the Niagara results in a landscape unequalled in Canada. It is also a source of some of southern Ontario's prime rivers and streams and one of the province's principal outdoor recreation areas."

Having said that, I also encourage the member for Halton North and others in this House who are supporting it, and I hope the bill carries; I hope it could be refined, but I hope it carries. But you also look at other areas that are comparable: the province's agricultural policy, the food land policy that designates certain areas to be preserved for agricultural use, the Sewell report which talked about preserving certain lands for agricultural use; in other words, designating certain areas, planning, constructive planning. That's what the Niagara Escarpment's all about. We're concerned about our natural resources. We're concerned about the beauty of this wonderful area that has been described by the member for Halton North. We're also concerned about the agricultural land, about preserving our food lands.

In my riding, I have the Niagara Escarpment. It goes through my riding and I wholly support what he's saying, but I go one step further and I hope he would look at the dictatorial part of Bill 143 which could apply to the subject you're dealing with, and it's a very dictatorial bill. You supported that bill. That bill says you can do almost anything.

In my riding, in Dufferin-Peel and Caledon, there are two sites which consist of two or three farms that are going to be gone if this site is chosen, prime agricultural land, to say nothing about the problems of the water underneath and to say nothing of the destruction of the community. You put a dump in certain areas, you destroy the area, you destroy the Niagara Escarpment Commission, or the plan that's set aside by the Niagara Escarpment. He's quite right that you're going to destroy this area that you've built up that you've been trying to preserve for over 10 years—I think it's 10 years, 10 or 11 years—and you're going to destroy these farms, you're going to destroy these communities. The planning of this government is contradictory with the whole philosophy of Bill 143, whether you're

talking about, as I say, the Sewell report, or whether you're talking about the food land policy.

The food land policy, for example, of the provincial government—a statement taken from the policy statement of food land preservation, "Where prime agricultural land has been identified, the use of this land, for productive agricultural purposes be given priority in evaluating alternative land use."

Some priority. In my riding, the Interim Waste Authority, which was created by this government, is going to destroy farm land. There's a whole booklet on food land preservation that talks about the need to preserve our farm land, aside from Mr Sewell's report. Mr Sewell says the same thing.

So I congratulate the member for bringing this bill forward. Obviously, both our ridings are similar, we have aggregate problems and you don't fill up areas, pot holes in the ground that have been removed for aggregates, with garbage, because generally you're that much closer to the water table.

In fact, some of these aggregate concerns I'm sure that he talks about—and I don't know very much about his particular concern, but certainly they go down very close to the water table and in some cases, in my riding, below the water table. If we're going to have a policy of filling up aggregate sites with garbage, that's a terrible destructive concern that we're going to have to the water of this province.

So I support his bill, but I ask that he take another look at your policies on the environment, particularly Bill 143 and the effects that it's having on this province, especially the greater Toronto area.

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**Mr Gordon Mills (Durham East):** It's my pleasure to rise here in the House this morning to support my colleague's bill, Bill 62, An Act to amend the Environmental Protection Act in respect of the Niagara Escarpment.

I can't think of a better day for the introduction of this bill or to be talking about it, because today is Earth Day. I think we should all really come to think about the planet that we live on. I know that if there are people listening or watching this program this morning who are apparently going to go out later to go shopping in their cars, they should think about Earth Day and about our planet and do their bit and leave the car in the garage or in the driveway and walk, which I did today to come here.

It's a shame that the member for Mississauga North entered into this debate this morning in such a ballistic manner, ripping apart this bill, ripping apart the government. I know, Mr Speaker, as far as hypocrites go—I'm not going to mention that word, because I know how you feel about language in the House, and I agree with you. But Bill 143, I can support in my riding. Bill 143

says in effect, which is really the main issue here, "You folks in Durham look after your garbage." We do not want the garbage from Toronto in Durham, we do not want garbage from anywhere else in Durham, but we're perfectly able to look after the garbage that we produce ourselves.

I am also surprised that the member for Markham is not here this morning to take up this debate, because he's such an advocate. Perhaps he's away up in the country organizing this show of force that's supposed to take place outside the Legislature at 1:30 today.

I think too that we have to realize here, and the member for Halton North has rightly pointed it out, that we're not talking about a site, a quarry, with the normal clay base or anything like that. This site is fractured dolomite and that speaks oodles for what this bill is trying to do, because that will allow the leachates to rampage through that site and on to the water.

**Mr David Winninger (London South):** And 500 times faster.

**Mr Mills:** And 500 times faster, as my colleague says.

We know from the notes that we have from POWER, Protect Our Water and Environmental Resources, that they're concerned about the blasting in this quarry over the last 20 years. Rightly they say, "Who but a fool would assume that cracks don't exist?" I go back to Kirkland Lake. The other party seemed to think that the crisis for our garbage in Ontario could be solved in Kirkland Lake. It's Toronto's problem. You know very well over there that the site in Kirkland Lake sits atop the greatest amount of water in Ontario, almost equal to Lake Ontario.

I can tell you that there's absolutely no way that we can tell if that is a safe place to put garbage. I use the analogy of the space program and the Challenger. Everybody thought nothing could go wrong with the Challenger or the space program, but a 10-cent rubber O ring sabotaged the plan and it took the lives of many of the astronauts. So nothing is absolutely perfect or foolproof. That's why I say we should really look at Kirkland Lake and come to understand all the water underneath that site.

All landfills will leak, says the United States's William Ruckelshaus while in his new position as CEO for Browning-Ferris Industries. He admitted this at a public hearing in Sacramento, California. "As drinking water becomes more scarce and precious," he says, "we cannot afford to risk the irretrievable loss of water." That's why this bill is before us today. We want to save the water that flows through Halton North.

I agree, too, that waste disposal should remain a public responsibility. The public needs the huge revenues from disposal to pay for waste reduction programs. The revenue from the proposed site in my

colleague's riding will begin at \$150 million a year and escalate upward from there. When we get to the hearings, another thing that bothers me is that private companies can deduct hearing costs as expenses before tax dollars, and citizens must pay for the hearing costs out of after tax dollars with no deductions.

That brings me to my own riding. We have a commercial dump that is in this countdown for the dump for Durham. It's in Newtonville, KK2, and I can tell you, Mr Speaker, that it bothers me there that a commercial company is doing things to try to make sure that dump goes ahead in conjunction with moneys that the ordinary folk in Newtonville haven't got, and I think that's a shame.

If this landfill site in Halton goes forward, it will set a precedent for the Niagara Escarpment which is already riddled with quarries. I know that we all know how we treasure the Niagara Escarpment. It's a development of a park system, so most of us have walked the 740-kilometre Bruce Trail. It contains a corridor of natural habitat and wilderness and it's protected for future generations.

So on Earth Day I urge all members to support my colleague's bill. It's needed and we need to protect that particular area to ensure that the Niagara Escarpment continues to serve the people of Ontario as a natural beauty. Thank you very much, Mr Speaker.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Thank you. The member for Halton North, you have two minutes.

**Mr Duignan:** I appreciate and I thank the members for Carleton and Dufferin-Peel for the kind comments on my private member's bill. If I was 20 years younger, I know how I would reply to the member for Mississauga North, but however, he hasn't the courtesy to be in his place to hear my reply, so I don't intend to waste my two minutes in replying to some of his silly comments.

However, I have a petition signed by 12,500 people in my riding, I have petitions signed by over 2,000 people from right across Ontario who support Bill 62, on this special day, Earth Day.

I also want, at this point, with a minute left, to pay tribute to my constituents in Halton North, indeed in Halton region, who over the course of 16 or 15 years took care of the garbage. That's why they're excluded under Bill 143, because they saw that there was no point in shuffling their garbage off to Kirkland Lake or anywhere else. They took it upon themselves and established a regional landfill site in the Halton Region. It took them 15 years and some \$150 million to establish that, and that's what needs to be done.

We're also the leader in the 3R program. We recycle some 24% of our garbage going into the landfill site. That speaks volumes for the people of the Halton region. And I pay tribute to Mayor Russ Miller who has



led the fight against RSI and various other proposals in putting garbage on the escarpment, and indeed to POWER and FOE and a number of the other organizations in our riding that have taken up the fight and will continue, and we will make sure that no landfill site will take place in the Acton quarry or indeed anywhere along the escarpment.

Again, I wish to pay tribute to my colleagues who made thoughtful comments on my bill and I look forward to seeing this bill in committee.

**The Deputy Speaker:** The time allotted for ballot item 1 has expired.

1100

#### ONTARIO FILM REVIEW

Ms Poole moved resolution number 3:

That, in the opinion of this House, since in an increasingly violent society we as legislators have publicly condemned violence against women and children; and

Since slasher films brutally and graphically depicting the torture, mutilation and death of young women are now being distributed throughout Ontario in neighbourhood video stores; and

Since slasher films can be sold and rented with no indication of their content or classification; and

Since the government of Ontario does not have a policy, nor enforcement mechanisms, in place to effectively deal with slasher films;

Therefore the government of Ontario should immediately complete its review of the mandate, jurisdiction, enforcement mechanisms and classification system of the Ontario Film Review Board, including the following recommendations:

That the Theatres Act, which currently requires that all films sold or rented in Ontario be reviewed and classified by the Ontario Film Review Board, be exercised to its fullest;

That inspectors be hired to monitor videos which are sold or rented in Ontario to ensure all films have been reviewed, classified and approved by the Ontario Film Review Board, with particular concern for the wellbeing of our children;

That substantial and appropriate penalties be imposed on unlicensed distributors, and on retailers who carry videos not reviewed, classified and approved by the Ontario Film Review Board;

That stickers showing classification by the Ontario Film Review Board be attached to all videos for sale or rent in Ontario, both on the videos and on their covers, together with a requirement that an explanation of these classifications be displayed to the public wherever these videos are rented or sold;

That the rating system be strengthened and the guidelines set out in the Theatres Act be strictly adhered

to by the Ontario Film Review Board, to ensure that films which blatantly celebrate violence are considered unacceptable in accordance with community standards.

Upon completion of this review, the government of Ontario should enact policy initiatives and, if necessary, introduce legislation to ensure the protection of women and society against the proliferation of slasher films in this province.

**The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin):** Ms Poole, I just want to remind you that you have 10 minutes for your presentation.

**Ms Dianne Poole (Eglinton):** Today we're going to talk about slasher films, films which brutally and graphically depict the torture, mutilation and death of young women. It isn't a very pleasant topic, but we have to talk about the horrendous impact of this genre. We have to commit ourselves to dealing with the problem and we have to act to protect women and children in this province.

On numerous occasions, we as legislators have spoken out about and condemned violence against women and children, but if we fail to act on this, the most abhorrent of examples of violence, then all our words will be nothing more than lipservice and all our words will be meaningless.

The issue of slasher films came to public attention through the efforts of two women, Pat Herdman and Valerie Smith, who were appalled to find slasher films in neighbourhood video stores, readily available to children. They found that slasher films just fell through the cracks.

First, slasher films are not considered obscene under the Criminal Code because sex is not portrayed together with the violence.

Second, slasher films don't fall under Canada's hate laws because hate laws don't apply to gender.

They also found that videos produced prior to the mid-1980s are exempt from the requirements in Ontario that all films be reviewed, classified and approved by the Ontario Film Review Board.

They found that movies that have been shown previously on the air waves, for instance, television, are also exempt from having to be approved by the Ontario Film Review Board.

They found that enforcement was a real problem, with distributors bypassing the OFRB and getting away with it. By the way, the OFRB, for your information, is the Ontario Film Review Board.

Finally, they had serious concerns as to whether the OFRB was exercising fully its mandate to review and edit inappropriate material.

So these two women decided to do something about it. They went on a modern-day crusade to ensure that this material would not be available to our children.

They founded the Coalition for the Safety of Our Daughters. They appealed to Premier Rae, himself the father of three young daughters, to act. They tried to get the media involved but ironically found, with a few exceptions, that the media didn't want to be involved because they saw this as the thin edge of the wedge of censorship.

They appealed to the Ontario Human Rights Commission to have slasher films considered as hate material against women and got nowhere. Then they invited community leaders, including politicians and people from the media, to a screening of *Reel Hatred*, a collection of clips taken from readily available movies which celebrate the gruesome slaughter of young women.

Mr Speaker, I apologize in advance for some of these graphic descriptions, but I don't think, unless people understand what we are talking about, they can deal with this issue.

That night we watched in horror scenes from movies such as *Bloodfest*, where one woman had her tongue torn out, another had her eye gouged out and was dismembered. I only made it halfway through the film *Snuff*, where a woman had her fingers snipped off with metal cutters, her hand cut off with a jigsaw and her intestines ripped out. I had to leave the room because I was sick to my stomach.

One of the people who spoke at the end of the showing of *Reel Hatred* was Debbie Mahaffy, the mother of young Leslie Mahaffy, a 14-year-old young girl whose brutal, tragic death two years ago sent the community of Burlington into shock waves. Debbie Mahaffy gave this eloquent and moving plea:

"Can we afford to ignore this destructive trash? Please take action against this hatred. There's little comfort once the violence and murder have taken someone you love."

Today those three very courageous women who are fighting to stop the proliferation of this horrible violence are with us in the members' west gallery—Pat Herdman, Valerie Smith and Debbie Mahaffy. I would like to thank them on behalf of the people of Ontario for their tireless efforts to bring this issue to the public's attention and to make our communities a safer place. Thank you for coming today.

Catherine Thompson of the Kitchener-Waterloo Record was one of the journalists who attended *Reel Hatred* and did speak out. This is what she wrote:

"As a journalist, the idea of banning anything goes against the grain, but these pictures offer nothing redeeming or artistic and much that is deeply disturbing. They're made for one reason only, to make money, and they offer one simple message: Killing and mutilating women is not only okay, it's actually kind of neat. Come and watch.

"Ontario is not protected. It's a place where young women like Kristen French, Leslie Mahaffy and Lynda Shaw really do die horrible deaths at the hands of real people. In such a world, how can it be acceptable to celebrate such brutality?"

I too am not generally a big fan of censorship, but surely these films go far beyond the limits of even the most tolerant of societies. This sickening filth must be stopped. How can we purport to be a compassionate, a caring, a sensitive society if we tolerate this kind of message? How can we possibly claim that we are addressing the issue of violence against women and children if we allow this perversion to continue?

I felt that I had to do something to try and help, so I prepared excerpts from *Reel Hatred* and brought the case before my Liberal caucus. The reaction from my colleagues in the Liberal caucus was clear and unequivocal: This is sickening and disgusting and something has to be done.

I met and talked with people from the Ontario Film Review Board, from Project P of the OPP's anti-racket porn squad and the entertainment standards branch. In mid-February, I wrote to the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations, who I believe genuinely shares my concern. I offered suggestions to deal with the problem and asked to meet with the minister to pursue the matter. In fact we are going to be meeting next week. I did my last cable show on slasher movies to help bring the matter to the public attention.

1110

But, Mr Speaker, it's not enough, and that's why I brought the resolution to the House today. I am hoping that in an all-too-rare, non-partisan spirit of cooperation, all members of this Legislature will give their support. Strong support from both sides of the House will send a clear message to the government and to the public that we in Ontario are not prepared to condone and accept such violence.

A person who is exposed to violent sexual material will be more predisposed to tolerate violence and more inclined to act out his violence.

As a parent of two teenagers under the age of 18, I am all too well aware that video stores routinely rent out restricted movies to those who are under age. I would say to you, remember, in Ontario "Restricted" is the most restrictive classification we have and includes adult films. It includes these slasher films. We do not have an X-rated system in Ontario, and our children are having this material available to them at the local video store.

As the Coalition for the Safety of Our Daughters has said:

"Surely we should not allow our children to be enculturated into blandly accepting violence as entertainment. We must work for reasonable and responsible



solutions. Averting our eyes, pretending the celebration of violence doesn't hurt us, will not solve the problem. We have a right to be offended and a right to take action."

I believe that this government is in a position to act and should act quickly.

The Ontario Law Reform Commission released its report on the powers of the Ontario Film Review Board in November. While I agree with many of the recommendations, there is one in particular that gives me great concern and I shall discuss that a little later.

The fact of the matter is the government has now had the commission's report for the past six months. The government has a working document containing very specific recommendations, some of which, such as the sticker system, are included in my resolution.

I would beseech the minister and the Premier to urge, support, prod—whatever it takes—the federal government to act quickly to amend Canada's obscenity and hate laws. Let's ask, what are the priorities of this government? Is it going to be removing sexism from beer commercials or doing something about slashers? The women and children of this province are depending on you and they're depending on us.

**Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South):** As I rise to speak to this motion this morning, I think it's very important for each and every one of us in this Legislature today to recognize that this subject would not be before us if it had not been brought to our direct attention by Valerie Smith from Brampton and Patricia Herdman from Guelph in their establishment of the Coalition for the Safety of Our Daughters. They have been working tirelessly to try to get a remedy to something that, in my opinion, doesn't even bear a sticker system. As far as I'm concerned, this material should be prohibited in our province and our country.

I happened to hold a personal safety forum last night in my riding, not necessarily directed at women and children, but people. We had standing room only at that forum. We all in Ontario today recognize that violence is increasing. We all know that, in particular, violence against women is the major concern.

In virtually all slasher films, men perpetrate the violence and women are the victims. While the films may incite hatred against women, federal hate laws define "hatred" on the basis of creed or racial background, not on the basis of sex. Therefore, they do not apply to slasher films.

Last February, when the Coalition for the Safety of Our Daughters arranged the showing of some typical excerpts from these films in a collection they called *Reel Hatred*, I attended this screening along with approximately 50 interested women and men. Everybody who attended was very disappointed and, I would say, surprised that not a single member of the NDP

government caucus in this province would find time to attend that screening.

The House of Commons communication and culture committee is considering an appropriate amendment to the Criminal Code of Canada with an aim to making the Criminal Code apply to slasher films. Upon the urging of the Prime Minister, who received a petition last year signed by 1.3 million Canadians calling for restrictions on TV violence, the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission spearheaded a debate on TV violence. As a result, the Canadian Association of Broadcasters has submitted to the CRTC a set of amendments to the Canadian Association of Broadcasters' voluntary code to control TV violence. However, there has been no action on the part of the Ontario NDP government, which does control the dissemination of videos through the regulatory powers of the Ontario Film Review Board under the Theatres Act.

Mr Speaker, do you realize that some of the grisly videos excerpted in the *Reel Hatred* collection are rated AA-14, meaning that children under 14 can watch them in the company of an adult? In studies conducted by Sandra Campbell of Viva Associates in Toronto, children as young as five have reported extensive viewing of the slasher movies. There are also slasher videos available that have not yet been reviewed by the OFRB, yet there appears to be no action by the Ontario NDP government, through the Ontario Provincial Police, to remove these illegal films from the shelves.

A response from the then Attorney General, Howard Hampton, to Valerie Smith of the Coalition for the Safety of Our Daughters referred Ms Smith to Project P, even though slasher films do not constitute pornography and therefore do not fall within the jurisdiction of Project P. Mr Speaker, wouldn't you have thought that the Attorney General for Ontario, Howard Hampton, might have known that on such a serious subject?

I would like to place on the record the following sections of the Theatres Act, which do give the Ontario Film Review Board the authority for refusing to approve slasher films, because I'm not interested in any category that allows slasher films in this province.

Under section 14(2):

"(a) A graphic or prolonged scene of violence, torture, crime, cruelty, horror or human degradation;

"(b) The depiction of the physical abuse or humiliation of human beings for purposes of sexual gratification or as pleasing to the victim;

"(f) A scene depicting indignities to the human body in an explicit manner."

Without doubt, refusal by the Ontario Film Review Board to approve slasher films would be subject to appeals under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. However, given the Supreme Court Decision last year with respect to the need to put the rights of

society ahead of the rights of the individual when it comes to the viewing of pornography, I am sure that restrictions on the distribution of slasher films would also hold up to judicial scrutiny.

I am also very disturbed by the Ontario Film Review Board's statement, in response to the human rights complaint, that its first service is a direct service to exhibitors in relation to films submitted for classification and approvals, while its second service—get this, Mr Speaker; its second service—is an indirect service to the public in the form of information pieces. This is ridiculous. The Ontario Film Review Board's primary responsibility should be to the Ontario public. If the Ontario Film Review Board's mandate is to serve exhibitors, does it not follow that the Ontario Film Review Board could be pressured by the industry to rate films AA-14 rather than R, since films make much more money when they have a less restrictive rating? Obviously there needs to be a review of the Ontario Film Review Board's mandate, and I ask today, in this House, will this NDP government undertake such a review? The Ontario Film Review Board, as it is currently operating, in my opinion is an absolute farce.

1120

I attended a public forum in Mississauga which was organized by the Mississauga Committee on Obscenity, chaired by Councillor Maja Prentice. At that meeting, the current chair, newly appointed, Dorothy Christian, of the OFRB admitted in response to my questions that the Ontario Film Review Board had reviewed 1,847 pieces of material in 10 months, and in order to do it, guess what they do? They fast-forward and turn the sound down. So if we think the answer is really dependent on this board in its present form of operation, then I plead to this government to recognize that to fast-forward films that are being reviewed for content with the sound turned down is an absolute, total lack of responsibility and effectiveness.

In my opinion and in the opinion of our caucus, we feel that there is a direct correlation between the increase in violence against women in this province and the tragedies we are hearing in an increasing number of incidents, and we plead with this Ontario NDP government once and for all to make a revision that will be effective in controlling the distribution and availability of this material in this province immediately and to review the mandate and operation of the Ontario Film Review Board.

**Mr Noel Duignan (Halton North):** The resolution introduced by the member for Eglinton suggests that the government does not have a policy or the enforcement mechanisms in place to effectively deal with slasher films. While we agree in principle with several items in that resolution, the government has indeed initiated action which parallels the member's concerns.

I know the member for Eglinton is calling for an

immediate review of the Ontario Film Review Board. A comprehensive review of the powers of the Ontario Film Review Board was published in November of last year and was prepared by the Ontario Law Reform Commission, and the member's resolution seems to speak directly to some of those recommendations in the law reform commission's report.

The member also suggested that the government is not dealing specifically with the issue of slasher films. However, the Ministry of Consumer and Commercial Relations staff is currently working towards the adoption of a number of recommendations which will specially address the issue of slasher films. The film review board and ministry staff are meeting with counterparts in other provinces and federal representatives to discuss the issues of mutual concern, including classification systems and how to respond to the communities' concerns, especially about slashers.

The minister has made it widely known that she favours the adoption of a specific information piece to address the issue of violence against women and has suggested to the film review board that it consider ways of letting viewers know when films contain scenes of violence against women. The OFRB is reviewing its use of information pieces, including the minister's suggestion to include an information piece regarding violence against women.

The Theatres Act regulations are currently being reviewed in accordance with the law reform commission's findings in an effort to further restrict children's access to disturbing and/or violent videos.

Many of the films in the slasher genre actually pre-date provincial government authority over video releases. The Theatres Act did not encompass home video rentals or the retail video distribution network until the staged proclamation of the Theatres Amendment Act in 1985 and indeed in 1988. Videos which were in distribution prior to that time are not subject to review by the film review board. Films that have been available on television in Ontario are exempt as well. This includes so-called slasher films viewed on late-night TV.

I believe the minister has taken a very active advocacy role by urging the federal government to address the materials, like slasher films, which glorify human mutilation. A lot of the problem lies in the federal Criminal Code. Until the federal government gets off its rear end and does something, we can do nothing about it in this province. Without a federal law to guide them, provincial police forces have no authority to seize or prosecute materials which celebrate torture. I know our current minister is currently urging the federal government, and I would urge all members of all parties to do the same, to change the federal statutes, to enable provincial authorities to better control films such as slasher videos.



I know that, for example, the member also talked about an elaborate sticker program. The previous government embarked on an elaborate sticker program and abandoned it—why?—before it could actually be implemented. I want to know why. Our ministry is currently examining a modified sticker program to specially address pornographic and/or violent materials. I know that the previous government has disbanded the investigative team dedicated to theatres and video stores because the cost of monitoring video stores outweighs the social benefit that the service provides.

Towards the end of the previous government's mandate the investigation staff assigned to the theatre section were eliminated. Staff in the entertainment standards branch, with responsibilities to other sections, were assigned to cover the work rising out of the theatre section. Disbanding the theatres inspection system was, I trust, by way of the exercise we're going through, a very difficult decision. I guess the questions of resource allocation always are.

At this point, I know many of our members would like to speak to this particular subject, so I yield the floor.

**Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South):** First of all, it's a pleasure to join in this debate. I congratulate the member for Eglinton for bringing forward—

*Interjections.*

**The Deputy Speaker:** Order.

**Mr Callahan:** It is certainly an issue that is very important. I find it interesting that we stand in this House and actually have people trying to defend government inaction of whatever political stripe. I think that's totally unbelievable. It's kind of like saying, "I surrender. We recognize that these films"—

**Mrs Marland:** If you don't respond to this resolution this morning, you will regret it for the rest of your time in office.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Order. There is one speaker who has the right to speak. Let's make sure that he has that right. The member for Brampton South.

**Mr Callahan:** I wonder if I could have a few minutes added to the clock, Mr Speaker.

I want to say I find it absolutely incredible that what's happening is that this would not have the support of everybody of this House. It's kind of like the government of the day, the New Democratic Party government, is saying: "I surrender. We can't do anything about it and there is in fact no ability of a remedy."

That couldn't be further from the truth. In fact, what has been said by the member for Halton North is totally incorrect. The province is the only one that has the power at the moment to deal with this very pressing issue, and I refer you to the regulation which simply says that the board—and I'm paraphrasing it—may refuse to approve a film for exhibition or distribution in

Ontario where the film contains a graphic or a prolonged scene of violence, torture, crime, cruelty, horror or human degradation.

It doesn't take a Philadelphia lawyer or a rocket scientist to recognize that this in fact clearly gives to that board the power to do what is not even available to the federal government. I do agree with the member for Halton North that the answer to this entire process is that subsection 163(8) of the Criminal Code of Canada should be reviewed, just as they did with pornographic literature in the Badgley report, because what that section says is, "For the purposes of this act, any publication a dominant characteristic of which is the undue exploitation of sex, or of sex in any one or more of the following subjects, namely, crime, horror, cruelty and violence, shall be deemed to be obscene." For some reason, the federal government—and I'm not going to concentrate on it today because it's not relevant to this, but it is relevant parenthetically—puts the emphasis on sex. Unless you have sex and violence, it's not obscene.

Now, I suggest to you that the provincial government is the only available government to the citizens of this province to deal with this very important issue. If you don't deal with it, what in fact you will do by leaving these predators out there who produce this smut, what you're going to do is you're going to leave it out there and eventually people will become desensitized to the fact that women are brutally mutilated and so on. The net effect of that is that because a defence against a charge of obscenity becomes defensible as the acceptability of society becomes greater, in fact you'll find that if you stay asleep at the switch, eventually you won't even be able to prosecute somebody should the federal government change the sex and assault section of the obscenity rules; you won't even be able to prosecute successfully that type of film. It will be a free market for these predators to continue to do this.

1130

Don't kid yourself: These people are smart people. They're in a multimillion-dollar, sick industry, but they're actually producing films where they know just where they can get around the corner. They know just where they can get around the corner. They skirt the federal legislation by perhaps not including sex but maybe just an incitement that that's what's on the horizon along with the assault.

I think it's time that we recognized the fact as politicians, both provincially and federally, that this type of conduct is unacceptable in our society. We did it with children. We perpetrate and we continue the myth that women are simply objects to be used at the will and whim of men. We wonder why there are so many abductions in this city and throughout this country of young ladies, that they're no longer safe to walk the streets. I mean, if you constantly shoot at kids, particularly through a medium that is important to them and

one which influences them significantly—television or videos—if you constantly shoot at them the question that these women are being mutilated and it doesn't matter, it's not of importance, you may very well desensitize them to the point where it doesn't become a concern for them any more.

I think it's been established during the tragedy of world wars and other conflicts that a soldier or a person in combat, on having to shoot the first person, has great problems. After he's shot the first person, it becomes a little easier to shoot the next person, there's less pang. As human beings, we do in fact find things to be objectionable, but the more we do them, the more we become desensitized. I suggest that's exactly what will happen to the young people in our community.

Adults have chosen in their society—and I certainly don't subscribe to it. Unfortunately, I think we've destroyed our society by some of the laissez-faire attitudes we've taken about a whole host of things. I mean, I can remember Toronto in the days when you could walk the street at night without being held up, mugged, raped or whatever. I guess I'm in the minority in that regard. It seems as though the approach to it today is a much broader aspect, and you can do almost anything on television or in the movies, even if it interferes with families and so on. But in any event, that's not what I'm addressing here.

I'm addressing the question, what value is there really in these films? To sit there and watch a human being and be able to go, "Ho-hum. Well, it's a woman, so it doesn't matter"—what value is there to us? I say to you that the provincial government, which now has the only authority, because of the rewording that's required in the obscenity section of the Criminal Code, has the only power to stop this crap, this smut, this intrusion into the lives of our children, the rearranging, brainwashing of our kids, so they can make a buck, it's time we stopped it.

It's time we said the government of the day, the New Democratic Party government, is going to enforce it. Now, I figure the reason you're not enforcing it is because you're not prepared to put your money where your mouth is. You're not prepared to put inspectors out on the road, with the budgets that are required, to inspect these stores.

If that's the case, that is a real tragedy. That tells me that your government, which espouses all these attitudes that it's in favour of protecting women and against spousal assault and all the rest of it, is really just a blank, blind statement. You don't mean it at all, because unless you enforce the regulations, unless you enforce the regulatory powers that you have, you in fact are just simply denying to the women and the young ladies of this province the opportunity to gain in terms of being meaningful human beings instead of simply going back to the caveman routine where they would be dragged by the hair into the cave.

We're trying to teach our young people, we're trying to take guns away from them, not give them guns for Christmas, and yet we're allowing these predators—and I call them predators—who are doing nothing more than making a buck at this by demonstrating and denigrating women, to sell these products, to rent these products and to virtually brainwash our children.

So what can we expect in the future? What we can expect in the next generation will be many more young people who become adults who will grow up with this mentality that women are second-class citizens. This government is doing nothing by its inactivity with reference to exercising a power it has—and the only jurisdiction that has that power. They're doing absolutely nothing to help our next generation.

I read in my community of Brampton, and it's simply an allegation, that a number of young girls are reporting that they were taken into homes and sexually assaulted. We read about that every day. We read about young women who are not able to walk home safely without being abducted. Do you think that's happening because we're becoming a more advanced society, or is it happening because governments of the day haven't got the guts to put their money where their mouth is to exercise legitimate authority they have and are prepared to allow those predators out there to bypass, to cut corners?

In fact, I'm told, in reading some of the material my colleague provided speaking on this matter, that certain of these videos receive an AA-14, I think it is, a rating which is acceptable for children. You've got to do it; I'm suggesting you've got to do it. But if they're going to do it, they should do it right. First of all, they should exercise their powers and reject the ones that fail to meet the criteria. But at the same time, why put labels on something, labelling like on Bambi or Pinocchio, and it's actually the brutality and the assault on women?

So wake up over there, New Democratic Party. You're prepared to support all sorts of things, bring in injunctions and so on when it's in your interests, but when the chips are down and you're required to support the question of supporting women, you just sit on your laurels and you'd prefer to spend your money on other things rather than spending it where it should be spent.

**Mr Cameron Jackson (Burlington South):** At the outset, let me say that I'd like to commend the member for Eglinton for bringing forward this resolution so quickly to the House for the purposes of today's debate. I'd also like to commend my colleague the member for Mississauga South, who has been doing considerable work in this area. For those members opposite, I'm afraid I'm looking at the government side and there is not a single member over there who has been in this chamber more than two years. For that reason, they would not be aware of the rather lengthy discussions and debates which have gone on in this House about the



subject of women's rights, pornography, the degrading aspects of pornography. They've not been privy to that discussion and maybe that is why some of it is reflected in their comments in this debate.

But it's been no secret that there has been a devolution for us as a society and for the subject generally of pornography and how it's being handled in this province. It's no secret that the previous government moved us from an Ontario censor board to a film review board. There's no secret that we moved from simulated sex acts to actual sex acts and that this definition is being broadened and more acceptable in this province. That is the nature of the evolution.

This motion tends to bring a dramatic halt to that and to suggest that we review and reflect and maybe turn back and examine properly what should be changed about explicit films that are degrading to women generally. The resolution speaks specifically to slasher films, but it is only one of a series of very sick items which are being allowed to move freely and affect society. Child pornography has been mentioned, bestiality; there is a whole series of very, very degrading situations which tend to always be focused on women. Slasher films are just one more example of that.

1140

I recall that on February 27, 1989, I raised in this House, after I too had a visit to the Ontario Film Review Board to witness a very, very disturbing series of clips, or outtakes, they're called—it is probably the most disturbing day I've ever spent as a legislator and it deeply moved me with respect to how sick things really are on the street when people have access to it. When I asked the then minister if there was, in his mind, a link between violence against women and pornography, he said he wasn't sure. Obviously we've come a long way since 1989 in terms of the understanding of at least the government member responsible for women's issues and responsible for Consumer and Commercial Relations.

Again, on March 25, 1991, I raised this issue in the House about the proliferation of triple-X videos when the police had informed me that they had in their custody specific videos which, in their view, were pornographic. I raised it in the House, as I said. I asked the NDP Attorney General what he was prepared to do. He said it wasn't his responsibility. In fact, the police told me that the Attorney General's office had informed the police in Halton that if they proceeded with charges, the Attorney General's office would not support for them to proceed to take it to court.

That was the level of support we were getting from the Attorney General's office in this province two years ago, and the Consumer and Commercial Relations minister, Ms Churley, in response to my question that day said, "The member will see some action in the very short future on this." That was over two years ago and

yet the member for Halton North has the audacity to stand in his seat and suggest that they're working on it.

The fact is, as Robert Payne, the past chairman of the film review board said, this is a political problem. Politicians have to come together and resolve to do something about this. The solutions lie in changing the law and the definitions of pornography. The solutions come in supporting our police in the laying of charges, because police will not lay charges just to have an Attorney General say, "We're not going to proceed to put that person behind bars or to charge them with proliferating pornography in this province." The judges are ready to make those definitions of pornography, but they have to get the signals from this body, this Legislature, that in fact that will occur.

I represent a community which has, along with the families, suffered the loss of young women: Leslie Mahaffy, Nina de Villiers. I ask the members of this House, at least in their memory, to understand the impact of violence on women and to do something positively today and support this resolution.

**Ms Jenny Carter (Peterborough):** In the few minutes allotted to me, I'd like, first of all, to express solidarity on this issue with the member for Eglinton. This is a serious issue for all of us and we are all on side, I believe, in condemning the widespread availability of slasher films.

I do not believe in censorship in a general way. Any book, film or work of art that's produced in good faith has a place in our society. We cannot and should not condemn everything that offends somebody. Shakespeare, D.H. Lawrence, Salman Rushdie and our own Margaret Laurence have all had their brushes with prejudice. Intellectual freedom and freedom of expression must be upheld.

We become tolerant partly by being exposed to a conflicting range of prejudices, past and present, but what we are looking at here are not works of art but deliberate exploitation for profit of some of man's very lowest instincts. There are also very obvious problems with the production of such films, since the violence can be real even to the point of murder. These extreme movies should, I believe, be illegal. However, the will of the government to deal with the problem is not in question, and action is being taken.

Members of the Ontario Film Review Board do understand the importance of this issue and are taking their classification duties seriously. I believe, however, that they should be able to eliminate rather than classify the extreme material we're discussing.

Unfortunately, as has been mentioned, their power is limited because many offensive videos are outside the provincial government's jurisdiction altogether. Videos distributed before the staged passage of the Theatres Amendment Act in 1985 and 1988 are not subject to

review by the film review board. Neither are films which have been available on television in Ontario, and this does include slasher movies seen on late-night TV.

This situation is not acceptable and the minister is urging the federal government to take action. A federal law is needed so that provincial police can seize or prosecute materials which celebrate torture. There was an investigative team dedicated to theatres and video stores, but it was disbanded by the Liberals when in power because it was not considered cost-effective. There are indeed 4,000 video retail outlets in the province. It would seem more fiscally effective to expand and strengthen the jurisdiction of the review board rather than re-establish an inspection system.

I'm convinced that violence on our screens is a danger to the continued civilized functioning of our society. I commend the member for her resolution and I am going to support it because of the gravity of the situation, although I am satisfied that the ministry is pursuing solutions to this problem with the urgency it deserves.

**Ms Margaret H. Harrington (Niagara Falls):** I thank the member for Eglinton for bringing this resolution forward to effectively deal with slasher films. What is a slasher film? She has explained it is the most extreme, I would say, end of a whole spectrum of violence against women which results, I believe, from a marginalization of the role of women, an inequality in fact that we know is there in society, an objectification of women even seen in beauty pageants.

Women are seen as secondary roles in many types of our society. You just think of an office setting, even our constituency offices, where all of our staff are equal. If there is a man and there's a woman, then people naturally go to the man as being in charge. I've even seen men have difficulty dealing with women cabinet ministers. Because this type of thing can happen, the extreme of violence against women, such as these slasher films, can happen.

We must deal with it. I know the minister is very concerned about violence against women and I personally, as well as my caucus, will carry this concern forward to the minister. We must not let this particular category—because it's been hidden for so long, most of society just doesn't want to know about this, doesn't want to deal with it—fall through the cracks. I agree that we must have regulations in place as soon as possible. The board that we're dealing with here must ensure that it fully understands the importance of this issue and the consequences and the roots of this issue.

We also must have federal changes to statutes to enable our provincial authorities to better control the proliferation of these slasher videos.

I thank the member for the urgency with which she has brought this forward. We must make people aware, whether it's the board members, whether it's the federal

government, whether it's women's groups. Let's get together and raise this issue. It cannot and should not be hidden. Let's face up to the reality of our society, that this can actually happen in this day and age, the objectification of women, the inequality of women.

Also, I ask everyone to make sure that women are seen in all roles, even in the preschool level, when dealing with little boys and girls, that they are in fact seen as equal and, as men and women, that we treat each other equally in the home, in the office, in the factory and even around the cabinet table.

1150

**Mr Gary Wilson (Kingston and The Islands):** I'm pleased to be able to join in this debate on the private member's resolution. I want to say that I think you've heard a lot of the discussion of the elements of this complex issue. I think the mover of this resolution would agree that her own government had problems with addressing the issues here. In her own resolution she mentions the stickers and inspectors to deal with the problem. In fact, their government abandoned those efforts as being unrealistic and not dealing with the issue in a way that they thought would happen, so it is definitely a complex issue.

The other thing about it is the immediate review that she's calling for in her resolution. There already has been a review by the Ontario Law Reform Commission and that is now being looked at by the film board as well as the Ministry of Consumer and Commercial Relations.

As far as the member requesting that the government enact policy initiatives and introduce legislation is concerned, we can say that the Ministry of Consumer and Commercial Relations is working on this issue and action will be taken when its work is complete. As I say, the issue here is very complex, and other jurisdictions are working on it and it must be done in a comprehensive way that will get to the heart of this issue.

Certainly, as has been mentioned here, the minister has expressed her concern about videos and scenes depicting violence against women, and the Ontario Film Review Board is looking at how such scenes can be identified and let viewers know when films contain such scenes. This has to be done. I think we all agree with this. But I think we have to recognize that these slasher films are in fact a symptom of an underlying problem that my colleague the member for Niagara Falls mentioned—and certainly others have pointed to this as well—that it is the devaluing of women in our society that allows for this kind of depiction to go ahead.

That's why I think there are not only these very specific things that can be done that the Ontario Film Review Board is looking at, but also more general attempts to improve the status of women in our society. I think of pay equity, for instance, and employment equity, two initiatives that we will be pursuing that have



to make sure that women have the position in our society that will prevent this.

After all, many people point to violence on TV in other ways, for instance, in sporting events, hockey, for instance, the violence that occurs there, and say, "What does this mean for our society as far as the values in our society encouraging cooperative and humane values are concerned?"

Think of other films, too. Where do we draw the line, for instance, on films like *The Terminator*?

There are all kinds of elements in society. For those of us who live with females—and I have a wife and two daughters. I'm well aware of the issue of violence against women. This thing is deeply rooted in our society.

What I'm suggesting is that slasher films are a symptom of this underlying problem that we have to get to the root of. It isn't just a question of putting stickers or inspecting video stores, which because of the widespread distribution network is very difficult in any case. What we have to do is get to the underlying nature of our society that allows women to be devalued, and as I say, I have a very direct relationship with this and I intend to pursue with all my effort initiatives like pay equity and employment equity.

**The Deputy Speaker:** The member for Eglinton, you have two minutes.

*Interjections.*

**Ms Poole:** I think I have some time left from the Liberal speakers.

**The Deputy Speaker:** How much time is there left? Four minutes, plus two minutes; you'll have six minutes.

**Ms Poole:** Thank you. I'd like to begin by thanking the members today for participating in the debate, the members for Brampton South, Mississauga South, Burlington South—there's a lot of action in the south today, you can tell—Peterborough, Kingston and The Islands and Niagara Falls. I very much appreciated your comments and your measures of support.

I'd like to specifically address a few of the issues that the member for Halton North raised. I deliberately tried to keep this a non-partisan issue because in my belief partisanship shouldn't enter into it, and unfortunately I think a few members did get a little excited there.

I'd like to tell you that it's a very complex issue, and quite frankly all three governments have had their paw prints on what's happened with censorship, what's happened with pornography, what's happened with the board in this particular province. It was in fact developed under the Conservative government and the amendment to the Theatres Act came about in 1984, then it was proclaimed over a three-year period, which happened during the Liberal tenure, and now it's the NDP's turn to try to deal with this very, very difficult issue. So

rather than finger-point, I think what's important to understand is that this is an issue of importance not only to women and children, but to society.

We are an increasingly violent society, and when you see what's on the television, when you see what's on the video machines—and those two outlets are of extreme importance to me because they're the ones that are of paramount importance to our young people. Unfortunately, a lot of young people don't read as much as they used to, but they are absolutely glued to the television set and to the video machines. I think it's very important that we protect them in what they're seeing out there.

The member for Mississauga South mentioned the fact that the OFRB, the Ontario Film Review Board, does a fast forward with no sound. Quite frankly, when this first came up, I was really concerned as well because this, to me, sounded terrible. But I would like to invite members to call the Ontario Film Review Board and go up for a visit. I spent several hours there and it was actually quite enlightening.

They have extremely sophisticated, sensitive equipment, and their fast forward isn't like the fast forward you and I are used to on a video machine. You can see all too clearly. Believe me, my face was very red when I sat through 20 minutes of a pornographic film which I would consider to be pretty close to hard-core porn, and I could very clearly see what they were doing on the screen even in fast forward because it wasn't as fast or as indecipherable as on our VCRs.

Secondly, the point they made to me about the sound is that in these sex movies, a lot of the time there isn't a whole lot of sound other than maybe some grunts and groans and things like that. But they can tell when there is, for instance, dialogue. They can stop the machine, can indicate on their sheets exactly at which stage it was, can go back and review, and at that stage they do turn on the sound and they do review it.

So while I share the concern of the member for Mississauga South, I invite all members to go up because I think it really does help you understand the issue and some of the problems around it.

I don't think at any time I implied that this government was not doing anything, which Mr Duignan, I think, the member for Halton North, seemed to feel. In fact, I specifically said that the minister was very concerned about it. I brought up the report of the Ontario Law Reform Commission and the fact that the wording in my motion was that the government of Ontario should immediately complete its review. The review is well under way. We've had the report for six months, and I just don't think we can delay. It is of paramount importance that the federal government act as well to change the obscenity laws, and I'd also like it to strengthen the child porn laws at the same time. I think we all agree that child pornography is something that is evil and that we do not want to see.

One last issue I'd like to address is the issue of censorship and freedom of speech.

The Butler decision, which was a decision of the Supreme Court in 1992, was a unanimous decision which stated that the right to freedom of expression must be balanced with a woman's right to live without fear and without the threat of violence. In this regard, it states that sex with violence was "almost always obscene," and that sex with children was always obscene.

Canada has hate laws, libel laws, patent laws and obscenity laws which state that people just simply can't say whatever they want whenever they want, particularly if it might affect somebody's personal safety, financial investment or personal integrity. I think it's very important that the province of Ontario urge the federal government to move as quickly as possible. I believe the federal government has given indications recently that it is prepared to move. I think it's paramount that they move before we go into the next election and it gets lost in study for another year or two.

I would like to conclude by reading a passage from a letter by Debbie Mahaffy, the mother of Leslie Mahaffy who was brutally murdered. She writes:

"How can you not realize that the real victims, their families and loved ones in Ontario pay the ultimate price of the free expression to make profits from the pain and deaths these violent, hateful, obscene films bring with them? Slasher films do not advocate, illustrate nor do they demonstrate any positive social values. The preciousness of life is clearly irrelevant, and torture and murder is portrayed as entertainment and excitement. Will these videos help our children's social, emotional and moral development? I think not."

Mr Speaker, I ask for the support of all members of this House on this important resolution.

**The Deputy Speaker:** The time provided for private members' public business has expired.

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AMENDMENT ACT  
(NIAGARA ESCARPMENT), 1993

LOI DE 1993 MODIFIANT LA LOI  
SUR LA PROTECTION DE L'ENVIRONNEMENT

**The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin):** We will deal first with ballot item number 1, standing in the name of Mr Duignan. If any members are opposed to a vote on this ballot item, will they please rise.

Mr Duignan has moved second reading of Bill 62, An Act to amend the Environmental Protection Act in respect of the Niagara Escarpment. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

Pursuant to standing order 94(k), the bill is referred to the committee of the whole House.

**Mr Noel Duignan (Halton North):** I move the bill be referred to the committee on resources development.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Shall this bill be referred to the standing committee on resources development? Agreed.

ONTARIO FILM REVIEW

**The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin):** We will now deal with ballot item number 2, standing in the name of Ms Poole. Are there any members opposed to this vote?

All those in favour of the motion will please say "aye."

All those opposed will please say "nay."

In my opinion, the ayes have it.

Call in the members. This will be a five-minute bell.

The division bells rang from 1203 to 1208.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Ms Poole has moved private member's notice of motion number 3. All those in favour of the motion will please rise and remain standing until their names are called.

Ayes

Abel, Bisson, Brown, Callahan, Caplan, Carter, Cooper, Cousens, Daigeler, Drainville, Duignan, Eddy, Fawcett, Frankford, Haeck, Hansen, Harrington, Hope, Huget, Jackson, Kormos, Kwinter, Lessard, MacKinnon, Malkowski, Marland, Martin, Miclash, Mills, Morrow, O'Connor, Perruzza, Poole, Rizzo, Sola, Sterling, Stockwell, Villeneuve, Waters, Wessenger, Wilson (Kingston and The Islands), Winninger.

**The Deputy Speaker:** All those opposed to the motion will please rise and remain standing until your name is called.

The ayes are 42; the nays are 0. I declare the motion carried.

All matters relating to private members' business having been completed, I do now leave the chair and the House will resume at 1:30 this afternoon.

The House recessed at 1211.



## AFTERNOON SITTING

The House resumed at 1330.

## MEMBERS' STATEMENTS

## EARTH DAY

**Mr Steven Offer (Mississauga North):** It's a pleasure for me to rise today and commemorate Earth Day on behalf of the Liberal caucus.

As members will know, the first Earth Day celebration took place on April 22, 1970. In the 23 years that have passed since then, significant progress has been made in creating a greater awareness of the fragility of our natural environment.

This awareness has been fostered throughout all sectors of society: business, the education system, throughout our communities and within larger government structures. It is important to recognize this today and to continue to build upon it as we move into the 21st century.

The focus of Earth Day 1993 is on personal action. Today, as tree-planting ceremonies, educational displays and local cleanup projects take place, it is important to remember that our individual actions can and do have significant impacts on our environment.

While it is important to examine our current personal activities, the Earth Summit held last June in Rio de Janeiro reminded us that the issue of environmental protection is truly global in nature.

While it must be mentioned that every day should in fact be Earth Day, today affords us time to acknowledge and congratulate those thousands of individuals, communities and organizations in this province and throughout all countries who work very hard to preserve and improve the quality of our natural environment.

**Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel):** Earth Day is a time for each of us to take action to ensure that we protect the environment for future generations. As native friends are inclined to say: "We do not inherit this earth from our parents. We borrow it from our children."

Simple actions such as conserving energy in our homes, reducing the garbage we create and planting a tree for future generations will help us protect this world for future generations. Many schools and organizations within Ontario highlight Earth Week activities by planting trees in their neighbourhoods. Trees and shrubs help reduce air pollution, moderate the greenhouse effect by absorbing carbon dioxide and enhance our property values.

The NDP government and the Ministry of the Environment have made many promises and commitments to make sure our environment does not continue in its downward slide. The Minister of the Environment has stood in this House yesterday and made a statement about how Ontarians had reduced their waste by 25%.

Considering that this is Earth Day, would it not be appropriate to have finally introduced the environmental bill of rights? We have seen drafts of this much-talked-about bill since the NDP came to power two and a half years ago. Is it not time to stop promising it and finally introduce the bill so that we can debate it in this House?

The unfortunate side of Earth Day celebrations is that they also highlight the many things that this government hasn't done to protect our environment. This very day I attended a rally on the steps of the Legislature to focus on the complete shambles the NDP has made of the site selection process by the Interim Waste Authority and the stress and concern forced on individuals involved.

**Mr Wayne Lessard (Windsor-Walkerville):** Today is Earth Day, a time when people all around the world are taking a special interest in the environment. It's a time for all of us to reflect and ask ourselves if we're doing our share to protect our natural resources, a day to remind ourselves to think globally and act locally.

In Windsor, students of Concord School are great examples of young people who are putting their beliefs into practice. This past Saturday, they kicked off Earth Week by continuing their cleanup of Little River, which drains into the Detroit River. These same students are participating today in cleanup work at the Peach Island woodlot. Another event, Earth Day '93, will be held at the Ganatachio Trail. It will be featuring wild flower planting, guided bird-watching tours and various environmental exhibits.

I extend my invitation to all to attend on Sunday afternoon. I know there are countless other events going on across Ontario. I invite everyone here to join me in honouring the considerable effort that has gone into today's public events. I'm sure that many of my colleagues in the Legislature are involved in the celebrations in their ridings, and I encourage everyone to be environmentally aware not only during Earth Week but throughout all of the year.

## FOREST MANAGEMENT

**Mr Michael A. Brown (Algoma-Manitoulin):** Today is Earth Day, and today is an appropriate day to bring to the attention of members of this House and the people of Ontario the deplorable record of the NDP government regarding forest renewal. Since 1990, planned regeneration of cutover forest areas in the province has fallen dramatically. Forest-tending activities, for example, have declined by 50% from the days when Lyn McLeod was the Minister of Natural Resources.

The result of this mismanagement of our forest resource has been a loss of nearly 1,500 student and seasonal jobs in 1992-93. Moreover, the integrity of the forest ecosystem has been threatened by this govern-

ment's cavalier attitude towards forest regeneration.

The Minister of Natural Resources announced earlier this year that the province's approach to forest management was changing. Indeed, he mentioned that there would be even further cuts to forest regeneration. It is difficult to see how this change in focus will improve either the environment or the economy of northern Ontario.

On this day it is so sad to note that the NDP government is compiling not only the largest economic deficit in the history of this province but the largest environmental deficit as well. Furthermore, it is shameful to see that the NDP's forest renewal strategy includes mulching as many as 11 million tree seedlings this year. It is ironic, on this day when hundreds of people will be planting trees across the province, that the government will destroy millions more.

#### WILDLIFE PROTECTION

**Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East):** My statement is for the Minister of Natural Resources. Staff at the Wye Marsh Wildlife Centre in the Midland-Penetanguishene area recently spent a weekend searching for dead and dying trumpeter swans that were poisoned by shotgun shell lead. It has been confirmed that three of the birds, which are great indicators of wetland health, had swallowed fatal doses of lead. The pellets lie in the marsh mud for years after hunters shoot at ducks and geese.

Trumpeter swans, which once were common to the Great Lakes region, were hunted to the edge of extinction in the last century. The recent poisonings, which affected at least half of the birds that have been flying free in the marsh, are a major setback to a publicly acclaimed program to reintroduce the spectacular birds to southern Ontario.

Lead poisoning scrambles the birds' nervous system, and eventually they are unable to fly or walk. An estimated 3,600 tons of lead pellets were fired over and into the wetlands of North America during the late 1980s. The United States implemented a nationwide ban on the use of lead shot last year. Minister, I would urge you to protect our wildlife and the waterfowl from lead poisoning by implementing a province-wide ban on lead shot and promoting the use of tungsten or steel shot.

#### WOMAN OF THE YEAR AWARD

**Mr George Dadamo (Windsor-Sandwich):** Every year the Women's Incentive Centre in Windsor, with director Janet Greene-Potomski and staff, call together a dinner and awards ceremony. The ceremony this year marked the 11th annual Woman of the Year Award, and this past weekend the dinner was held at Vanier Hall, University of Windsor, and 300 people attended.

A committee is struck and its aim is to find women who are helping to change society and improve life for others. This year three superb candidates were found,

and the celebration focused on the vitality and the love given by three incredible women. Representation of several groups in the Windsor area elected these women. Qualities had to be work in advocacy, areas of support and education. The selection was nothing short of excellent.

Marianne Angus has been a long-standing member of the Third World Resource Centre board of directors. Marianne has contributed to the United Way and been president of the Hospice of Windsor.

Secondly, Kay Kavanaugh spent her entire life in improving the wellbeing of others. Kay has been the past president of the CUPE council in Windsor, has given time to Crime Stoppers, the United Way, Hiatus House and the Sandwich Community Health Centre. She has won the Canada 125 medal recently. Kay Kavanaugh, a widow, mother and grandmother, epitomizes the changing role of women in a changing society.

Finally, Elaine Woluschuk has devoted a life to family, community and education. A recipient of the Canada Volunteer Award, Elaine is committed to women's issues and of course the advancement of women's causes.

These are Windsor's women of the year: Elaine Woluschuk, Marianne Angus and Kay Kavanaugh. Women's Incentive Centre, Janet Greene-Potomski and staff have worked hard to put this dinner together and should be congratulated.

1340

#### ENVIRONMENTAL LEGISLATION

**Mr Charles Beer (York North):** Earth Day is a time when we celebrate our lives on this planet and resolve to better protect it.

Sadly, in the regions of York, Durham and Peel, there is little reason to rejoice. Today hundreds of residents from these areas came to manifest their opposition to Bill 143, the NDP megadump legislation, and the whole autocratic process that this bill has spawned. We have wasted millions and millions of dollars on a process that will end up doing the government's bidding, not listening to the residents of the province.

How, people continue to ask, does a government that sees itself on the cutting edge of environmental reform proceed with a plan to use 19th-century outhouse technology as the solution to the problem of waste? Their policy, their bill, their actions defy comprehension.

Bill 143, the Interim Waste Authority and two NDP ministers of Environment have led us to a point where their only response to the waste problems of the greater Toronto area is simply to establish more dumps and, in the case of York region, a megadump the size of 80 SkyDomes.

Many people had hoped that with a change of minister, the government would change direction and allow a true environmental assessment of all the options. How



sad we all are that this has not happened.

As long as Bill 143 remains intact and on the books, we cannot fully celebrate Earth Day. NDP policy makes a mockery of its proposed environmental bill of rights and of Earth Day. Bill 143 must be withdrawn, and it must be withdrawn now.

#### VOLUNTEERS

**Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South):** On this occasion of National Volunteer Week, I am honoured to pay tribute to the millions of Canadians whose volunteer efforts are vital to our communities.

All of us benefit from the work of volunteers, whether they are Brownie leaders and hockey coaches, the unpaid members of community boards or the kind people from Meals on Wheels who help us when we are sick. But how many of us know that more than five million Canadians do volunteer work regularly? If we paid our volunteers, voluntarism would be Canada's biggest industry.

In these hard times, many organizations simply could not exist without volunteers. In return, volunteers benefit from superb opportunities for community service, personal growth and social enjoyment.

According to Suzanne Christie, executive director of the Volunteer Centre of Peel, more and more volunteers are young adults, unemployed persons and seniors. Volunteer work can provide skills and experience to land that first paid job or return to the workforce. Seniors find that volunteer work keeps them active, uses their valuable experience and prevents loneliness.

May I urge everyone who is not a volunteer to experience the satisfaction that comes from voluntary service. Many communities have volunteer centres that will help you match your skills and interests with an organization that needs your help.

Most importantly, today we express our heartfelt appreciation and gratitude to Ontario's volunteers. Like this year's 170 new volunteers at the Hospice of Peel, you are exemplary role models for us all.

#### JUDY REBICK

**Mr Rosario Marchese (Fort York):** Earlier this week we learned that after serving two terms, Judy Rebick will be stepping down as president of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women. I want to take this opportunity to acknowledge the tremendous contribution that Judy has made in the advancement of women's issues throughout Canada.

During her three years as head of NAC, Judy has fought tirelessly for the rights of women. She has condemned violence against women and children, has lobbied for a national child care program and for pay equity legislation and has defended women's right to reproductive choice. More recently, she has worked to make Canada a safe haven for immigrant women fearing persecution in their homelands because of their gender.

Judy's efforts to make NAC a more inclusive and diverse organization have paid off as women who have traditionally been excluded from the decision-making process—namely, visible minority, immigrant and aboriginal women—have become an important voice within NAC. The news that the organization's next president will be, for the first time in NAC's history, a woman of colour attests to Judy's inclusive vision of the future of the women's movement within Canada.

NAC's incoming president is Sunera Thobani. Now living in Vancouver, Ms Thobani, a single mother, immigrated to Canada from Tanzania and comes from a family originally from India.

I want to congratulate Ms Thobani on her new post and I want to wish her well as she continues the fight on behalf of Canadian women.

In closing, I would like to express my admiration for the commitment and courage with which Judy Rebick brought the concerns of Canadian women to public attention. While we did not always see eye to eye, it was always clear to me that Judy's convictions were sincere and that she fought for what she believed was of ultimate benefit to the women of Canada. I wish her all the best in her future endeavours and know that her work on behalf of women will not end with her leaving the NAC.

#### MINISTERIAL STATEMENTS

**Mr Charles Beer (York North):** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: My point of order is that this morning members' offices are being called from all over the province by teachers, trustees and parents, saying that it is now the policy of this government that it is going to change the pupil-teacher ratio for kindergarten, grade 1 and grade 2. I don't understand why the Minister of Education and Training has not risen in his place today with a statement. There is great concern in the province—

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Would the member take his seat, please. The member will know that he does not have a point of order, but perhaps I will not be surprised to see him rise in his place during question period.

#### ROLE OF MINISTERS WITHOUT PORTFOLIO

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** On Tuesday last, the honourable member for Renfrew North, Mr Conway, was in the process of placing the second leadoff question for the day when I interrupted him. The reason I did so was that I was preoccupied by the fact that the Minister without Portfolio to whom he was attempting to place the question is of a definition that has never existed before in Ontario and I wanted to assure myself that putting questions to them respected the letter and intent of our rules and practice.

After my interruption, the same honourable member, as well as the members for Parry Sound, Mr Eves; Carleton, Mr Sterling; York Centre, Mr Sorbara; Park-

dale, Mr Ruprecht; Etobicoke West, Mr Stockwell; the honourable government House leader, Mr Charlton; as well as the member for Mississauga West, Mr Mahoney, took part in the arguments on this point of order, for which I thank them.

The main reason for my intervention can be found at page 120 of Beauchesne's 6th edition in Speaker Jerome's 1975 ruling to the House of Commons, Canada, on the subject of question period, where he enumerates a certain number of principles that have always guided the Speaker in the context of question period:

"A brief question seeking information about an important matter of some urgency which falls within the administrative responsibility of the government or of the specific minister to whom it is addressed, is in order."

The important word here is "responsibility," and I will come back to that later.

As I have said, the situation before us is a new one in Ontario. We have never had in this Legislature, as members of the executive, ministers who have been styled ministers without portfolio in brackets, who do not sit at the cabinet table. These members have been sworn in as ministers but do not participate in the cabinet process. I think that point was made very clear the other day by the honourable member for York Centre, Mr Sorbara. We have had ministers without portfolio before in Ontario but, to my knowledge, all of them have had a seat in cabinet, have had a specific designation of responsibility, a specific budget in the estimates and specific public servant staff to help them in meeting their responsibilities.

The six members presently described as ministers without portfolio, to my knowledge, have a general designation but do not have the other important attributes of their colleagues who sit at the cabinet table. So, as far as question period in the House is concerned, to come back to the matter at hand, the Ontario practice to date has been very clear and can be described in the following sentence: Ministers without portfolio may answer questions if they have a program responsibility with all of what that responsibility implies in this case. In the past it was perfectly normal to address questions to these ministers because everyone knew exactly what responsibilities they had within the executive and so the House and the Speaker could know what the parameters of those responsibilities were.

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During the presentations made to me in the House, members referred to the status of ministers of state in Ottawa and junior ministers at Westminster and made the point to me and to the House that in those two parliaments those ministers without portfolio did in fact answer questions. The members in this case were absolutely correct, but the situation both in Ottawa and at Westminster is very different.

In Ottawa, the ministers of state referred to all sit at the cabinet table. Secondly, in Ottawa the referral system during question period does not function at all the way it does here. For example, the Minister of Transport could very easily choose to informally indicate to the Minister of State (Transport) to answer a specific question and, conversely, the Minister of Transport could choose to answer, if he or she desired, a question which had been addressed specifically to the Minister of State (Transport) without there being any need for an official referral as we have here.

At Westminster, the whole oral question situation takes place in a completely different context than it does here, and for that reason it is very difficult to take guidance from them. Members will know that all questions at Westminster have to be submitted in writing a good time before the appointed day for an oral answer to be given in the House. In that case, the senior minister will decide who answers questions on the appointed day because a further difference at Westminster is that ministries have designated days in the House on which they are to answer questions that have been chosen for presentation on that day.

In the Australian House of Representatives, "junior ministers" may not answer questions. This is indicated in the Australian House of Representatives Practice, at page 514, as follows:

"It is considered that ministers alone are responsible and answerable to Parliament for the actions of their department. The standing orders do not provide for assistant ministers and parliamentary secretaries or under secretaries to be questioned on matters of government administration."

The rationale for this restriction on junior or assistant ministers in Australia is set out clearly in the report of the House of Representatives standing orders committee of March 20, 1972. It states:

"In considering the functioning of assistant ministers in the House the committee saw no objection to assistant ministers presenting papers and moving motions for their printing or for the House to take note of the papers. However, concern was expressed that no action should be taken which would tend to lessen the responsibility in the House of a minister for the administration of his department or which would affect his or her answerability or enable him to evade his responsibility by having an assistant minister act for him."

Finally, to get back to our situation here at the Ontario Legislature and faced with questions addressed for the first time to ministers without portfolio, having a general ministerial designation put in brackets, who do not sit at the cabinet table and who do not have specific program responsibilities, I have to decide whether questions to these members conform to the spirit of our rules and practice. Our standing order 33(a) refers to ministers of the crown and was written at a time when all ministers



of the crown sat at the cabinet table and therefore were also cabinet ministers. These six members are ministers of the crown.

**Mr Charles Harnick (Willowdale):** You are going to add the words "minister of the crown at the cabinet table"?

**The Speaker:** I ask the member for Willowdale to come to order.

On the other hand, our practice by necessity has up till now applied only to ministers of the crown who were at the same time cabinet ministers because they were one and the same.

In conclusion, therefore, because this is a new situation, because the Speaker does not give legal or constitutional advice and even though there remain doubts in my mind as to the appropriateness of putting questions to these ministers, I will allow the questions to be put for two reasons.

First, because our standing orders provide that these ministers might wish to refer the questions to the senior ministers and also that they are under no obligation, under our standing orders, to reply to any question. The second reason is that the procedure of putting and answering questions in our House has no legal consequence, but I would like the House to consider that there might be other situations that apply to these new ministers which are not so easily resolved and might prove problematic. While not having made an extensive list, two such situations come to mind. First, should a Minister without Portfolio who does not sit at the cabinet table and who therefore does not participate in cabinet solidarity, present and be made responsible for a government public bill? Second, should such a minister be made responsible for defending estimates before the estimates committee while not taking part in the responsibilities of administration in a precise ministerial environment? Both of these are rhetorical questions at this point, but I'm sure members on both sides of the House will want to reflect upon them.

WILL FERGUSON

**Mrs Yvonne O'Neill (Ottawa-Rideau):** Mr Speaker, I think I brought to your attention yesterday a point of privilege that I have regarding the Hansard that came out yesterday regarding Tuesday's question period.

Mr Speaker, I brought to your attention that the Premier said in his reply to me, "I want to say to the honourable member that she says the matter is now closed." I said at that time and I say again, I would not have been posing the question on Grandview if I thought the matter was closed. What I was doing, Mr Speaker, and through you to the Premier, was I was quoting his words that the matter is closed. They were not my words, and the Premier attributed his words to me. I think my privilege has been broken.

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** If my friend from Ottawa

feels that I've misinterpreted her remarks in any way—

**Mrs Elinor Caplan (Oriole):** She is not your friend.

**Hon Mr Rae:** The member for Oriole says I'm not her friend. I would hope that we haven't reached a level of partisanship in the world where one still can't refer to people on the other side as friends. I hope that day never comes.

**Mr Steven W. Mahoney (Mississauga West):** You need friends wherever you can find them.

**Hon Mr Rae:** That's true. I need friends wherever I can find them, on any side of the House.

I would say to the honourable member, if she feels that I've misinterpreted her, then of course, I apologize to her and make that very clear to everyone.

## ORAL QUESTIONS

### TRANSFER PAYMENTS

**Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition):** My question is for the Premier. Premier, in your January 1992 fireside chat you will recall that you told the province's transfer partners that you were going to help them plan for restraints by giving them a three-year funding commitment. Throughout 1992, those hospitals and school boards and municipalities, colleges and universities started a three-year budget planning process based on what you told them. They trusted you.

Last November, you pulled the rug out from under their 10 months of budget planning by reneging on your promised funding. Yesterday, they found out that all previous commitments have been thrown out the window and that they are going to be cut even further.

Premier, some may call this bargaining in bad faith when you sit down tomorrow. I will just call it mismanagement and incompetence of the sort that we have come to expect from your government.

Premier, after all of the broken promises, after all the commitments you've made and then walked away from, how do you seriously expect the municipalities and school boards and colleges and universities to have any faith in the commitments made by you or any faith in the negotiations that you will have with them? Why would anyone believe that your government is not just going to keep changing the ground rules again and again and again?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** I'd say to the honourable member, it's not a matter of changing the ground rules; it's a matter of the fact that the underlying economic circumstances are difficult and are changing, and we all have to respond to that.

I would say to the honourable member that if she says on behalf of herself and her colleagues that she would be recommending to others not to participate in the social contract discussions, then I would be interested in hearing that statement of policy from the Liberal Party, if that's her recommendation. If it is her recommenda-

tion, it would be the first time that the Leader of the Opposition has taken a position clearly with respect to major matters of public policy.

So I would say to her that we are entering into the social contract discussions and all of our discussions with our contract partners in a spirit of genuine candour. We're sharing as much information as we can, as we have all the way through the piece.

I think it's fair to say that in January 1992 we were advised by a number of experts and others as to what people felt would happen to the economy, what the overall situation would be. That has proven not to be the case and so we've had to respond. I think for us not to respond in this way, as difficult as it is—

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Would the Premier conclude his response, please.

1400

**Hon Mr Rae:** I realize that life is not easy for our partners; it's not easy for us. It happens to be the way things are right now. I think the only way we can respond is by talking candidly and frankly with one another about our situation and the kinds of changes that we are all going to have to make in order to allow services to be maintained at a level that we all want and in order to allow as many jobs as possible to be protected and secured. That's the approach we're taking.

**Mrs McLeod:** I would remind the Premier, if he will cast his mind back to the initiatives that his government has proposed over the last two years, that we have attempted to respond to what we thought were leads and turned out to be complete lack of leadership as responsibly as we could.

When he gave the transfer agencies three years of funding commitments, we said, "Those are very tight dollars, but these are tight times." We understood that the dollars were going to be fairly minimal, but we congratulated this government. Can I believe it now when I think back on it? We congratulated this government for at least providing three years of planning time for the transfer agencies to carry out the kind of work they would need to do.

When the Premier went on television a year ago to say, "Whoops, sorry, we didn't understand our figures well enough; we seem to have a problem; now we ask you to do your part," we said, "It would have been better if you hadn't given them three years' funding, but at least now work with them to understand how the needs can be met in more cost-effective ways."

Premier, we are doing our best to respond to the complete lack of leadership that has been provided in the last two years. I can tell you that the groups you are meeting with tomorrow have no more reason to trust the kinds of initiatives you're putting forward than we have been given.

I would remind you that it was just on March 26 that

the Minister of Education assured the school boards in writing that their promised funding was coming, belatedly, but that it was coming. That was less than four weeks ago, Premier. Now the school board budgets have been set, their tax rates have been set and they are told that the money isn't coming after all, that their transfers are going to be slashed again. That is what's happening with municipalities, with hospitals, with all of the agencies delivering services to people.

Premier, we do understand the need for restraint, and we have demonstrated that time and time again. What we can't understand and what the transfer agencies can't understand is the total chaos and pandemonium that you have created for them.

**The Speaker:** Would the leader place her supplementary, please.

**Mrs McLeod:** I ask you, why did you not understand a year ago the seriousness of the financial problems that this province was facing? Why didn't you understand them even four weeks ago? Why did you wait until now, when all the budgets have been set, to deal with the crisis?

**Hon Mr Rae:** It's always possible to look back and say, "Why didn't you do it then or then or then?" Frankly, that's a luxury which in government we don't have right now.

What I'm still not clear on when I listen to the Liberal Party is whether it accepts the fact that there needs to be considerable restraint, restraint of an order and a proportion which we've never experienced before in the province, certainly not since the Second World War, or whether she's in fact arguing for some other set of policies.

What we have tried to do as candidly as possible with all of the partners in the public sector is to say look, the way things have been done in the past and the structures that have been set up in the past clearly are not adequate to deal with the kind of situation in which we find ourselves, in which, if I may say so, we have found ourselves as a result of steps that have been taken by the federal government and the underlying problems in the overall economy.

If she's arguing that we should be passing on transfers at a level which are simply not sustainable or that we should be running a deficit which is simply not sustainable, if that's the position of the Liberal Party, then let her stand in her place and say it. But I watch her public statements, I listen to her questions, and as interested—I've been an observer of politics for the last 14 years, and all I can say is that I don't know; I have no idea what the leader of the Liberal Party really thinks ought to be done. All I know is that whatever I do, she'll be there to criticize, because that's the traditional, old-style politics that the Liberal Party of Ontario specializes in. That's all they know how to do.



**Mrs McLeod:** The difficulty is that all of the people with whom the Premier is going to sit down tomorrow, and a great many other Ontarians, have no idea what the Premier of this province is planning to do.

I would tell the Premier that I am not talking about the past. I am talking about less than four weeks ago, less than four weeks ago when your government clearly had not plan, less than four weeks ago when your government was busy confirming that it would be honouring its funding commitments to the education sector.

It seems to us very clear, Premier, that you emerged from your caucus meeting in March and suddenly discovered that you had a financial crisis. Everybody else in the province, Premier, saw the writing on the wall two years ago. Where have you been?

I'll tell you where you've been. Instead of dealing with the situation, you have been spending your way out of the recession, you have been driving businesses out of this province, you've been creating places for junior ministers who have no responsibility, you've been inflating your own personal staff.

You had no plan as recently as four weeks ago, you had no idea what to do, so you concocted the idea of a social contract. People said to you, "What does it mean?" and now you have people working around the clock to come up with some kind of plan out of thin air.

Premier, you're going to table a mini-budget tomorrow, and I ask, why should the people of this province have any confidence in your ability to deal with this problem, given that you've only now figured out that you've got one? How can you justify two and a half years of complete mismanagement?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I reject the rhetoric out of hand. That's all it is. It's the old buffalo stuff.

What I find astounding is that as I talk to business leaders, as I talk to hospital managers, as I talk to people in the broader public sector, as I do all the time, what I am struck by is that they have abandoned the sense of the old-style posturing—if they ever felt it was a good idea—that seems to preoccupy the Liberal leader and her colleagues.

This old-style posturing, this old-style politics has nothing to do with the problem that we have today. We face a problem in this province. This government is facing up to the problem, and we know that our partners in the broader public sector are facing up to it as well, because we all have to. School boards, hospitals, government itself have all got to face up to the problem, rather than engaging in the arcane kind of politics and rhetoric that seems to preoccupy the leader of the Liberal Party.

**The Speaker:** New question.

INTERIM WASTE AUTHORITY

**Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition):** Mr Premier, let me then ask you a question which you can

answer relatively easily. You have been talking about ways to cut government spending in order to get your deficit under control. Tomorrow you're going to sit down to negotiate a social contract in which you'll be asking people for innovative ideas to reduce your costs. You keep asking us for suggestions. So Premier, if I were to tell you about a group of people who have a very specific suggestion about scrapping a totally useless process that is a complete waste of time and money, would you be prepared to listen to them?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** I'm only too pleased to hear any positive suggestions coming from the Leader of the Opposition.

**Mrs McLeod:** I can assure you that the suggestion I'm about to make not only reflects the views of the opposition but the views of a great many people who were standing outside the Legislature this morning, because of course I was referring to the suggestions that those people make about dealing with your Interim Waste Authority and its complete ineptitude.

Premier, I met with the people at the anti-dump rally this morning, the rally that your government boycotted, and while I talked to people I heard even more horror stories about the Interim Waste Authority. I want to just tell you one story that will tell you how bad this process is.

Premier, in March of this year, the IWA obtained a warrant from the court to enter the Jefferson farm property near Bolton to drill exploratory holes on a proposed dump site. Premier, the IWA has now spent millions of dollars preparing maps and geological surveys and aerial photographs to identify this site.

Unfortunately, when the IWA entered the Jefferson property to conduct its tests, it missed the site. The Interim Waste Authority, Premier, did drill three holes 60 feet away from the 350-acre proposed landfill site. Expensive maps, expensive geological surveys, custom aerial photos, and they missed the site.

1410

Premier, has your new Minister of Environment and Energy told you what the old Minister of the Environment refused to tell you, that the IWA process is a completely mismanaged, incompetent process, and will you not scrap it?

**Hon Mr Rae:** The short answer to the question is no. I would only say, in reference to the comments that are made by the honourable member, that I'm not going to say anything which could prejudice the outcome of a process which will eventually appear before an Environmental Assessment Board, which is more than one can say for any process invented by the Liberal Party with respect to the environment, and we believe firmly that that environmental process has to be allowed to take place.

[Interruption]

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Stop the clock, please.

**Hon Mr Rae:** I just wanted to make sure that wasn't my caucus.

**The Speaker:** No, we've identified that they're not caucus members. The leader with her supplementary.

**Mrs McLeod:** Mr Speaker, I want to note for the record that is the first time that the Premier has responded to one of our questions about the government's waste management process, and I therefore will not apologize for tricking him into it.

Premier, let me tell you very clearly that your misguided Interim Waste Authority process has caused tremendous frustration and tremendous anxiety for residents throughout Durham and York and Peel regions. Let me tell you also, in case your minister has not made you aware of it, that that process is also responsible for eating up, to this point, some \$30 million in taxpayers' money; \$30 million for a process that takes aerial photographs of working farm land in winter and then declares that nothing is growing there; \$30 million to hire consultants to conduct geological surveys and draw maps, only to drill holes off the target site; \$30 million down the drain.

You keep asking for our alternatives, Premier. Let me make them absolutely clear: Scrap the Interim Waste Authority process; scrap Bill 143; restore a true environmental assessment process, with all the alternatives on the table, including energy from waste incineration, including shipment of waste to willing host communities.

The IWA process is a disaster. It is an expensive disaster. On the eve of your social contract talks, as you sit down to talk to people about saving money that is totally wasted, I ask you again, will you scrap the IWA?

**Hon Mr Rae:** If there are any other alternatives, there's nothing to prevent a proponent from putting it forward and an environmental assessment from being considered.

**Mrs Elinor Caplan (Oriole):** Your process doesn't permit it.

**The Speaker:** Order, the member for Oriole.

**Hon Mr Rae:** The honourable member refers to the cost of the process. I think we all recognize the fact that we all have to learn from our experiences, and I would say to the honourable member that I can't comment on this particular process because I don't want to say anything that's going to prejudice the outcome of an Environmental Assessment Board hearing in this House.

But I would say to the honourable member that the Minister of Environment and I have certainly discussed—we discussed it even yesterday with the representatives from northwestern Ontario who were here from the municipal association. We had a very positive, constructive, down-to-earth meeting, a very practical meeting. It was a very constructive session, in which we

went over some of the concerns about the regulatory process, about what's happening with respect to health care and a number of very practical issues. A more marked contrast between the questions that have been put today and the rhetoric used by the Leader of the Opposition I can scarcely imagine.

#### TAX INCREASES

**Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing):** My question is to the Premier. Premier, an Environics poll was released today. The poll was commissioned to test the views of Ontarians about their own economic future, what they foresaw their opportunities to be in the province of Ontario. This poll reveals that 41% of Ontarians say they would seriously consider leaving this great province of Ontario if they could afford it. Obviously, the last eight years of high-taxing, high-spending Ontario governments have driven working men and women of this province to this decision. It is taking its toll on how they view this great province of ours.

Can you explain to me, Premier, why, in the face of this, you would consider a record \$2 billion of tax hikes in your upcoming budget?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** The National Citizens' Coalition is an organization that's well known. The fact that the leader of the third party has decided to become a spokesman for the coalition is an interesting evolution of politics which we all take note of.

I can't resist pointing out to the honourable member the headline from the Oshawa Times the other day that says, "Harris Backs Rae on Cuts to Deficit." I appreciated that vote of support from the leader of the third party and would simply say to the honourable member with respect to the question of taxation, without getting into any endorsement of the numbers, the kinds of figures that have been thrown around by the leader of the third party, that it's our view as a government—I just note with interest that it also is the view of the President of the United States, it's the view of most of the other provincial premiers in terms of the actions they've taken, and it's a view of most of the state governors and state legislatures whose activities we've been monitoring very closely, obviously, over the last several months and years—that a balanced approach is required, one which deals with the fact that the costs of government have to be reduced and have to be brought under control, one which deals with the fact that because it's literally an unprecedented situation, we have to engage in an extensive negotiation with all the people who are working in the public sector, as well as the employers in the public sector, and that tax increases must be an element in order to create a sense of balance and fairness and in order to deal with the longer-term problem, which is in fact the debt and the deficit.

I would say to the honourable member that I've been watching what he's been saying very clearly—

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Would the



Premier conclude his response, please.

**Hon Mr Rae:** —and I know that he shares the objective of getting the deficit down. We may differ as to how that should be done and what the balance should be. I think our proposals are, frankly, more realistic in terms of the actual numbers that we're facing than the proposal he's making, but he may disagree and that's what democracy's all about.

**Mr Harris:** I appreciate the Premier acknowledging that I have finally got him on my agenda. Now I'd like to tell you how to proceed, because quite frankly I've had a lot more time and experience on this agenda than you have and I think I've got some good advice for you.

Premier, since your government came to power, this is where you've spent some of our money: \$200 million to drive the private sector out of day care; \$4 million to revamp the Ontario Labour Relations Board under Bill 40; \$20 million to update an assessment survey before you flip-flopped on market value assessment; \$180 million for a new Workers' Compensation Board building.

Premier, the list goes on and on of wasteful, irresponsible spending, just by your government, let alone the government that preceded you. Today, I've released a sample, that in very quick order is just a sampling of what three people could come together with in about half an hour, of \$2 billion in pure waste of spending by your government over this past year.

This simply confirms what I have been telling the former government and what I have been telling you for years: You do not have a revenue problem; you have a spending problem. Will you not admit that your \$2-billion tax grab could be avoided—it could be avoided completely—if you could just get a handle on your appetite for spending.

1420

**Hon Mr Rae:** I don't want to necessarily personalize these things. I would say to the honourable member that the government's expenditure reduction plans, which have been in place through last year, have effected the lowest increase in health care costs, which is the biggest item on the provincial spending scene.

We've done, I think, a job this last year where we found that the estimates of 15 of the ministries in fact were less than the year before in terms of spending, so those reductions are in place, and this year we're going to be doing even more with respect to expenditure reduction. The expenditure reduction approach that we're taking is really quite systematic in terms of its overall approach, and indeed I would say, in comparison with any other government since the Second World War, is really pretty historic.

I would say in addition to the honourable member that if he says there's no revenue problem in the province, he should tell me, what other government faces lower

revenues in 1992-93 than it did in 1990-91? What other government? Did the Davis government ever have lower revenues within two years before, or did the Peterson government or the Robarts government or the Leslie Frost government, any one of those governments, or the George Drew government? No. The short answer is no.

**Interjection:** Mitch.

**Hon Mr Rae:** The only one possibly would be Mitch back in about 1934-35, and we know what he did in terms of some of the dramatic steps he did to reduce expenditure.

I can tell you that we are looking hard at this issue. We're looking realistically at it. Nobody likes to have to talk directly, no one likes to go around saying, "We're going to have to raise your taxes." We're not buying any popularity with this measure. We understand that and we certainly understand that if you went out and took a poll and said, "Would you like the government to raise your taxes?" we know perfectly well that people would say, "No, not particularly." I'm not surprised at that.

What we have to look to is the long-term health of the economy and a balanced approach, making sure that we all look to making a contribution and that we all look to solving a problem. That's exactly the approach this government is taking, a balanced, responsible—

**The Speaker:** Would the Premier conclude his response, please.

**Hon Mr Rae:** —effective approach that we think is working for the long-term interests of the people of the province of Ontario.

**Mr Harris:** The Premier continues to refer to other jurisdictions that have taken a balanced approach. I appreciate that there are other jurisdictions that are not the highest taxed in all of North America, that didn't have eight years of record spending and record taxing, that actually have some tax capacity in the system.

However, because of five years of record tax hiking by the Liberals and then two years with billion-dollar tax hikes by you, we don't have that balanced option available to us. What we do have, though, because of the massive increases in spending, is tremendous capacity to cut our spending, and that is where I agree with you in the Oshawa Times; that is where I am trying to encourage you to move.

My list of wasteful spending by your government is only the tip of the iceberg. Let me give you some more: \$300,000 for a government propaganda exercise on NAFTA; \$1 million for the 1-800 NDP chat line; of course, the hundreds of millions in health care fraud that we talked about yesterday. The list we've released today is just the tip of the iceberg. The Provincial Auditor—hundreds of millions of dollars more of waste.

You and your Treasurer claim you need \$2 billion of tax hikes. He calls them revenue enhancers. Call them what you will. Premier, I've identified for you \$2 billion

in waste that you can cut out instead of the \$2 billion in tax hikes and I would ask you today to give some little glimmer of hope to the 41% who want to leave their homeland, want to leave this province. Tell them that there will be no new taxes.

**Interjection:** George Bush.

**Hon Mr Rae:** I'm not George Bush and neither, I would suggest, is the leader of the third party, but I would just say to the honourable member that we're happy to listen to any suggestions he has. I hope he looks hard at the overall estimates process, and if there are practical suggestions that he's making, we'll be glad to look at them. I think all of us would be.

Obviously, if this government could find a way to deal responsibly with what we think is a very important problem for the overall future of the economy of the province without having to raise revenues, raise taxes—I've used the word very directly—then obviously any government would say, "Gee, if we can do that."

We've made the decision that the question of expenditures, the question of government spending, is going to be addressed very directly. I would just say directly to the leader of the third party, in all candour and honesty with the people of this province and with the people of Canada, that I would suggest—and I notice that the Tory leadership campaign is going on as well—that anybody who suggests that Ontario's situation or that Canada's situation can be resolved without our dealing with the question of revenues and taxes is not talking straight with the people of Ontario and the people of Canada, and I'm determined to talk straight with the people of Ontario and Canada and tell it like it is, even if it isn't always what people want to hear.

#### HEALTH CARDS

**Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing):** My second question is to the Minister of Health. Minister, yesterday, in your absence, I asked the Premier about a radio report that a secret document had been prepared by the ministry for Michael Decter, the deputy minister. That report, which I now have excerpts of, clearly projects that \$691 million of fraudulent claims may be made annually under the Liberal system of health cards. Minister, this is more than 30 times the amount of money that your deputy, Michael Decter, estimated was being wasted by this system when he appeared before the committee in February.

I would ask you this: Why was this information kept secret from the Premier? Why was it kept secret from the committee, where Mr Decter had given information completely different than what this study came up with? Why was this information kept secret from the House?

**Hon Ruth Grier (Minister of Health):** Nothing was kept secret from the committee. The public accounts committee examined the issue of the number of health cards that existed in the province. Let me remind the

member that there were 25 million OHIP numbers out there when his government left office. The member for Oriole introduced the health card, and we have been trying since then to begin to establish a system of verification that those people who have a health card are in fact eligible to use the health card.

As Mr Decter explained to the public accounts committee, under our government a verification and registration unit has been established, in May 1992, to do this very thing. Mr Decter submitted to the committee a list of almost 50 studies that this group was undertaking in order to find out where in fact there might be opportunities to use ineligible cards and how best we can move to stop precisely the expenditures that I know concern him, and certainly concern us and concern the providers and the users in the system, which is that we do not want anybody who is not eligible to take advantage of the OHIP system doing just that.

The titles of the studies were presented to the committee. The report to which the member is referring is in fact a compilation of those studies, and that is a report that was done within the ministry and from which as yet no conclusions have been drawn.

**Mr Harris:** This report was released by a radio station in Kingston and found 6,772 cases of duplicate cards that they call easy to find, yet you haven't found them; Michael Decter hasn't found them. There are 194,000 numbers you can't even account for. Among the many calls that my office received this morning were several talking about how easy it is to get a card, including one for a dog named Rocky.

The auditor told you clearly that the system was costing precious health care funds, and yet your Michael Decter, your deputy minister, when appearing before the committee, downplayed the problem, said we've got a \$20-million problem, didn't tell the members of the committee that he had this ongoing study, when he got the study about a month ago didn't come and apologize to the committee and say: "My \$20-million problem is now a \$691-million problem. Sorry, I was out by \$650-odd million."

When your government has known for nearly two years, when these issues were being raised, when the questions were being raised, why has this waste of tax dollars, at the expense of our health care system, at the expense of our taxpayers, been allowed to continue?

1430

**Hon Mrs Grier:** Let me make the point again that for the first time since the introduction of OHIP numbers in the 1970s there is now in fact a dedicated unit within the ministry attempting to discover how best we can provide verification of eligibility. Let me put what the member for Nipissing is saying in some kind of perspective.

*Interjection.*



**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Order. The member for Parry Sound.

**Hon Mrs Grier:** The member from Nipissing has thrown around and in his press release yesterday made a number of very extravagant statements about the misuse of OHIP numbers, and I want the House to clearly understand that the member yesterday said there might be 60,000 fraudulent claims submitted by non-residents using US drivers' licences. He took that from the report that was done within the ministry, and I want members to understand how that figure was arrived at.

For a period of time, checks were done in two hospitals, in hospitals in Windsor and in Kingston, two border cities. Everybody presenting at that hospital was asked for verification as to the fact that they were residents of Ontario; 752 patients were asked to verify that they lived in Ontario. Five of them produced US drivers' licences. The study then took that number and presumed that that ratio, 752 to 5, held all throughout the year, all across the province of Ontario. If that worst-case scenario was in fact the case, then there might well be 60,000 people with US drivers' licences who also have OHIP cards.

I think to draw from that the conclusion that was reached at the public accounts committee by the deputy minister, that in fact there are between 1% and 2% of the OHIP cards that are owned by people who are ineligible to use them, that is in fact the dimension of the problem we are now attempting to deal with.

**Mr Harris:** This was your ministry study that was put out. These were people in Ontario hospitals who volunteered. Volunteered—they didn't have to produce anything. These are the ones who volunteered they were US citizens. How many more do you think were smart enough not to volunteer? How many do you think were smart enough not to volunteer? The study, and the people who did the study, think it's low. They think they're low at 60,000, and that's what they have said.

We discovered yesterday and it will be confirmed tomorrow that the Treasurer plans to cut approximately \$600 million from hospitals and from health care services. Here we have, by the minister's own study, the one Michael Decter covered up and wouldn't release and wouldn't give the committee and talked absolute different numbers about, here we have more than \$600 million in absolute, irresponsible waste.

I would ask you this: How do you, as the minister responsible for this deputy some of the time, and how does the Premier have confidence that Michael Decter tomorrow is going to go into your so-called contract negotiations with any credibility—with any credibility—when his ministry has frittered away by pure and simple mismanagement, and then covered it up, more than the \$600 million you want to take away from the sick and the elderly?

**Hon Mrs Grier:** For the member to suggest that the

deputy minister, in submitting to the public accounts committee an outline of all the studies that were under way, is to in fact cover up the fact that studies were being made is, I think, a gross exaggeration and leads me to believe that the member is more interested in undermining the credibility of Mr Decter than he is in protecting our medicare system.

CARLTON MASTERS

**Mr Gregory S. Sorbara (York Centre):** I have a question for the Premier regarding the Carlton Masters affair. We know the outcome of Mr Masters's trial, at least from the perspective of Mr Masters. He is, in his own words, without a job, without a reputation, without a future. He is, as he has said, a dead man. We also know what the Premier's public position is. He said he wanted to retain a top-notch downtown law firm so that he would be able to make an independent decision as judge, based on a completely independent inquiry.

The Premier knows, as a politician and a lawyer, that one of the hallmarks of our system of justice is that there shall be no political interference in the administration of justice, not even the appearance of political interference. Mr Speaker, I want to say to you that this has not been the case in Mr Masters's trial.

Ms Julie Davis is a senior political adviser to the Premier. She is, among other things, the vice-president of the Ontario Federation of Labour. She was the chair of the New Democratic Party's election campaign and she is now the president of the New Democratic Party of Ontario. She does, in short, sit at the right hand of the throne of power in Ontario.

I ask the Premier whether he is aware that shortly after the allegations were made against Mr Masters, Ms Julie Davis, one of his senior advisers, began meeting with Mr Masters and continued to do so throughout the inquiry conducted by the law firm of Tory Tory DesLauriers and Binnington, and did so purportedly on the basis that she wanted to be a friend, a confidante and an adviser to Mr Masters.

I ask the Premier, when did he dispatch Ms Davis to run the political part of the inquiry and what discussions has he had with Ms Davis at any time after she began her advisory role to Mr Carlton Masters?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** The suggestion contained in your question, that I dispatched anyone on my behalf to talk to Mr Masters in the course of this inquiry, is completely false. He asked that question, when did I dispatch? The answer is never. The answer to that part is never, just so that's very clear.

There were a number of people who talked to Carlton Masters, a number of people who were in contact with him by letter and by telephone, I imagine, during the course of the inquiry, not an unusual thing that friends of Mr Masters would talk to him. I was aware of a number of people who were talking to Mr Masters and

I can tell the honourable member two things: first of all, that the process and the decision to select the law firm was made by the secretary to cabinet, at that time Mr Barnes, that this decision was made by him after consultations with the Deputy Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology at that time and that I had absolutely no involvement with that decision; second of all, that I had absolutely no contact with Mr Masters of any kind whatsoever during the course of the compiling of the report—none whatsoever.

**Mr Sorbara:** I didn't suggest in my question that the Premier ever had any contact with Mr Masters. What I suggested, what I am stating categorically is that his senior adviser, the top political adviser to the Premier of Ontario, at one and the same time put herself in a terrible conflict-of-interest position because she offered herself as an adviser to Mr Masters as well.

I say to the Premier that the Masters inquiry and the judgement that you made as judge were a judicial process just like any other trial in this province and a judicial process with serious consequences to the accused. I say to the Premier that Ms Davis placed herself in a dangerous and irreconcilable conflict of interest from her very first meeting with Mr Masters. I say as a lawyer that it was impossible for her to, at one and the same time, be an adviser to the accused, Mr Masters, and the judge, the Premier of Ontario.

I say that Ms Davis's actions compromised the very—

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Will the member place a question, please.

**Mr Sorbara:** —inquiry itself. I say that this news has poisoned the decision that you made and it has poisoned your authority to make that decision.

1440

**The Speaker:** Does the member have a question?

**Mr Sorbara:** I ask the Premier, I say to him that his only alternative now is to rescind the decision that he made and place the whole of the Masters affair into the hands of a truly independent body and assure this Parliament, assure Mr Masters and assure the people of Ontario that there will be no further attempts to mix NDP politics with the administration of justice in the province of Ontario.

**Hon Mr Rae:** Let me just say to the honourable member that his characterization of the whole process and his characterization of the issue and his characterization of anyone else's role is a completely made-up proposition on his part. I would just say to the honourable member—

**Mr Sorbara:** The man lost his job without due process. Is that what you're saying?

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Hon Mr Rae:** —that I've listened carefully to what he has suggested and what others have suggested and obviously will continue to try to exercise—

**Mr Sorbara:** What conversation did you have with Julie Davis?

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Hon Mr Rae:** —my judgement in as impartial and fairminded a way as I possibly can, accepting the fact that whatever I do, I know there's one group of people that will always criticize what I do, and those are the members opposite.

**The Speaker:** New question, the member for S-D-G & East Grenville. Is the member—the leader of the third party.

#### LABOUR DISPUTE

**Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing):** Premier, earlier this week I asked you a question about the interference of some of your senior ministers in a labour dispute in Sudbury. You referred that question to the Chairman of Management Board, of which he had no knowledge and knew nothing about. The question, you'll recall, concerned the direct interference, for political purposes, by senior members of your cabinet in labour-management negotiations involving Sudbury Youth Services.

Today we learned that after the incident you, Premier, personally telephoned the board chairman in Sudbury and apologized for what your ministers had done. Premier, when you knew very well what had happened, when you had already apologized to the board chairman personally by telephone call, confirmed by the board chairman this morning, why did you refer the question to a minister who, just the day before, knew nothing about it, when you yourself knew what had happened, knew it was wrong and had already made a private apology to the board chairman for that?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** I really think this is a matter for the Chairman of Management Board. I'm going to refer the question to him.

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Chairman of the Management Board):** In relation to the specific question the leader of the third party has raised, I have no indication in all of the correspondence I've seen in relation to this issue that there was any such call, so I can't directly respond with respect to that part of the issue.

The other part of the issue, though, that the Leader of the Opposition has been raising is the issue that the member raised again today about interference by local members. I just repeat that it is not uncommon for members of any government party to get involved in a local matter and to seek to find ways to resolve that local matter.

**Mr Harris:** The question, pure and simple, was, why did the Premier refer a question when he knew what it was all about, when he had made a phone call to the chairman to apologize? Why did he refer the question to a minister who knows nothing about it, ie, you.

By way of supplementary, Mr Minister—and I would ask you if you might refer this back to the Premier, who



has knowledge of this, and only he can explain why he made the phone call, why he apologized and why he didn't disclose that to the House. While you're at it, you might remind the Premier that the situation was that if this dispute hadn't been settled, the Premier himself was going to be picketed in Sudbury, that that's why your senior ministers corrupted the labour bargaining process, as reported by the arbitrator: to avoid an embarrassing photo op. The Premier apologized to the chairman of Sudbury Youth Services. Would you, by way of referral to the Premier, ask him to apologize to the House today for not disclosing what he knew on Tuesday when I asked him a question—

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Would the leader complete his question, please.

**Mr Harris:** —and also apologize for this spirit of what I assumed is something that the Premier thinks is a cherished right, to fair bargaining?

**Hon Mr Charlton:** I repeat: I've been through the documents in relation to this case. I have no idea whether the Premier may or may not have apologized. The point at issue here is simply that I have reviewed this case in detail and have found nothing inappropriate.

#### SEXUAL HARASSMENT

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** The Solicitor General has a reply to a question asked earlier.

**Hon David Christopherson (Solicitor General):** I rise in order to respond to a question that was referred to me yesterday by the Premier. The question was asked by the member for Mississauga South.

As the member well knows, I cannot comment on any specific allegation. I can tell the House that any workplace discrimination and harassment allegation involving civilian employees in my ministry would be responded to with an internal investigation under the workplace discrimination harassment policy, not a criminal investigation by the police. Investigators involved have included OPP officers who conduct internal workplace harassment investigations in their capacity as ministry employees, but not in their capacity as police officers.

With respect to the letter the member passed to me yesterday, it has been forwarded to my deputy minister for appropriate action.

I would encourage any individual who has general concerns about procedures under the workplace discrimination harassment policy to contact the workplace discrimination and harassment prevention unit at Management Board secretariat. This government, my ministry and I remain committed to working towards a discrimination- and harassment-free workplace and environment for all our employees.

**Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South):** While I listened very carefully to the Solicitor General's response, I don't think that this House has an adequate

explanation about why the investigation of a civilian civil servant was made by someone who is a police officer. I don't see how a police officer can take his hat off and pretend to be someone else and be involved in this internal investigation.

I think that the rights of this individual have been violated because, under your own practice, you have just confirmed that that kind of investigation should not take place of a civilian. I ask you again, as I did yesterday—I think it goes further to confirm the fact that every man and woman in this province is vulnerable. Until your government gets its head straight and its policies nailed down, every man and woman in this province is going to be at risk with sexual harassment and how it is handled in the workplace.

**The Speaker:** Could the member conclude her question, please.

**Mrs Marland:** So I ask you again: What is it that your government is going to do to ensure that people like Mr Carlton Masters and Catharine Arnston get a fair shake when something as serious as sexual harassment is involved?

1450

**Hon Mr Christopherson:** The member asked I can't count how many different questions. Let me answer the questions I think that relate to the initial issue that she raised with the Premier and that I believe I have already covered in my response to her.

The first is that she continues to refer to the correspondence that was sent over to the Premier and then to me yesterday afternoon. I again state that I cannot comment on any specific allegation, and I believe the member knows that that must be the case.

Secondly, as I have said, it has been the practice for OPP officers to conduct internal investigations that are not criminal investigations. That has been the policy; is the policy. We're looking at some changes as a result of the merger of the two ministries.

I would just close by saying that I expect that any action that needs to happen as a result of the correspondence the member raised here in the House yesterday will be followed up on.

#### EDUCATION POLICY

**Mr Charles Beer (York North):** My question is to the Minister of Education and Training. Minister, earlier I wondered why you had not made a statement with respect to the whole question of the pupil-teacher ratio in the lower grades. We have had a number of phone calls, and I've had confirmed, as have many other members, from parents, from trustees, from teachers, indicating that you have issued a directive that says the pupil-teacher ratios in the lower grades—junior kindergarten, senior kindergarten, grades 1 and 2—are going to be increased. Is that your policy? Have you issued such a declaration? Are you planning to do so?

**Hon David S. Cooke (Minister of Education and Training):** Mr Speaker, I haven't issued such a declaration and he knows I haven't.

**Mr Beer:** I know no such thing. I would remind the minister that everyone has demonstrated, through studies such as the Ontario Child Health Study, Better Beginnings, Better Futures, a series of works, the importance of working with children in the educational field at an early time in their development. This is a serious issue, because it has been determined that if children in those grades can be taught in smaller groupings, they are going to have a better chance to achieve.

Minister, can you state to the House today that you have no intention of ordering the pupil-teacher ratio to be increased in the lower grades? Can you say that? Because there is tremendous concern out there in terms of whether you are going to fight your fight with respect to the education budget on the backs of the four- and five-year-olds and on the backs of the local ratepayers. Are you simply going to offload this, Minister, so someone else is paying, or are you going to hold to the policy and ensure that the young children of this province are properly and adequately instructed?

**Hon Mr Cooke:** I can absolutely assure the member and members of the House that this government and this Minister of Education will of course be fighting for fair treatment of students in a good education system.

#### ROLE OF MINISTER WITHOUT PORTFOLIO IN HEALTH

**Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West):** My question is to the junior minister of Health. The question to the junior minister of Health is this—

**Hon Bud Wildman (Minister of Environment and Energy and Minister Responsible for Native Affairs):** No such thing as a junior minister.

**Mr Stockwell:** Then I'm open to what the term is.

**Hon Mr Wildman:** Minister without portfolio.

**Mr Stockwell:** Minister without Portfolio responsible for Health, for junior health issues.

Considering that you receive \$15,000 in additional pay, upwards of some \$400,000 for your office budget, an expense account, a chauffeur and limousine, what exactly is it that you do to justify this extra expense, considering that you can't go to cabinet meetings and offer what I would hope are salient points of view on the Health ministry? How do you justify this to the unemployed, the civil servants, those people who are looking at job losses, rollback in wages? Basically, what exactly is your job description that allows you to have these kinds of perks and privileges and the need for you in this particular cabinet?

**Hon Karen Haslam (Minister without Portfolio in Health):** Mr Speaker, I report to the Minister of Health. I will defer this question to the Minister of Health.

**Hon Ruth Grier (Minister of Health):** I think as the

Premier indicated yesterday in this debate, the ministers without portfolio have an important role to play in assisting ministers who are responsible for large departments, and I can assure the honourable member that that is the role the member for Perth plays with me.

**Mr Stockwell:** I asked the junior minister simply because I was asking for basically a job description, that job description being, what do you do to earn all these extra dollars, all these extra perks, all these extra moneys that go with a cabinet minister when you don't sit at the cabinet table?

Now the junior minister can't seem to answer that, and it's just basically asking you, what's your job description? The minister stands up and says, "The job description is that she will assist me." That doesn't seem to be a very comprehensive job description for somebody who's going to make an additional \$15,000, expense account, \$400,000 in office budget increase, etc, etc, etc.

My question is, what is the job description? If it's simply to assist you, what makes it so different from a parliamentary assistant, where we could save probably \$500,000 of hard-earned tax dollars and maybe potentially not lay off quite as many union members?

**Hon Mrs Grier:** I have never presumed to ask any member of this House, and particularly the member raising the question, what he or she does to earn their particular honorarium as a member of this Legislature, but I can say to the member very clearly that the ministers without portfolio are members of cabinet, work with all of the members of cabinet, assist all of the members of cabinet in explaining and arriving at the decisions of policy that are determined by this government and make a very valuable contribution to the work of this government.

#### LONG-TERM CARE

**Ms Jenny Carter (Peterborough):** My question is for the Minister of Health. Madam Minister, seniors and other health consumers in the Peterborough area believe it is vital that consumers be strongly involved in the development of the long-term care framework unveiled two weeks ago.

There is concern that a system developed through district health councils will be heavily weighted in favour of medical models and fail to adequately represent consumer concerns. How will the long-term care framework avoid that scenario?

**Hon Ruth Grier (Minister of Health):** I'm glad to clarify that particular question because I know it is one of great interest to both consumers and providers of long-term care all around the province, and the interest in this particular topic was exemplified by the breadth and depth of consultation and involvement in the determining of the framework that occurred over the last several months.



Let me reassure the member, and through her everyone else in the province, that in fact the district health councils, in planning for long-term care within their regions, will make sure that their long-term care committees have a balance between both the health services and the community and social services. I think that's very important and I would remind her that district health councils have a long history now of in fact working with all the providers in the system. I can assure her that the planning models that will be developed to actually implement long-term care will reflect the integration of health and social services that is so important in the delivery of this very important service.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** The time for oral questions has expired.

#### MINISTERIAL RESPONSE

**Mr Ernie L. Eves (Parry Sound):** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I would like a clarification because I am a little confused, and some of my caucus colleagues would say I'm confused all the time, but yesterday the honourable member for Mississauga South asked a question of the Premier, and I believe the Premier responded not only to the initial question but also in some detail and at some length to a supplementary question. Today the Solicitor General comes into the House and purports to respond to the same question that was answered, both the question and the supplementary, by the Premier yesterday.

I note at the end of the Premier's response to the initial question yesterday he said, "I could refer it to the Solicitor General, but I'm not sure he'd be in a position to comment either, so all I can say is I'll take her question under advisement and ask the Solicitor General to respond to her tomorrow."

At that point I would have thought that would have been the end of the question. However, you permitted the member for Mississauga South to ask a supplementary, the Premier went on and answered the supplementary at some length, and today we have the Solicitor General coming back and responding to a question previously asked. I don't understand.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Can the minister assist on this?

1500

**Hon David Christopherson (Solicitor General):** I just want to add that I'm not sure why the point's being raised, except to say that I had a brief discussion with the member for Mississauga South before we left the chamber yesterday, and it was her understanding as well as mine that indeed this is what would happen. In fact, I gave a commitment to the honourable member that if I didn't or couldn't, for some reason, answer today, I would apprise her of that. So I'm not too sure why the House leader for the third party has a problem.

**Mr Eves:** I'm just trying to clarify the procedure, Mr

Speaker. I'm quite aware of the procedure of standing a question down. I'm quite aware of the procedure where you take it under advisement and you answer the question the next day because you don't have an answer with you that day. But under those circumstances, normally—correct me if I'm wrong—you don't answer the question, then answer a supplementary and then bring it back the next day under advisement. I mean, if you don't know the answer, you say you don't know the answer and you take it under advisement.

**The Speaker:** To the member for Parry Sound: First, I'm sure he will appreciate that when the Chair is notified that a minister has a reply to a question asked earlier, the Chair is not aware of the contents nor the circumstances. By providing a response in the House, it does allow the original questioner an opportunity for a supplementary, which today was granted.

I understand full well the member's point, and indeed, to my recollection, normally things proceed in the way in which he has just described. However, he did read a portion of the response from Hansard, which was an undertaking, as I understood it, from the Premier to have one of his ministers reply more directly, if at all possible, and under those circumstances I would see nothing wrong in what the minister was doing.

I add again, I don't think we normally do things that way. But there was an undertaking, and by the minister responding in the House, it did allow a member of your caucus an opportunity to place another question on the issue and have the issue dealt with in the chamber rather than outside the chamber.

**Mr Eves:** I just want to clarify, Mr Speaker. Am I incorrect in understanding that what should have happened is that when the Premier responded extremely briefly to the initial question yesterday and said he was taking the member's question under advisement, that should have been the end of it and we should have been on to the next question instead of permitting a lengthy supp and a lengthy answer to the lengthy supp, and then having the minister come in and answer the question that wasn't answered yesterday but was answered yesterday etc, etc?

I mean, are we going to see this every time we ask a question? Is some minister of the crown going to come into the Legislative Assembly the next day and answer the question again because he didn't give an answer that he thought he liked or she liked the day before?

**Mr Larry O'Connor (Durham-York):** You don't want an answer.

**Mr Eves:** No, I want an answer. You answered the question yesterday. The Premier—

**The Speaker:** Could the member for Parry Sound please take his seat. Government House leader?

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Government House Leader):** On the same point, Mr Speaker, I believe, sir,

that you, on March 21, 1991, ruled in this House that it was acceptable for a minister to stand in rotation and even add additional information to a question previously answered.

The member for Parry Sound knows full well that when the government side chooses to add some additional information in that fashion, it does take up one of our rotations in the process. That's a choice that the government caucus makes in its choosing of how it will deal with question period.

**The Speaker:** Indeed, the point is made that when a minister stands to reply, that's one person out of the rotation for the government side, and a backbencher is deprived of an opportunity to place a question that day and the original questioner has another opportunity to place a question.

**Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South):** Mr Speaker, just to confirm what the Solicitor General said, he did say in fact, when I spoke to him afterwards, that he would try to get back to me with the answer and investigate it for today.

I didn't know whether he was going to get back to me directly or through the person I asked the question to. In fairness to my own House leader, I did ask my question to the Premier, so I don't want the House to think I had a different understanding than did the Solicitor General.

#### PETITIONS

##### ONTARIO HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION RULING

**Mr Hugh O'Neil (Quinte):** I have three petitions that I would like to present today. They were forwarded to me by Mr David Switzer from the Frankford area in my riding. The first reads:

"We, the undersigned, beg leave to petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"Whereas the Ontario Human Rights Commission in its September 1 ruling extended full family and bereavement benefits to same-sex arrangements; and

"Whereas this is believed by us Christians to be detrimental to the family and society;

"We, the undersigned, your petitioners, humbly pray and call upon the Honourable Howard Hampton, Attorney General of the province of Ontario, to appeal this ruling of the Human Rights Commission."

Mr Speaker, the second petition reads:

"We, the undersigned, beg leave to petition—

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** The members have become used to a practice of doing one at a time, unless there are very few petitioners.

#### ABORTION

**Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East):** I have a petition signed by 69 people in the Coldwater-Orillia area that reads as follows:

"We, the undersigned, wish to express our disapproval

of the New Democratic Party's decision to implement the 46 recommendations of the task group of abortion service providers to expand abortion services in Ontario."

I have signed my name to that, Mr Speaker.

#### LANDFILL

**Mr Larry O'Connor (Durham-York):** I have a petition, and you know there was a presentation out on the front steps here from a lot of my constituents.

"Whereas the town of Georgina has traditionally been a mixture of agricultural, residential and vacation land; and

"Whereas these areas would be drastically affected by a megadump;

"Whereas the Interim Waste Authority has identified the sites in the town that would consume large tracts of number 1 and 2 farm land, the areas identified by the Interim Waste Authority would disrupt the vibrant agricultural community and the farm families in these areas that continue to invest large sums of their money into the family farms. These communities would be destroyed by the Interim Waste Authority putting in a megadump;

"Whereas most of the people in Georgina depend on groundwater for their drinking water supply and the dump would threaten their clean water supply;

"Whereas Lake Simcoe is the ice fishing capital of the world; and

"Whereas Lake Simcoe provides a strong draw for tourists to fish year-round; and

"Whereas the effects of a megadump would destroy the local economies of the community"—

**Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham):** Then why didn't you vote against Bill 143? How can you be reading that and mean it?

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Order, the member for Markham.

**Mr O'Connor:** "Therefore we, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly as follows:

"We oppose the Interim Waste Authority's proposal to take prime farm land and turn it into Metro-York's megadump.

"We further petition the Legislative Assembly to renew the efforts to seek alternatives, like waste reprocessing, to landfill and implement progressive reduction, reuse and recycling programs."

Mr Speaker, we had not only a lot of people from my riding, but even high school students from Cetane high, and I affix my name to this petition.

**The Speaker:** The member for Quinte.

#### PORNOGRAPHY

**Mr Hugh O'Neil (Quinte):** Thank you very much, Mr Speaker. My apologies on that other.



This petition reads:

"We, the undersigned, beg leave to petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"Whereas pornography is exploitive of women, viewing them as mere objects or possessions to use as man sees fit; and

"Whereas police experience and academic research indicate that this mentality directly contributes to the escalating problem of rape and battered women; and

"Whereas pornography degrades and dehumanizes women in our society; and

"Whereas the 1991 federal Criminal Code, section 163, is clear and concise in its definition of obscenity;

"We, the undersigned, your petitioners, humbly pray and call upon the Honourable Howard Hampton, Attorney General of Ontario, to insist that the Ontario Film Review Board live up to its mandate when reviewing films and implement the letter of the law."

1510

#### LANDFILL

**Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham):** To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas on October 24, 1991, the NDP government introduced Bill 143, the Waste Management Act, and tried to force the Legislature to pass the bill before Christmas 1991 without public consultation or notification to affect the municipalities and residents and without naming the candidate landfill sites; and

"Whereas the NDP were forced into five weeks of public hearings and listened to over 200 presenters, all recommending amendments to Bill 143; and

"Whereas the NDP refused to listen or pass any opposition amendments to Bill 143 which would protect and secure individual and municipal rights to full environmental assessment hearings on waste alternatives such as rail haul; and

"Whereas the NDP used their majority to pass Bill 143 on April 23, 1992, with the full support of"—

*Interjection.*

**Mr Cousens:** —the one who's speaking out of place right now, none other than Mr Wiseman, MPP, Durham West, Larry O'Connor, who just made the last—

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Would the member for Markham simply read the petition, please.

**Mr Cousens:** Thank you, Mr Speaker—"Gordon, Mills, MPP, Durham East; and

"Whereas the NDP"—standing for the New Democratic Party—"named 57 candidate landfill sites on June, 4, 1992; and

"Whereas Ruth Grier and the Premier refused to meet with groups opposing the dumps and refused to consider the alternatives like rail haul, contrary to Mrs Grier's support of rail haul in January 1991; and

"Whereas Mrs Grier refused to meet with the residents and mayor of Kirkland Lake to review the Adams mine proposal and proceeded to ban rail haul without considering the impact on the northern economy; and

"Whereas the NDP government created the Interim Waste Authority to find a solution to the GTA waste and operate independently from the Ministry of the Environment, but at the same time the IWA must adhere to Mrs Grier's ideology and her ban of waste alternatives such as rail haul and incineration; and

"Whereas the IWA and the NDP government refuse to conduct an environmental assessment on the alternatives and remain firm on subjecting communities in the regions of York, Durham and Peel to a process that ignores their fundamental rights to a review of alternatives and employs a system of criteria ranking that defies logic and leads to the selection of dump sites on environmentally sensitive areas, prime agricultural land and sites located near urban areas;

"We, the undersigned, want Bill 143 revoked and replaced with a bill that would allow a full environmental assessment on all waste management options."

I have signed this, affixed my name to it, with the hope that this government will do something about Bill 143 and the dumps. On today, which is Earth Day, it's surprising they didn't even make an announcement in the House, but we submit this in full hope there'll be some action.

**The Speaker:** Would the member take his seat, please.

#### GAMBLING

**Mr Dennis Drainville (Victoria-Haliburton):** I'm glad to rise in the House today with the support of my mother, who's come here on the anti-gambling crusade, in the members' gallery.

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the New Democratic Party government has traditionally had a commitment to family life and quality of life for all the citizens of Ontario; and

"Whereas families are made more emotionally and economically vulnerable by the operation of various gaming and gambling ventures; and

"Whereas the New Democratic Party government has had a historical concern for the poor in society who are particularly at risk each and every time the practice of gambling is expanded; and

"Whereas the New Democratic Party has in the past vociferously opposed the raising of moneys for the state through gambling; and

"Whereas the citizens of Ontario have not been consulted regarding the introduction of legalized gambling casinos, despite the fact that such a decision is a significant change of government policy and of course was never part of the mandate given to the government

by the people of Ontario;

"Therefore, we, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the government immediately cease all moves to establish gambling casinos and that appropriate legislation be introduced into the assembly along with a process which includes significant opportunities for public consultation and full public hearings as a means of allowing the citizens of Ontario to express themselves on this new and questionable initiative."

I'm glad to affix my signature to it and to add this to the thousands of names that have come to this House before.

#### POLICE USE OF FORCE

**Mr Hugh O'Neil (Quinte):** The third petition that I would like to present today is addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario and states:

"We, the undersigned, beg leave to petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"Whereas the role of the police is to uphold and enforce the laws duly established by elected representatives; and

"Whereas the police are empowered to protect society and maintain the peace; and

"Whereas the government has an obligation to provide adequate means for the police to fulfil their duty; and

"Whereas society has a responsibility to support police in this duty,

"Be it resolved that we reject the new use-of-force regulations and humbly pray and call upon this House to stay implementation of this legislation."

I add my name to this petition.

#### VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

**Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South):** I'm presenting a petition to the Lieutenant Governor, to the Ontario government and to Premier Bob Rae from the people who oppose the celebration of violence against women. Their petition reads as follows:

"Please take action to stop the proliferation of hateful, violent and slasher movies."

It is signed by 44 people who attended the viewing of *Reel Hatred* at the National Film Board on February 9, 1993.

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY

##### THRONE SPEECH DEBATE

Resuming the adjourned debate on the amendment to the amendment to the motion for an address in reply to the speech of His Honour the Lieutenant Governor at the opening of the session.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** The member for Mississauga West.

**Mr Steven W. Mahoney (Mississauga West):** Thank you very much, Mr Speaker. I wish I could say

I was pleased to rise to address you and members of this Legislature on the throne speech, because I think it is an important document that should outline a blueprint, I guess, a future, a plan that any particular government has. You don't always have to agree with that particular plan, but it would be helpful if there was—

**Mr Kimble Sutherland (Oxford):** You didn't read it.

**Mr Mahoney:** I did read it. It didn't take long, actually. There was a précis. It was a pretty short order.

The member for Mississauga South seems to want to join the Liberal caucus.

**Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South):** Well, there's nobody sitting in your caucus. I just thought I'd keep you company.

**Mr Mahoney:** They'll be here, Margaret. You can just sit down and relax.

It would be nice, though, if we could take a document and analyse what the government's plan is. Unfortunately, what I've found and what I think people, particularly on this side of the House and in the community who I've talked to, have found is that it didn't give a blueprint. In fact, what it did—thanks, Mr Whip, I see 15 minutes. Everything's fine, Mr Deputy Whip.

It didn't give a blueprint. Instead, what it did was it gave an analysis of what's occurred up to date in the Bob Rae government. It was like a report card being written by the student. Imagine. So they gave themselves all these A-pluses for programs that have been put in place, whether it was Jobs Ontario, whether it was training programs.

Here we have a government that, no question, has adopted a format for providing training for people through cooperation with community colleges, and what do we wind up with? We wind up with people going through training programs for jobs that don't exist. That's what today's Ontario, Bob Rae's Ontario, is all about. It's providing training for people for jobs that don't exist.

This ad, I think, says it all. This will be appearing on billboards around the province. It says, "How do you like socialism so far?" with, Margaret, a nice picture of our boy Premier sitting there with a great big smile on his face. That's their definition of 'socialism.' But I'm delighted actually to have a member of the Conservative caucus sitting beside me for this debate, because I wanted to talk to you about some of the things members opposite might enjoy that we've been hearing from some of the members of the Conservative caucus, most notably the leader, the self-styled Taxfighter.

The Tories suggest that we should somehow revert back to the magical days of Tory government. That's what they're suggesting: back to the days of Frank Miller, back to the days of Claude Bennett.

I can recall when I was a municipal politician, along



with the member for Mississauga South, when we used to get missiles coming from Queen's Park telling us in the good old Bill Davis days how our transfer payments were going to be slashed. Tomorrow, Friday, the current Treasurer is going to be making an announcement at 10 o'clock somewhere in this place, we're not quite sure where, not in the Legislature but in the Legislative Building, probably in the press office. He will be conducting a press conference to announce, to the municipalities and the school boards and the so-called partners in delivering services to the beleaguered taxpayers of this province, cuts in transfer payments.

1520

I cannot believe, and I'm sure those folks—whoever they may be because they won't show their heads—who voted for the NDP must be sitting there and saying, "Maybe we already are back in the Tory days." They're having trouble understanding, I say to Mr Hope, how this Premier can become so right-wing and how the Treasurer, whose bent in life was to nationalize Inco, has all of a sudden turned into the Donald Trump of Ontario politics. Can you imagine?

So it is not a surprise to the members of the Liberal caucus that the Oshawa Times would print a headline today announcing that Mr Harris, the leader of the Conservatives, is in full agreement with Mr Rae, the Premier of the province, in the methods being proposed to solve the deficit.

One of the methods will be to slash and cut. I thought he was going to suggest today that part of the Tory policy used to be that you folks should buy your own oil company. That's what they did; they bought Suncor. In 1981, they paid \$800 million for Suncor so that the Conservatives leading the province in the day could have their own oil company. They probably had a gas pump outside the door. They could just go out—they thought that was smart. It was sold, may I remind my friends in the Tory caucus, Margaret, for \$304 million.

Now, in fairness, there were earnings. It showed dividend earnings of \$100 million over the period. So they only lost about \$400 million. That is Tory economics. That's the kind of mentality that when Mr Taxfighter stands up and starts talking about his solutions and the Tory solutions to the deficit, he would have you do that.

Then, you know the greatest thing that the beautiful Pink Tories did? They bought this wonderful place up just north of Kenora called Minaki Lodge—unbelievable—in 1974, right in the heart of the Big Blue Machine, working at their best in 1974. My colleague the member for Mississauga South, I believe, was probably on the school board at that time, suffering through all the difficulties, suffering through all the cuts from the Davis government and his predecessors in those days. Was he Minister of Education? He probably was in those days.

**Mrs Marland:** No, he was leader.

**Mr Mahoney:** Here you go, he was leader. He had risen to leader.

They go out and they buy Minaki Lodge. They're going to turn that into a government retreat and a little home away from home for Leo Bernier and all the good old boys.

I really miss Tory Ontario, I'll tell you, the days of party hacks, the days of pork-barrelling like you've never seen before. It's all documented: 15 successive years of deficit financing under Conservative rule, and it's been taken up by this government with a vengeance.

So I have to laugh, I say, Mr Speaker, with respect, when I hear these people stand up and try to perpetrate a fraud that Tory times were good times, and we have seen in Ottawa exactly what Tory times are in recent years. Let's just set the record straight on that.

**Mr David Turnbull (York Mills):** You doubled the deficit in five years.

**Mr Mahoney:** Mr Speaker, it's nice when they get excited. Let me talk to you about what the former Conservatives did, and now the NDP, just to show how much alike you people are. I'm sure you can't believe it. I notice they're better dressed these days. I figure they all went out—there won't be an early election, because they've all gone out and they've entered into two-year leases for new clothes, so we're not going to the polls until those leases are up.

Just to show you how similar this NDP government is to the days of the Pink Tories, let's talk about what's happened to capital education funding in this province. Let's talk about the fathers and mothers of underfunding. This party right here destroyed the infrastructure of capital funding in the province of Ontario in the years 1980 to 1985.

**Mrs Dianne Cunningham (London North):** Speak to your colleagues in Mississauga.

**Mr Mahoney:** You cut capital funding, I say to the deputy leader of the Tory party, and you should be talking to your leader about how you should be ashamed of yourselves. They should be ashamed of themselves.

Under the Liberal administration, let me point out that we were the first government in the history of this province to call in the stakeholders in education and say to them: "We would like to give you a plan that you can work with. We maybe can't give you all the money you want"—I don't know any government that can—"but we're going to announce a three-year program for capital funding for education that's going to be a total of \$900 million over three years."

For the first time, the people who are responsible for dealing with education matters in our community could actually sit down and say: "Okay, we didn't get all we wanted, but at least we know what we're going to get each year for the next three years. We can do our

planning." It's the first time that ever happened, and it was a major commitment by our government to try to correct the damage that was done by the former Conservative government.

You know, I recognize that people's memory is short. I also recognize, when I hear the Taxfighter talk, that people's memory, particularly his, is convenient. I understand that. He wants to see things purely from his own perspective—I guess that's his job—but he should be a little more forthright, a little more honest in putting forth the total story, and that story is that that man supported tax increases year after year after year. That man's voting record shows that he voted in favour of Tory deficits year after year after year. It was the Liberal government that not only balanced the budget, but for the first time in the history of this province paid \$430 million off the debt.

**Mrs Marland:** I've got to leave now; that's it.

**Mr Mahoney:** They can't stand it; they can't take it. I know the truth hurts when it comes to dealing with these facts, but we actually reduced the debt by \$430 million. You tell me another government in the history of this province that's done that.

One of the real problems in relationship to the transfer payments going down, very briefly, is that they hit the little person in the community, the volunteers, the people in the youth organizations, the people who are out there working to make the community a better place for everybody involved. The fact is that when the Premier and the Treasurer talk in terms of reductions in transfer payments to their so-called partners, and I'm told that we have to brace ourselves for some \$100 million in cuts in the municipal sector, \$100 million, who does that hurt?

The Premier and the Treasurer would tell you that the impact of such a cut is going to simply mean that the municipalities have to do more with less, that the boards of education somehow have to do more with less. It's going to impact the size of the classroom at every grade level. It's going to impact the volunteers in the communities who currently are out there running T-ball programs, baseball programs, soccer programs, Scouting and Guiding programs, all of these people.

If you think in terms of the cash flow coming from the provincial government down to the municipal level to the school boards being a pipe, at the bottom of that pipe are all those volunteers and those kids, that's who's there, and those people are going to be terribly impacted because this government cannot manage its affairs.

You see, you've got to put a face to it so that these folks can understand it. The face is the kids that are playing in the community, the kids that are trying to stay out of trouble, the volunteers and the parents that are trying to keep the kids out of trouble.

I want to say that I'm very disappointed in the throne

speech. It clearly is not a document that outlines any kind of a blueprint. It clearly is a document, as I said before, that simply tries to falsify a record, that simply tries to perpetrate a fraud upon the people of this province. It's being exacerbated by members of the third party trying quickly to climb into bed, as the axe will fall on the civil service.

1530

Let me tell you what people aren't thinking about. There's no question that there are ways to reduce the size of government and it's a requirement that this government and any government must undertake. But they should understand that we're not talking about some clerk giving out licences, sitting in the Whitney Block at Queen's Park. We're talking about ambulance drivers, we're talking about firefighters, we're talking about police, we're talking about teachers and teaching assistants, we're talking about people who work in the school system.

The impact of the axe-and-tax mentality of this government is going to be far-reaching and people in the community will recognize it the first time they need an ambulance and that service isn't there; the first time they see a reduction in what we have come to expect as a reasonable level of service at the municipal level and when they start having to pay user fees in the community for things that heretofore have been provided through tax revenue.

It's a disgrace. This government is not only morally bankrupt, it is financially bankrupt. They are incapable of dealing with the problems. The Treasurer has not outlined any kind of a program that would resolve the concerns of the community. I denounce this throne speech and this government as being incompetent and I demand that this Treasurer tomorrow—

**Mr Sutherland:** Get off the rhetoric.

**Mr Mahoney:** It's not rhetoric—that this Treasurer sit down with this document he's got and find a way to work with the people at the grass roots in every part of this province.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Dennis Drainville):** I thank the honourable member for Mississauga West for his involvement in the debate. Further debate.

**Mr Gary Carr (Oakville South):** I'm pleased to enter the debate. Unlike the previous speaker, I'm not going to spend a lot of time looking back into the past and looking in the rear-view mirror for a lot of reasons, not the least of which—when you start talking about 1974, my colleague the member for Wellington and myself were thinking and I said, "1974, I was in high school," and he reminded me that he was probably in kindergarten in 1974.

So I'm not going to spend a lot of time looking in the rear-view mirror or a lot of time jumping all over this government, although I did just want to very briefly



mention the fact that when this government came in and the first throne speech came in, it was a document that had a bit of a vision. Even though I disagreed with what they were talking about, they were at least looking forward. They were outlining where they were going.

This throne speech is a document that is looking in the rear-view mirror. There's no talk about where they are heading. It is, quite frankly, a document that is—and I use this word “pathetic” in terms of outlining where they are going.

But in this day and age, as I go across the province and speak to people, they're not interested in partisan politics where we worry about who is worse. What they want are solutions and they don't care about ideology or political stripes. They want solutions.

So I'm going to talk a little bit about some of the solutions and I'm going to refer to a document which I hope all members will get a chance to look at. It's the minority report that was put together by the finance and economics committee.

We spent four weeks talking to people about the crisis in this province, everything from child care to health care to education. Everything about where we should be going in this province was talked about during those four weeks.

Rather than talk about some of the problems, what I hope to do here today for some of the members—because the throne speech didn't talk about solutions—I want to give them some practical solutions of what they can do to fix the economy, lower taxes and get people back to work.

I would refer the people to this report. In it are the ideas from the Liberals and the Conservatives. I would ask the members opposite to take a look at the Liberal report too, in all fairness, and I will take a quick minute to say, “Don't expect too much from it.”

I look at their recommendations and I say to the members there, with all due respect, you should be embarrassed by what you put forward. I'm not going to spend a lot of time looking at it, but here is the government that was in power for five years under the Liberals. They made us the highest-taxed province in Canada, the highest-taxed jurisdiction in North America.

All they've done since they've got in here is blame this government for running up the deficit, and when you look to practical solutions, when they have an opportunity to do it through the legislative process with the pre-budget report, there is absolutely nothing in it.

I want to read what it says, and this was not done by my 12-year-old daughter, who could have done a better job. When you listen to it, you quite frankly would think it was.

“Restoring public confidence: The budget should contain proper signals and a plan to build public confidence.” Isn't that startling. Hold the presses; get the

Premier out here; they have an idea. Absolutely pathetic.

One of the other things they say is that they need to have a vision and a hope for the future. “We need to see a budget that offers a sense of realistic hope for the people of Ontario in this difficult fiscal climate.” I don't think anybody would disagree with that. On the political spectrum you'd have communists right through to the fascists would agree with that.

“A strong sense of pessimism has set in in Ontario over the past two years.” That's great; they really know what's going on. “This budget must begin to lift that by demonstrating it will create a climate for job growth and economic opportunity.” Then they spend the rest of the presentation railing on the government over the finances and that the books are in bad shape. That's true. They are, but there are no solutions in here.

We have started with 15 point recommendations. I want to list a couple of things in the short period of time I've got. I want you to get a sense of where we're at. We agree with the Premier that we have a fiscal problem right now that is damaging the province of Ontario, we've got taxes that are out of control, but where we differ with the Premier is in something that was mentioned today. We do not have a taxation and a revenue problem; we have a spending problem.

In that we put a chart to show you exactly where we're at. If you look at the back of that on our chart, it shows the spending over the last five years. If you will look, you'll see that in 1984 we were spending in this province approximately \$25 billion. This year it'll go to \$55 billion, so in about 10 years we've gone up double. During that period of time, spending has gone double and triple the rate of inflation.

When I look at the situation right now, you can see very clearly why we're in the trouble we're in. As I go out across this province and talk to industries—I want to give a couple of quick examples in the short period of time I've got—the things that are destroying industry right now are things like the Workers' Compensation Board.

I want to give you a quick example of the abuses that are out there. As some of you know, I used to play hockey for a living. We had an oldtimers' game back down in Rochester a couple of months ago—and yes, I'm an oldtimer now and aging faster in this industry, I must tell you. When we went back down there, I met one of the players who was a defenceman. I played with him. We had a great game. Mike Keenan coached us. We played the Hollywood All-Stars—a lot of fun.

There was a chap there and I said, “You look like you're getting a little bit slower”—a guy I played with; I won't mention his name. If I mention the area, people might know him, because he was fairly high-profile. He hurt his knee and he said: “I'm a little bit slower now. I had reconstruction on my knee. We probably spent,

Lord knows, \$3,000, \$4,000." He said, "What I did was I limped into work and I pretended I got hurt on the job and I got paid WCB for eight months." Then he said, "Gary, what does an MPP do?" I said, "We spend about 60% of our day dealing with crooks like you."

We have an abuse of the system in WCB where we have, right now, an unfunded liability of about \$12 billion, going up \$100 million a month, and nobody is talking about it. We have a system right now in other areas that is driving businesses out. Ontario Hydro—and I come from an automotive-producing jurisdiction. In 1984 we had the cheapest rates of power of all the auto-producing jurisdictions. Right now we're number 10. It has gone up 30% over the last three years, and that's what's driving business out of the province of Ontario.

So what we did is we put a plan together, and in the time that's left I'm not going to get a chance to get through them all. But I would suggest to these members to take a look at the recommendations that are out there. In them we talk about the tax structure, we talk about what we would do to reduce expenditures, we talk about getting back to the 1985 levels of the public sector.

You see, unlike the Liberals, we're prepared to stand up and say, "This is where we should be in terms of the number of employees in the province of Ontario." We talk about how we should have, like they've done in Manitoba, civil servants given additional days off without pay. The same thing happened in York, I believe, the other day.

1540

We talk about the welfare fraud and what we would do, point 7, all the way through. I say to the member for Middlesex, the recommendations are listing a five-point plan. In that I talk about things like the SARC report, linking the provision of social assistance to jobs, retraining, about the recovery rate.

We talk about introducing laws like they have in the province of Quebec, Bill 37. In the 5,000 cases they looked at in the province of Quebec, they have a 75% success rate in recovering welfare fraud.

We talk about the financial impact of home visits. You see, the people on the other side judge these programs by the amount of money being spent, but if the member for Middlesex had sat in there on those hearings—

We also heard from the 30% of the people out there on social assistance who, through no fault of their own, whether they're disabled to whatever, are unable to work. Those people came forward telling us they do not have the money to live on, and they do not have the money to live on because 70% of the people on social assistance are employable.

To the member for Middlesex and some of the other members, I got a call about three Fridays ago from a woman in Halton—single mom, two kids—who works

at the Halton region giving out welfare cheques. She called me and she said: "Mr Carr, I just want to give you circumstances. I don't want my name used because I work at the Halton region, but I want you to understand I used to be on social assistance and I now work for the Halton region giving social assistance cheques." She said: "Mr Carr, I made more money when I was on welfare than I do right now giving out the cheques. You tell me why I shouldn't quit, spend more time with my two kids and go back to the welfare lines. I make less money now giving out the money on welfare than I did when I was on welfare."

To that woman I say that the system needs to be changed because the 30% of the people who, through no fault of their own, can't work don't have the money to live on. I say to the members opposite, if you really care about those people—and unfortunately, to the member for Middlesex, I don't have the time—look at this report, look at the recommendations that are listed. We have one, two, three, four, five, six, seven points on social assistance alone.

We talk about a moratorium on non-profit housing. As you know, we spent, over the last few years, \$5 billion in non-profit housing. All the member needs to do is take a look at the Provincial Auditor's report on the abuse of that system, where the auditor has said we will now spend \$1.2 billion on subsidies. I don't blame you for this because the non-profit housing, the Ataratiris, were spending \$600 million. That was the Liberals' fault. But I say to the members opposite, take a look at the auditor's report and you tell me after reading it that you honestly, truly believe we should be in non-profit housing in the province of Ontario because the waste of money is an absolute disgrace.

The problem is that the waiting lists keep getting longer and longer. Peel Non-Profit came it and said: "We'd like 600 new units. We have a waiting list of 7,200. We would like from 600 to 800 new units." They said to us, "Even if we get that, a year from now the waiting list will be longer." Doesn't that tell you the system isn't working? There will never be enough money to build 7,200 in Peel alone.

In that we talk about a moratorium, we talk about the shelter subsidies, we talk about how we could get new buildings built, through allowing the private sector to do that, in point 8 of the recommendations. We talk about the fair expenditure commission. Everybody talks about taxes; we talk about how we would implement a fair expenditure commission.

I say to the members opposite that we have a 15-point plan that goes into detail about the regulations, talks about the labour legislation, talks about the WCB. We've got three or four points listed there. We talk about small business being exempted from some of the taxes and we close with a little bit of a rundown on what we would do with the finances.



My time is coming to a close—it went very rapidly—but I say to the members that there are some commonsense solutions in there. We don't expect you to agree with everything in there, but take a look at it, Mr Speaker, because quite frankly we are in a crisis here. We are attempting to be constructive. There are going to be some things in there you're going to agree with and you're going to disagree with, but hopefully at the end of the day we're going to be practical.

I say to the members opposite, look at some of the solutions. We're here to help. If we do that, I believe we're going to get rid of the problems that we've got. We're going to be there, not criticizing and saying, "Spend more, spend more;" we're going to be there to tell you in areas of expenditure control, like we've done in the four or five pages we've put together, some of the commonsense solutions that should be done. At the end of the day, if you will listen to us, I honestly, truly believe we're going to be in good shape.

I'm not going to look back and say you should have listened to us two years ago when we put the blueprint together for economic renewal and prosperity. That won't do any good. Those two years are lost. But if you learn anything, learn that there are some solutions in here. We want to be a part of the solutions, and I say to the members opposite, if you do listen to us, we're going to be able to turn this thing around. Don't listen to everything, but our party spent a lot of time putting this program together, discussing the critics' role in Housing and Management Board, and all our colleagues giving input, and I hope and trust that you will take a look at this report. It was tabled with the Clerk, so all members should have received it. It's a big report. You don't need to read the entire part of it, but look at some of the solutions, because if you implement some of them, we're going to be in much better shape.

I'll conclude by thanking the members for listening so intently. I wish I had an opportunity to go into some more detail, but if the members will take a look at it, I honestly, truly believe they will see some commonsense solutions that will help get this province moving again, so that I will be able to say to my three children that they've had the greatest opportunity to grow up in one of the greatest provinces and the greatest country in the world.

**The Acting Speaker:** I thank the honourable member for his participation in the debate. Further debate.

**Ms Christel Haeck (St Catharines-Brock):** As so many other members before me have already said, it is a privilege to be able to make a contribution to this debate on the throne speech. I personally see the initiatives mentioned therein not only as positive moves but in many cases providing the means for a riding like mine, which, let's be clear, suffers 14.4% unemployment. This throne speech offers a solution and offers the means at hand for my riding to work its way out of the recession.

Let's be blunt. For all of the comments of the previous members, be it from the Tory party or the Liberal Party, the reality is that the agendas that have been proposed by the opposition parties really will not work. Particularly the one I'd like to refer to is the kind of agenda that the Tory party for so long has in fact been espousing. It hasn't worked. I mean, take a look at it. Here we have a party in Ottawa that in fact is going to penalize the workers whom they have successfully forced on to unemployment by their free trade agreement. Three hundred thousand people in this province they have forced on to unemployment and yet they're going to penalize them by changing the unemployment insurance rules to such an extent that they have to go on welfare. They haven't done anything for job creation.

It's my speech, and obviously others will make reference to the fact that we have suffered. We have as a province suffered and it's been up to this government to come up with solutions that in fact see people going back to work.

I very pointedly ask the question, did any of the Tory initiatives really create jobs in my riding? I will say no, they have not. There are four Tory members in fact in our peninsula, and all we've seen is increased unemployment.

Our government time and again has brought forward plans to create jobs, whether in construction or in industry. In Niagara alone, the Ontario Development Corp has approved loans to industry in excess of \$1.6 million for the year 1992-93.

I hear this mumbling from the opposition that Jobs Ontario, in particular Jobs Ontario Training, is not working. Well, why not tell the people in my riding, the 150 who have been taken off of welfare, that they should not be working? Why don't you tell them that they don't deserve the training program that upgrades their reading and writing skills? Why don't you tell them that they don't deserve child care?

The fact of the matter is that this program, Jobs Ontario Training, will create over its lifetime a trained workforce which will allow Ontario to attract investment from all around the world. But the opposition keeps saying that it's having no effect. There are thousands of people across this province who have faith in this program, over 1,800 in my area alone, who have decided to register with Jobs Ontario, who see this as their way to success. They know that it is their future to get education and training and to get a job.

1550

I see the opposition wants to do things the same old way. That means new and creative ideas, which Jobs Ontario is, just would never take place under their aegis. This government will continue to be innovative. The current economy challenges us to be different, to try to build bridges with our transfer partners. Hence the social contract.

I want to digress for just a second. This is a local newspaper, the Niagara Guardian. It's dated April 6, 1993. Page 4 has an article, "College Tourism Training 'Sets the Standard'." There's a \$1.4-million training agreement that involves the Ontario Tourism Education Council, the Ministry of Education and Training and the Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Recreation. "The agreement will provide 350 employees in the tourism sector with the opportunity to improve their skills and strengthen the industry as a whole."

Now, this is something important for an area that has as much tourism industry infrastructure as we do. This is vital. These kinds of sectoral agreements are exactly what this government is undertaking and has been undertaking since in fact it came to power. We have been extremely successful—it doesn't matter if it's steel, plastics, tourism—to make sure that there are jobs in the economy.

In my job as MPP I held a series of pre-budget consultations within my riding and I know that my colleagues on the government side have been doing the same. I want to ask the public out there to do a little self-examination. When were they asked in the past by the other two parties what their concerns were? When did these parties sit down with labour to truly consult and to regularly ask what labour's concerns were?

All you get, from the Tories in particular, is a lot of noise about special interest groups. When thousands of workers in this province belong to unions, they are no longer a special interest group. The issues that labour espouses are those of working people, organized or not. Unions have fought for the rights and benefits of working people since they were established. The folks out there know and they know we're not ignoring their concerns.

This government will educate and train. It will improve roads, bridges, hospitals in this province. It will not ignore the very real needs of workers for jobs, but it will make sure that they're safe jobs. Our environment, even in difficult times, will receive the attention that it needs to make sure that the lives of future generations will be better.

I speak with pride about this throne speech and I support it and our Premier.

**The Acting Speaker:** I thank the honourable member for her participation in the debate. Further debate.

**Mrs Elinor Caplan (Oriole):** I rise today in this House to participate in this important debate on the NDP government's third throne speech. As I rise on behalf of my constituents in the riding of Oriole, it's with sadness and distress that I report to you, Mr Speaker, and to this House that many of the predictions and the concerns that I have expressed in this House over the past two and a half years were predictions and that, unfortunately, these predictions have come true.

What I said to this government in a speech in this House in April 1992, almost exactly one year ago, was how important it was for the government to be clear about its priorities, how the people of the province were going to be looking at where this government, this NDP government, spent the very precious resources that it has in its safekeeping, to determine whether its priorities were right.

I pointed out at that time—and I know that it wasn't a happy conversation that we had—to the members of the government caucus that their decision to raise wages of people who had jobs, secure jobs in the public service, secure jobs in the broader public sector, who received wage increases as a result of this government's policy, wage increases which cost this government 14% in its first budget, was going to come back to haunt the government and create fiscal problems in the province of Ontario.

I said to them, and I'm going to quote from my remarks during that debate: "We criticize you because we believe that your priorities are in the wrong direction. You have been supporting the haves. You are giving money in the form of higher wages to people who have jobs and you have been supporting and listening to, almost exclusively, union leadership, the union bosses, the people who have organized, and not their workers." I said at that time, and I reiterate now, I said to this government, "You are misguided."

We know that in the first budget presented by Bob Rae and the NDP, they increased spending at an unprecedented rate of 14%. What's interesting about that 14% number is that it is also identically the cost of those wage increases they gave to their own civil servants, and the effect of that increase rippled through the broader public sector and created the mess we find ourselves having to deal with today.

A throne speech is supposed to be a vision for the future, a throne speech is supposed to be an agenda, and this throne speech was neither. This throne speech did not give any confidence to the 1.5 million people unemployed in this province, to thousands of people who want to work. This throne speech gives them no hope, and that's so unfortunate, because it is a lost opportunity for the government.

At a time when what this province needs is committed political leadership, leadership that is able to offer both vision and hope for the future, what this throne speech does is create a climate of despair and worry and fear.

I said this to the government last year in remarks in this Legislature. I said my constituents in the riding of Oriole are worried about jobs, they're worried about their own job, and over the past year, the number of people coming to my constituency office seeking aid and support of our social services has increased dramatically. My heart breaks when I sit and I listen to the stories of



individual constituents in the riding of Oriole who say to me: "Elinor, help me find a job. I want to work. I don't want to be on social assistance. I don't want to be on unemployment insurance. I don't want to be on welfare."

When I read this throne speech and I listened so carefully I thought, what am I going to be able to say to my constituents is in this throne speech that will offer them hope? And there's nothing there, an agenda which today, two and a half years late, is going to have to take back that which was given is creating a climate of greater fear as more people in the public sector and broader public sector, many of whom live and work in the riding of Oriole, are now worried: Will they have a job? Will they have to go on unemployment insurance? Will they end up on social assistance and welfare?

1600

The throne speech says, and I quote, "Knowing what we know today, failing to act now would threaten the social and economic gains of not just a government but a generation." And that's why I'm so upset today, because that statement is absolutely correct. But that's what we told the government two and a half years ago would happen if it continued with its misguided policies, and what we've seen is those predictions come true as a result of the mismanagement not only of our economy but mismanagement as this government has set priorities, has flip-flopped on policies and has created chaos which is causing despair.

Yes, when this throne speech and this government say, "Knowing what we know today," I feel I have to say with sadness, "But we told you so." We warned you and we were not the only ones who were warning you. The business community was warning you. The economists were warning you, and yes, I know that their own senior civil service was warning you.

The senior civil service in the Ministry of Treasury and Economics two and a half years ago told you what would happen. They predicted what would happen and you didn't listen. You didn't listen to your own ministry officials because you didn't trust them, and the war with the civil service has cost this province dearly—the politicization of that civil service that you have undertaken and begun in a way which is unheard of in the province of Ontario. The appointment of David Agnew, campaign manager to Bob Rae, the appointment of David Agnew, who was principal secretary in the Premier's office, the appointment of David Agnew as the number one civil servant of this province sent out a message to those hardworking professional and dedicated civil servants who have worked so hard in this province to provide governments of every stripe good advice. The message you gave to those people is, "We don't trust you, we don't like your advice and we are going to appoint people into the civil service because of their NDP affiliation" as their criterion for employment.

And I hear this every day, every single day, from

people within the civil service of the province of Ontario who are distressed and in despair at the politicization, the interference with policy development in a non-partisan and professional civil service, and this province is not being well served with the destruction of that professional, non-partisan civil service.

This throne speech should have been about confidence and hope. This throne speech should have been about job creation and prosperity. The atmosphere of doom and gloom which pervades this speech from the throne is not only regrettable and untimely; it is the worst possible message.

We hear from the Premier one day that the province is on the verge of recovery, the economy is just beginning to show signs of recovery. I agree, the signs of recovery are there, and what you need for recovery is confidence. If you're going to encourage and support that recovery, you have to be positive and supportive and you have to instil confidence in those people who would invest and could invest, confidence that (1) you have a plan and you know what you're doing, and (2) that you have hope and optimism. That's what was needed in this throne speech and, sadly, that is missing.

What the people need when the province is on the verge of a recovery is leadership and a plan, not a rehash of old policies and programs that have failed. My colleagues have spoken eloquently in this House about the list and the litany of failed programs and mismanagement of this government. I'm not going to repeat that in the short time that I have.

This government's dire warnings in this throne speech are going to hinder the recovery. That's nail number one: the tone, the attitude, the fear and the warnings, warnings that are two and a half years late.

The other thing that's going to hinder recovery is the threat of massive taxation. I honestly don't believe there will be massive taxation in the budget. I can't believe this government would do that. I believe they have heard the message that if you take money out of the economy in the form of new taxes, you will kill jobs and you will kill off the recovery. You were told this in the pre-budget hearings. You were told it again and again and again.

This is not the time for new taxes. We told you that last year when you brought your budget in, and you didn't listen then. I hope that what you're doing now and saying—that there will be new revenue sources—is that it will not be new taxes and increased taxation, but that in fact this is just a little bit of the ritual dance to raise expectations, and then when you bring in your budget without big tax increases, people will say, "Ah." In fact, I believe that's what you're doing. I believe you are painting a picture that is so bleak and so black in this throne speech that when your budget comes in you'll be able to pat yourselves on the back and say how successful you were in the negotiations with the labour

leadership of this province to develop a social contract so that you didn't have to raise taxes.

I believe you know how serious it would be, in a recovery which is already being called a jobless recovery, to further strike another nail that would take jobs out of the economy, and tax increases will do that. I say to the ministers who are here and to the people of this province that I believe the government knows tax increases at this time would be a disastrous fiscal policy.

What the province needs is a sound economic strategy, one that recognizes the crucial importance of job creation, the crucial importance of wealth creation. Not only should you be talking to the labour leadership of this province; you should also be talking to the small business community, who understand and know what you have to do to create jobs. They are the engine of wealth creation and job creation in this province.

My own belief is that Ontario can weather this storm. I am an optimist. If I were not an optimist, I could not survive in this environment and in this arena. I am optimistic about the future. I'm here because I believe that I can make a difference in influencing government policy as a member of the official opposition and encouraging them to change misguided policies, so that people will have faith and hope and so that faith and hope will bring prosperity because people will be working together to make Ontario a better place.

This throne speech is a reflection of how tired the government is—

**Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South):** Inadequate.

**Mrs Caplan:** How inadequate. My colleague reinforces my point of view. How inadequate is this government.

One of the things that saddens me is that the people who come to my constituency office and phone me and want to talk about what's happening, it's almost as though they've given up on you, and the problem is that as they give up on you, they give up on all of us and it reflects badly on all of us.

1610

When the Premier refuses to answer questions in question period and be accountable for his own actions, it raises the level of cynicism in this province and it says to my constituents in the riding of Oriole that they do not have the kind of openness and accountability not only that they were promised from Bob Rae but that they expect from any government.

Numerous suggestions and alternatives have been provided by our leader, Lyn McLeod. I was a member and I am a member of the standing committee on finance and economic affairs and I hope that the Treasurer will take heed of this important report. What we hope we will see in the budget is not a budget of despair and tax and axe but a budget that will give us hope, a

vision, an agenda, a road map for job creation.

We realize that it must be a budget that controls government expenditure and is one of fiscal restraint. That's the reality of the result of the NDP policies of the last two and a half years. We understand that. It's unfortunate, but that's the reality today. You can't turn the clock back; you must deal with it. The budget's going to have to deal with it, and it will be painful for a lot of people, and the reason it will be painful for those people is that they believed the government, and the government gave them that which it couldn't afford to give. I believe it was a form of political payoff, and that's unfortunate too, because the whole province is paying for that.

I hope the budget will contain no new taxes but, more than anything else, I hope the budget will do what this throne speech did not. I hope the budget will begin to restore confidence and that the budget will present the real numbers and the real facts. I'm looking forward to tomorrow morning when we see the mini-budget, and I hope that this government is open and honest and straight in presenting the facts to this province so that people will understand better the state we are in, because until now, the creative accounting, the attempt to cover up, the smoke and mirrors, the sham that has been presented with one number one day and another number the next day in an attempt to make the government look better, has not only failed miserably but it has increased the level of cynicism and the concern about political integrity. I appeal to the Premier and I appeal to the Treasurer and to the NDP government: Please attempt to repair that damage.

As I wind up my remarks in this throne speech debate, I want to say that these are difficult times in the province of Ontario; these are difficult times in the riding of Oriole. My constituents are suffering. I attempt, as I stand here in this House, to let the public of Ontario know that I understand, that I care about my constituents, and that I feel that it's a privilege in this democratic chamber to be able to speak on their behalf.

I believe in democracy, and I believe that by working together in a spirit of hope and optimism we can create a better future for Ontario. I call upon the Premier to set aside his ideology. Bob Rae, when you're wrong, say you're wrong. I offer you my help and my assistance. The advice I've given you over the last two and a half years has been rejected out of hand, and on behalf of my constituents I want to say how disappointed I am with the throne speech of this NDP government.

**The Acting Speaker:** I thank the honourable member for her participation in the debate. Further debate?

**Mr Cameron Jackson (Burlington South):** I'm pleased to be able to offer a few words late this afternoon with respect to the government's throne speech on behalf of my constituents primarily and also on behalf of my caucus, and I would go even further to suggest on



behalf of some the concerns that I've been trying to raise in the Legislature during the last two and a half years of this government's tenure with respect to social services in this province, the critic responsibility that I currently maintain.

The previous speaker indicated how terribly disappointed she was in the throne speech. Frankly, maybe it's as a parent that I take the view that you don't expect very much in the early life of a child and we shouldn't expect very much from the early life of a government, especially one that carries with it its limited access to the levers of responsibility in terms of maintaining the province and so on.

The previous speaker shouldn't be terribly surprised. As I recall, it was about eight and a half years ago when her party came second in the polls and the governing party came third, but between them they determined what the future agenda for Ontario would be. Substantive intrusions and substantive moves that would have major economic impact on this province were stamped into place by this Faust agreement that existed between the NDP and the Liberals in order to change the direction of Ontario.

Well, change the direction of Ontario they did, and I think the throne speech very much represents an 11th-hour wake-up call after that eight and a half years of the Liberal-socialism approaches that we've seen brought in in this province.

I might add that not all those interventions were wrong, not all of those interventions were inappropriate for this province. There were many that were needed and well appreciated by the citizens of this province. But quite frankly there were also an equal number of those intrusions which set in motion some very negative repercussions for business, for prosperity and for opportunity in our province, and certainly both political parties, while they were the government, deserve to share in part of the responsibility for what majorally the circumstances have brought us to in this day in present Ontario.

I didn't expect very much from a government that hasn't had experience governing but had a lot of experience in making demands on previous governments, of manoeuvring itself to impact those governments as a third party in Ontario. Now that they have the responsibilities of governing, they are realizing that many of the ideological positions they took two and a half years ago, the extensive baggage they carried over from their many years in the political wilderness, has caused them now to rethink some of those.

But a lot of damage has been done in two and a half years, and perhaps that's the reason why this throne speech, although it does attempt, and clearly the Premier does attempt, to set out some sort of plan, really doesn't have a lot of the specifics that these economic times would almost demand.

But rather than that, I think we in Parliament would appreciate having some further insights into exactly how that occurs. It's not encouraging for us to have to pick up the Toronto Star to find out what the government's thinking, nor does the government appreciate it when it has to pick up the Toronto Star to see what latest item has been released, without permission, which exposes what the government's currently thinking.

Frankly, I think neither serves us well, and the throne speech really does represent an opportunity for the government to speak with a little more clarity and a little more specificity when the public so desperately needs some degree of assurance that the government has a plan, a workable plan, and that they can somehow participate in that in a more meaningful way.

Unfortunately, the throne speech does make references to the potential for increased taxes. The Premier's post-throne-speech statements confirm that, and that the expenditure cuts are going to be rather drastic in terms of very key cornerstone services that have been enjoyed in this province. I don't want to say taken for granted. It has been one and the same that our citizens have viewed the quality of life in our province with the levels of services we've enjoyed. The public has not separated that concept. They are now starting to try and deal with the notion that our quality of life issues are being separated from us, and they're asking some pretty strong questions as to why that's occurring.

1620

Governments do change, the fundamental approaches do change, but now the citizens are realizing that in the midst of those changes of government, they are now starting to see a separateness from that quality of life that they have taken for granted or enjoyed or come to expect of our society. One of the reasons that occurs is because the priorities have changed for this government. Priorities that were enunciated while they were in opposition have not become the priorities they've enunciated once in government.

I notice the minister responsible for labour is here. I've listened to him speak in the House on many occasions, and he has been one of the leading speakers on labour matters throughout his career. Having both been raised in the city of Hamilton, we know that there is a very broad constituency there which very much depends on his contributions.

But that was not really the priority which the citizens of this province were asking for. We have very enlightened labour laws in this province. We have a workers' compensation system that's in financial difficulty, as my colleague the member for Oakville South said, but still it's responding in a way better than most jurisdictions in the entire world.

The point is that to help labour is to give them jobs. To help labour is to be a friend of a union, is to be able to have a prosperous working environment in which they

can unionize and prosper. I think that sort of symbolizes for us much of the concern we have that the sort of balanced partnership we've developed in this province has somehow been tipped very slightly; not to take away from the minister's dedication to labour issues, but it has to be tempered in an economic sense in these very difficult times we live in.

The same should be said, of course, for this party's defence of universal programs. Anybody who has listened to the NDP, as I did all through university—I didn't agree with them, but they had some very basic principles that they would hold to. Yet we're watching very quietly and very discreetly and perhaps unfairly the dismantling of many of these universal programs in our provinces.

Just looking at health care—and I have to quote from the throne speech; it's always helpful when one's talking about the throne speech to quote from it—when they talk about their sixth reform, reforming health care, the government says, "During this session, the government will implement a historic shift in the way we care for people." Now, that really is a frightening statement, partially because we're already starting to see some elements of how the government is going to shift the way it cares for people.

We know that there are probably 2,000 fewer hospital beds in this province from the day this government first assumed office. We know that there have been two separate interventions in reducing access to the Ontario drug benefit plan in the past and that the government is seriously considering looking at a plan that would disrupt the universality approach to the Ontario drug benefit plan for seniors.

It's talking discreetly to several hospitals about providing health care services to Americans. How sad and how terrible it has become for this government, for all of us in this House for that matter, to stand in the House on a daily basis to bring forward the concerns of constituent after constituent whose access to medical interventions and to surgery, to significant operations, whose access to that is being diminished and in some instances arrested in this province. Yet we're going to be opening our doors and encouraging Americans to come in here and use our system. I don't care what anybody tries to say in this House, a hospital bed is a hospital bed, and every time that you put someone else in that hospital bed, it cannot help an Ontario resident. Frankly, for this government to even be considering this crazy idea is just beyond belief.

The best example that I can come up with in the most recent history of this government is its interventions with respect to long-term care. A lot of the public are not aware, but it was mentioned in the throne speech that, again I'll quote, "a historic shift" is on the way "in the way we care for people, by introducing an innovative system of long-term care for the elderly and disabled."

Well, I'll tell you what the intervention is and how innovative it is. This government, with Bill 100, is going to remove extended care benefits for Ontario seniors from the OHIP formulary. Instead of it being an insured service, as it was in this province under the previous government, as it was envisaged and constructed as the first plan of its type in Canada by the Ontario Progressive Conservative Party, we have witnessed this government dismantling that as a basic right of access for a senior who is frail and elderly and needs that medical support. And so extended service, not to anyone's surprise, has been moved from an insured benefit in this province to a contract that exists between the state and an individual patient. This is going to occur without very much public debate on this very cornerstone point, and one that should be deeply distressing.

If that's the way health care has changed and that is what this government has enunciated in this throne speech, then I say to the public that is why it's not worthy of support.

In social assistance, I cannot believe that a political party that for 10 years in this province has said it had all the answers to help social assistance recipients, two and a half years into its mandate says, "We still have to rethink what we're doing."

I cannot imagine what the advocates for social assistance reform must be thinking of this government that stands and says in the throne speech that no amount of tinkering is going to help it, and yet this government has been getting away with tinkering with social assistance reform on and off for the last two and a half years.

If you examine access points to social assistance in this province, the largest single bulge, the largest single increase to social assistance in this province is attributed to the basic decision by your government, the decision by the socialists not to have a social welfare system that is accountable, by removing home visits, by removing the responsibility to examine case files, to have a sufficient number of inspection officers.

Yes, this system might appear to be somewhat de-meaning, but the truth is that these are taxpayers' dollars. According to the auditor, recently it's been determined that the fraud and inappropriate spending within social assistance are as high as 10%. That's 10% of \$6.5 billion, \$650 million of abuse which this government isn't prepared to go and examine ways of correcting. They're not prepared to go and find where that money is being abused, and I'll give the members opposite a couple of examples.

**Mr Anthony Perruzza (Downsview):** Get your numbers straight.

**Mr Jackson:** I'm trying to be positive and that's why, in a subcommittee report, I presented about eight different things I believe this government should consider in terms of assisting us to make sure that our social



assistance system responds to the real needs and not the needs of people who simply say they need it, walk in and start picking up a cheque.

The government's direct deposit program, the government's more open access for students on student welfare: I was told of a case in Peterborough where families, neighbours living next door to each other, the two high school students changed houses. They're living in their next-door neighbour's house and collecting welfare. It's a big joke.

**Mr Perruzza:** Report them.

**Mr Jackson:** To the member opposite who is concerned, I'll tell you what's going on in this province. I'll give you another example: people in Quebec who are crossing the border and collecting welfare twice. The Quebec government is so smart. First of all, they implemented a whole series of laws that empower their civil servants in order to catch people who are ripping off the system. So what did they do? As soon as they find a Quebec resident collecting in Quebec and in Ontario, they cancel his welfare in Quebec because they say, "Look, if Ontario's that stupid to pay them the money, then you collect it there; you're not collecting it twice." We can't even get the government of Ontario to sit down with the Quebec government and get its act together, because you socialists fundamentally disagree with a social welfare system that's built on accountability and need.

For you, it's a blank cheque, and the taxpayers of this province are fed up. When you start removing health care services for senior citizens, when you start removing drug plan benefits for seniors, when you start removing these fundamental quality-of-life issues, when you can only give out a 1% increase to welfare recipients because you've got no money to give them, the reason is that when there is a system that needs accountability, you won't look into it.

1630

Earlier today, my leader talked about this crazy health card and the abuse that's going on. Our Health critic will be speaking about it in a moment. The truth is, there's another \$600 million of abuse. What do you think the public thinks of all this?

I wish I could go on a little further. I wanted to comment here about day care. This government's throne speech makes reference to day care again. You've attacked the private sector in day care, you've injected \$100 million in to help buy out or force out the private sector, yet you're going to turn around and spend even more money creating subsidized day care spaces in this province when demand is at an all-time low. You're attacking the private sector that is providing those services.

You've got plans right now to talk about increasing junior kindergarten, you've got plans to bring day care

into our schools for four-year-olds and now we read in an article in the newspaper that you're planning to increase the class size for kindergarten. If you didn't touch the system, in a day care centre in this province there would be eight children to one day care worker. You're going to go and mess around with a system that's been working well in this province, that needed increased access for children.

You're going to start to tamper with it at great expense, and where are you going to end up? You're going to have higher PTRs in kindergarten. Congratulations. If you know anything about how education works, you're damaging the opportunities for those children, especially if it's that child's first introduction to an institution or a school setting.

The attacks on day care, the misdirection of long-term care, these are concerns that this throne speech does not address in any way, shape or form. I wish the government had been a little more specific. I would hope that the government will consider some of the recommendations on social assistance reform that could be implemented by this government almost immediately to save taxpayers' money, to catch those cheats out there who are cheating the system, because every time you give something from the government to someone who doesn't need it, there's that much less to give to those who truly do need. The number of people who are in need out there is rather extensive, so when you have 8% to 10% of them out there abusing the system, they should be stopped.

The citizens expect of this government at least one thing. They expect that it will manage and shepherd the resources, what precious few we've got left coming in as revenue in this province, with responsibility; that you'll listen, whether the idea comes from this side of the House or it comes from the very recipients themselves who are trying to tell you that there is abuse going on. Please listen as a government and try and manage the money a little better than it has been managed in the last two years.

The fact is that's the only way we're going to get through this difficult economic time we live in, and that is if we can work with all the suggestions that are being recommended in this Parliament, to honestly listen to the people in the public sector and to the private sector who are offering constructive recommendations to this government. I would hope that on reflection, when the Treasurer rises tomorrow and again perhaps more fatefully in 40 or 50 days with his main budget, that those sentiments will reflect in his final document.

**The Acting Speaker:** I thank the honourable member for his participation in the debate. Further debate, the honourable member for Niagara Falls.

**Ms Margaret H. Harrington (Niagara Falls):** This throne speech is about reality. It's about a government that is managing this province in the most difficult of

times in a fair and a fiscally responsible way, a fairness which I believe is probably unique in history, insisting that when tough decisions have to be made we ask those people most affected to be part of creating that fair solution.

For instance, take hospitals. We don't just say to the hospital board, "You make the cuts." We are insisting that hospital boards listen to the front-line workers, who probably know the best, most commonsense way of saving money, being more efficient and at the same time providing a better service. The same thing could probably be said of school boards.

This throne speech is about preserving services and yet making some of those much-needed changes at the same time. This economy has suffered much job loss and this throne speech is also about that reality. It is about turning around. At this time, in the last six months, yes, things have turned around; 100,000 jobs and more have been created. Across Canada, Ontario no doubt has been the hardest hit. Companies, like government, are feeling this terrible pinch and this change. They have to be leaner, more efficient. We are looking at high technology, highly skilled workers, the way of the future.

What is happening across Niagara—our region has been devastated—is a slow transition process. Transition is always difficult. No longer are there those jobs that you can get with a grade 10 education that you are guaranteed for 40 years and you will retire from and maybe your offspring will take those jobs.

We have to be helping business. In fact, across Niagara what we are doing right now—I was just speaking very recently with Chuck Chataway, who is our economic development officer in Niagara Falls, about a survey of 100 companies to find out what our strengths are in Niagara and what strategy we can take for the future to build on those strengths in order to create and attract that investment and to build industry.

Yesterday I met with a group called COSB, which is the Canadian Organization of Small Business. This was down at King and Bay, at the Commerce Court, on the 49th floor. What they were most concerned about is how do they manage this climate of economic problems without the help of the banks. They had actually called in four of the major banks in order to ask them: "How can you help us better as small business people? It's crucial at this time."

We, as a government, also have to be helping small business. In fact last year—probably the only tax ever reduced—the tax on small business was reduced from 10% to 9.5%. We have to somehow make sure that more capital is available to help small business. This government is also initiating a process called Clearing the Path so that people who want to start their own business have a much easier and clearer way of dealing with all the paperwork that is involved in it.

I could also tell you a couple of lines from the throne speech. One says, "\$100 million has been raised for venture capital investments in small and medium-sized Ontario businesses." It also says, "The budget is going to contain details of our community economic development initiative." This is going to help small business.

Yes, people together must now implement in communities across Ontario a plan, a co-operation to encourage business and small business. We know that small business is where most jobs are these days, and that is what we are doing in Niagara.

I want to give you one other example. During this past year, we had the manufacturing recovery program, which has helped many industries. I'll give you the one example of the furniture industry where they are undergoing difficulties but there's a long-term viability and what they need is help at this particular time to turn a corner to get new marketing skills to reach out further and get new product development to enter a new age. This has worked very well. We are putting more money into this manufacturing recovery program.

Jobs Ontario Training is also working very well for small business. I encourage them to look into their nearest broker across Ontario. Jobs Ontario Capital is working in long-term investing across this province. Jobs Ontario Housing is working, and I'm sure if you look at any community across Ontario, you will see wonderful new communities of housing that people really need. Jobs Ontario Youth: We have put more money into that and that is going to be working to create jobs for our young people.

While we are dealing with this priority, which is the economy, we are also making those long-term changes that have been so needed for so long, and we will not forget those. The first thing that comes to mind is Hydro. Other governments have said, "No, we won't touch Hydro." They were a creature out of control. This is the first government that had the guts to say, "Yes, we have to change the very basis of how Hydro operates."

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This particularly affects my community of Niagara Falls, because we have had large power users ever since the turn of the century, the abrasives companies, because the power was originally very cheap in Niagara Falls. Now they have faced the crunch this past year. What we have said is, "For your long-term planning for industry all across this province, the rates are going to be stable—that is, zero per cent increase above inflation—for the rest of this decade."

Other long-term changes that had to be made, that we are making, that we are committed to, are the long-term care initiatives, so that people can stay in their homes instead of in expensive institutions.

Another one is changing social assistance, which the previous member had been speaking about. We all know



that social assistance needs some very basic and fundamental change. We have to attack those disincentives to work. They are very real out there and they are ingrained in part of the whole system.

Secondly, we must make sure that our clients are not trapped in their lives in a holding pattern because of the way they are treated, whether it's by the system, by the workers or by society in general. That whole attitude has to change. It has to be an empowering system to get people who are in need back to work.

We're also continuing with our environmental bill of rights that we are committed to.

We are in fact also changing the Ontario Housing Corp so that tenants are involved in the management of their housing, that they are not treated in a patriarchal way, saying, "Yes, we have some units that you can occupy, but they are owned by the province of Ontario, so you'd best be careful because you're going to be living in Big Brother's housing units."

We must continue on this social justice agenda. We have to make fundamental changes in attitude—equality of women. Whether it's in the home, whether it's in the office, whether it's on the factory floor, whether it's at the cabinet table, government must show leadership in changing those attitudes.

Also, employment equity's mentioned in the throne speech, a very important, fundamental change, significant yet difficult. It's a very difficult piece of legislation that we are committed to.

This throne speech is about responsible management of a fiscal situation. We will not have happen what happened in New Zealand 10 years ago. What happened there? The bankers called in the credit and said: "No more loans." It's amazing to see what can happen to a society in a very short period of time. The living standard went from third in the world to 22nd, and you can imagine what happened to their health care program. People were going to hospitals, worrying about what they would have to pay when they got out. What happened also to sewage treatment plants? In New Zealand now, you have to drink bottled water.

These systems deteriorate very quickly. We will not let that happen. This government is managing responsibly, and that's what this throne speech is all about.

**The Acting Speaker:** I thank the honourable member for her participation in the debate. Further debate.

**Mr Alvin Curling (Scarborough North):** I regard this opportunity to respond to the throne speech, to state the feelings of my constituents and others in this province who are going through some tremendous hardship economically and personally.

In fact, when I listened to the throne speech, what it was all about, it seemed to me it was a checklist of the government activities to date, and what it has done is failed to inject hope and inspiration for the future. We

know what throne speeches are all about. It is to give hope and to give aspirations to the people.

Many of my colleagues who have spoken before have expressed how difficult a time we are in with this recession and what pain it has brought to the people. The people in Scarborough North I'm sure are not in any way feeling it worse than any others, but they are feeling it just as tough.

One of the signs we have seen in Scarborough North to indicate that times are difficult and the recession is here and deep is the signs that show "For Lease" and "For Rent" as you drive along the roads and the avenues in Scarborough. People have come to my constituency office and have stated that they have no jobs, that they are at the food banks looking for food, and they need help in any way that the state can help them. As the funds dry up, the situation becomes worse.

We, as politicians and legislators, search for solutions to these things. What we should do is that within the throne speech the government must indicate to the people its plans and what it intends to do and how it intends to resolve those problems.

In one part of the throne speech it was stated emphatically that the ultimate goal of this government is to put people back to work to ensure a sustained recovery. They said also that central to this plan is reducing the deficit through reckless or careful, maybe, budget cuts and what seem to me more or less reckless budget cuts and increased taxation. This is the government that, as soon as it came in, Mr Speaker, you may recall, increased taxes on the middle class.

The part that really grabs me is when in the throne speech it states that, "This government is committed to returning Ontario to prosperity that is based on responsible fiscal management." It talks about investing in jobs. I thought they would have elaborated a bit more, but basically it was just in passing that they mentioned that.

Jobs Ontario is what they call it. I call it "Jokes Ontario," because if you go around and ask the people who are supposed to benefit from Jobs Ontario, like the businesses and the people who should get jobs, really the amount of paperwork and bureaucracy that is in this exceeds itself in the sense of getting jobs for people. What they have done is given a larger bureaucracy and no jobs are created.

*Interjection.*

**The Acting Speaker:** Order.

**Mr Curling:** Somehow, as you touch on Jobs Ontario, you can see how touchy the government side gets. I say to you, ask those people in your constituency how effective this is. I've had businesses come in and say: "I throw my hands in the air. I will not proceed with this Jobs Ontario because it is too complex, it is too confusing, it is too bureaucratic." Ask the YMCAs that are brokers to this cause how well they are doing and how

effective the program is. I ask you, instead of being so defensive immediately, review this, because we are in crisis.

I don't have a long time in which to speak, but I want to focus on a couple of things in this throne speech, on some of our responsibilities, and one is youth employment. Before we get there, let me tell you, it is this government that has put these young people in this kind of crisis.

They promised—and you recall very well, Mr Speaker, as you listened to them; the government, that is—that they would make tuition free to all these young people aspiring to educate themselves. Before the words had stopped echoing in this hall they had proceeded immediately to eliminate the OSAP grant, which was a very important part of assisting young people back to school. They were saddled, of course, with carrying only loans, not the grant portion which they had depended on so much. As I stated earlier on, when they had increased the personal income tax of the middle class, some of those mothers and fathers and parents and guardians who are sending their kids to school have found now that they have to dig deeper in their pockets in order to give their children an education, and here comes elimination of the OSAP program.

1650

The first statement in the House was about young people and their summer jobs program. I know the minister would look up immediately and say, "Oh, no, it is some strategy." I looked very hard to see if he had a youth strategy program in there. We don't need summer programs for young people. It is alarming the kind of unemployment rate that we see with regard to young people. In some sectors, 23% of the young people are unemployed, no jobs. They don't need a summer job. They need to know that this government, which has shot all their hopes and aspirations from under them as to their future—they see now that they are saddled with a summer program, and hoped they would have given them some youth strategy to give jobs to youth, an opportunity there.

It is sad that this government, which spoke so well when it was in opposition, has had three shots at a throne speech now, three times in order to get it right, and it is getting it worse and has now destroyed many of the hopes and aspirations of the young people who look forward so much to living a life, to getting married, to buying a home and to advancing their careers, and this is all gone.

What this government has done is to blame it on the federal government. They're in two and a half years, and the survey has shown that they have lost all the support they had in the past. Even the unions, as you know, have spoken terribly about this government, that they cannot believe and they do not see in any way that it has put forward a plan in which they can have hope.

Let me just quickly talk about some of the companies within my riding that has been suffering so much, because in the short time I have, I need to do this. Leviton Manufacturing manufactures electronic devices: consumer, residential and industrial wiring devices. Where are they today? They used to employ 300 people in my riding. Now they've gone to the United States, because they have no hope that this government is listening to them in any way.

Tai Cheong supermarket, a very large supermarket chain: They've got three supermarkets, two in Scarborough North, and now they have chosen to close down because they see no confidence in this government. They cannot hold on any more. I said to them, "Let us give them a chance in the first throne speech to get their act together." That did not happen. With the second they failed, and this third throne speech has really put me in a situation to have lost faith in this government. When we have lost young people, when we have lost businesses, I think we are almost losing our province.

But there's hope. If I can be partisan for a moment, there is hope, because within about two years you will be called to account for all the things you have done. You'll be called upon by the people to show your record. We know what it is all about: Your record is poor, a poor, failing grade. The beautiful thing about democracy is that they shall choose in the direction to get you out of power, because I still believe that the people of Ontario can bring this province back to where it was.

A \$17-billion deficit, in the words of their own government, their own Treasurer, to say that's the way we're going to be heading: a \$17-billion deficit. Tell me, how have they come to that situation in two and a half years, when they had almost a balanced budget, no deficit, and have moved that to \$17 billion? Although we don't believe that \$17 billion will be the deficit after they come through their little makeshift, Friday pre-budget wrangling that they're going to do tomorrow; that the fact is that maybe it is \$15 billion. But drive the fear into the people, so they can come back and say: "What a wonderful job we have done. We didn't do a \$17-billion deficit. What we have done now is to cut it down maybe to \$11 billion or \$13 billion."

With that logic, it is almost like giving the people \$10 and saying, "Here is my gift," and then coming back and taking away \$15 from them. The people are worse off for this socialist government, which thought it had all the answers to the economic disaster that it has found itself in today. All of it, of course, Mr Speaker, as I said, is not their own doing, but from the global recession that is around.

But at this time, in our country, what we need are competent administrators of the revenue and taxes that are collected around this province. You have seen, Mr



Speaker, that they have done such a bad job of it, because they can't even add. They decided to reduce the ministers around the cabinet table, and there's a big debate about whether they sit at the cabinet table, whether they stay outside on Wednesdays, out there smoking, or whether they wait around, whether they are junior, whether they are senior, whether they are whatever, our ministers without portfolio. So what they do, they pay their buddies off in the back bench there so that they can keep things a bit quiet, because none of the members here are consistent in where they're going. And some of those who didn't get to be junior ministers, I presume there'll be another shuffle later on to pay off those noisy ones who did not get the extra little bit of money and the use of the cars when they can and the expense account.

But who is paying for this? The people in Scarborough North, the people all over this province, are paying for those incompetent people whom they are paying off to do a job, and then they can't define over there who does what, if there is a junior Minister of Health or a senior Minister of Health or who does what. It is a serious situation, because the people are watching that very carefully. While you're asking the people of Ontario to be fiscally responsible, to cut back, to be restrained in the things they do, because they also have far less disposable income, this government, when it has that disposable income, shares it among its friends. They swell the ministry itself with political appointments and therefore our money is wasted in every respect.

I appeal to you, while you're sharing all that, that you pay attention to our young people. Pay attention to the people to whom justice is not being done. I could go on at length, but I just wanted this last minute and a half here to talk about how the justice system that this government has instituted has failed, the backlog that is in Human Rights, the racism that is existing in Human Rights. And I'm not saying that as just a shot: Those are reports that indicate that within Human Rights it is poorly run.

The employment equity promised, promised so long, that now they are trading off with the unions and now they're going to trade off with businesses to find out what type of weak employment equity program will come forth. It's a shame. This same government that had articulated so well about how effective it would be if it had put forth the employment equity program—it's taken two and a half years and still yet is not here.

1700

The throne speech is empty. It's a lot of rhetoric. It addresses none of the issues that the people want. The aspirations and hopes of Ontarians have not been met. I'm sure Ontarians are prepared to tighten their belts, but this government is not prepared to tighten its belt. They have decided to give it among their friends. I hope that the minister and the Premier are listening.

**The Acting Speaker:** I thank the honourable member for his participation in the debate. Further debate? The honourable member for Simcoe West.

[Applause]

**Mr Jim Wilson (Simcoe West):** Thank you, Mr Speaker. Thank you, colleagues. I appreciate the opportunity to speak for a few moments about the government's speech from the throne that was tabled in this House on April 13.

I must say at the outset that the government's speech from the throne was a huge disappointment to me and to my constituents. When one looked at the detail or lack of detail in the speech, we found that it was simply a rehash of previous NDP announcements, of previous things they did wrong in the past, and for some reason took great pride on April 13 in reannouncing their mistakes.

They've not really listened to what my party has been putting forward in terms of solutions. We have a spending problem in this province. I think Mr Harris, the leader of the Ontario PC Party, has many times pointed out on behalf of our caucus that the Treasurer, at this point in history, really doesn't have a revenue problem. Yes, we lose a plant every three days in Ontario and 500 more people are added to the unemployment roles. That is the record of this government. But when you look at the actual budgets, when you look at the actual figures, you find that this government has more money to spend than any other government had in the history of Ontario.

Past governments, prior to 1985, were able to maintain programs, to give people the priority programs that they wanted us to administer for them, that they wanted the state to administer for them, and we were able to do that with a lot less money.

By the Treasurer's own admission, with the spending that began in 1985 under the Liberal-NDP accord—I'm surprised how many Ontarians ask me, almost on a daily basis: "How did we get into this mess? How in the world could a government now be projecting a \$120-billion debt by 1996?" It took 118 years for all governments prior to 1985 to rack up a debt of just under \$30 billion. We weren't very proud of a just-under-\$30-billion debt in 1985, but none the less it was 118 years of history to get to that point. Certainly, in hindsight, we had tremendous government prior to 1985.

During the two years of the Liberal-NDP accord, we saw that the government of the day, the Liberal government under David Peterson, began to spend. The spending has just not quit. The Liberals entrenched a number of programs, a number of items that if not checked, simply increase the drain on the government's revenues each year, or the government's ability to spend.

The problem has been that there's been no common sense around here, and now after the Liberals' five years in office, where they doubled the province's debt to

some \$40 billion, this government is going to once again triple that debt that it inherited in 1990, over its short period in office because I don't think it'll get re-elected; the NDP tells us it's going to have a debt of \$120 billion.

The only reason Bob Rae is even talking about spending restraint right now and telling us that he's worried about debts and deficits is because the Treasurer told us that this year, the year that just ended, his deficit will be \$12.1 billion. That means, ladies and gentlemen, that the government is borrowing \$1 billion a month from the international markets.

It's ironic that the NDP is now borrowing money from the same corporate welfare bums that it at one time blamed for all of the woes in our society. The only reason the Treasurer and Premier Bob are at all concerned—because they're socialists and it's not really in their makeup to be concerned about other people's debts and deficits—the only reason they're worried is that 70% of that billion dollars they borrow every month comes from foreigners. It comes from Japan, it comes from Germany and it comes from the United States, and the international moneylenders, those foreigners, told this government to start to get its act in order, that they weren't going to lend it any more money; either that, either Bob Rae starts to listen to the international moneylenders, or they will come in and at some point start to dictate our public policy agenda in this province. They will essentially own Ontario.

I think the people out there have to realize that Bob Rae didn't come in part to his senses out of some innate ability to understand capitalism and free markets. No, no, no. He came to his senses because international moneylenders said, "We aren't going to lend you any more money unless you show us some sign of restraint."

The government has spent on an average in the first year in office—their payroll costs were up 14%. Last year, their cost of running the government was up 14%. That's seven times the rate of inflation in each of those years.

It was two years ago that Bob Rae told us that you could spend yourself rich and that we could spend ourselves out of this recession, that if only government were big enough, it could somehow solve all of our problems, that somehow government can be all things to all people and that somehow you can get something for nothing.

That is the tragic mentality that we've not seen change on the other side of this House and it's the tragic mentality that began in this province and was fuelled by the five years of Liberal rule. There's a lot of people who believe it. There's a lot of people who believe you can get something for nothing. Well, it isn't true, and the day of reckoning is here.

Bob Rae should have cut his spending, or frozen his

spending and cut his taxes as my party suggested some two and a half years ago when he came to office, but no, he decided to spend at some seven times the rate of inflation, to the point where the province is officially bankrupt, and he told us that he had to do that so we wouldn't be in a recession.

The fact of the matter is that we shouldn't have been in a recession in the first place. The Premier's logic was that you could spend yourself rich. If spending yourself rich was the solution, we shouldn't have had a recession because the Liberals spent five years while they were in office trying to spend us rich. What happened? We hit the worst recession that we've ever seen in Ontario. There's no money in the bank as the Liberals told us they were putting money in the bank. Keynesian economic theory says that in the good times you've got to put some money away for the bad times. There's no money there at all. The bank is bust, and today we had the Premier running around talking about a social contract.

I'm not sure what a social contract actually is. When you give your employees—first of all, increase the number of them and give them raises that bring your payroll costs up 14% in each of the last two years, and then you're now entering into a social contract saying, "Sorry, 18,000 or 20,000 of you have to be laid off and/or we want to roll back some of those wage increases." It just shows how out of touch the NDP has been over the last two years.

Many of my constituents and some 500 Ontario residents in each day in this province over the last two or two and half years have received a 100% pay cut. They've been laid off. They've been let go. They don't have a job, can't feed the family: the simple reality out there that this government fails to recognize.

During that period of the last two years, this government had the gall to give unprecedented—I shouldn't say unprecedented; we did see it in the 1988-89 years of the Liberal government. But it gave huge wage increases and new hirings in the public service, and now through really a funny game called the social contract negotiations, the government might take 5% or 10% of those huge wage settlements back.

Well, it's quite a joke because these people, at the end of the day, have job protection in the civil service and they have more money today, even if they took a 5% or 10% rollback, than just about anyone in the private sector because most people in the private sector, and including MPPs—we've had our wages frozen over the last two years and that will continue.

1710

We've talked about spending, we've talked about huge raises. I hope I've let you know a little bit that I don't have a great deal of faith in the social contract. I was a political assistant for a number of years, and my judgement is that these social contract negotiations are simply



the posturing of the government to pretend it is taking a tough stance against the public service.

By the Treasurer's own admission, that tough stance is supposed to convince the rest of Ontarians that he needs to increase taxes in his next budget. He's admitted this week that the tax increases that he's looking for will amount to another \$2 billion out of the pockets of the very few people who are still working and trying to run a business in Ontario.

It is absolutely sinful that this government, against all the advice it has ever received from anyone who knows anything about small business in this province, from anyone who knows anything about generating wealth and creating jobs, would go against all of that advice and once again raise taxes. We are the highest-taxed jurisdiction in North America. We lose 500 jobs a day; a plant closes every three days; 1.3 million Ontarians are on welfare.

I want to talk about welfare for a minute, because I want to illustrate for you sort of the economic spiral and decline that we've been in, and that requires some commonsense solutions that we've been putting forward; but the decline we've been in over the past eight years that the Liberals and NDP have been office.

The fact of the matter is, you know there's a problem with your welfare programs when during the boom years in 1988 and 1989, when the government had tremendous prosperity, it was an easy time to run the province, it was as if things ran themselves, businesses were reporting record profits—that passed quickly when Bob Nixon, the Treasurer of the day, clobbered those same businesses with things like the employer health tax and unprecedented taxes, an unprecedented commercial concentration tax, workers' compensation premiums which are the highest in the world.

Anyway, in 1988-89, I remember writing some speeches for some people in this province and I used to write the line that we could have full employment. I think we had only 4% unemployment at that time and all the social writers who fuelled the spending spree used to write that, if only the government did a couple of little minor things, we could have full employment. There were all kinds of stories in the media that full employment was the goal.

During those boom years, what happened to welfare? Welfare rose during the best years that will ever be seen in my lifetime and certainly in anyone's lifetime in this House—4% unemployment. Welfare went up another 200,000 people, because the social theorists over there and in the Liberal Party to my right—although they certainly are not on the right; it just happens to be a coincidence today. Those social theorists, and I've never understood this, that somehow, through things like STEP, the supports to employment program, under welfare, if you gave more people more money, that would be an incentive to go back to work, to get into the

workforce.

In 1988-89, at 4% unemployment, welfare grew by 200,000 people. It clearly tells you that during the best, most prosperous years that you'll ever see in this province in our lifetime, you've got a problem with welfare. The number one question, I tell you, is not only, "How do we get rid of the NDP in Ontario?" but I'm often asked in my riding, people ask me: "Well, Mr Wilson, why should I go to work on Monday? I should go on welfare." I think a lot of people who might have said that to me over the past couple of years are on welfare now.

We have a problem. As welfare has gone from 400,000 to 600,000 in the good years, and now with the rules—I argue a lot of it has to do with the rule changes the NDP brought in; there are no more welfare police, there's no accountability in the system whatsoever, direct deposit for cheques within three days, absolute nonsense—we now have 1.3 million Ontarians on welfare and no jobs to go to, because in order to sustain that \$6.2-billion welfare expenditure and all its other expenditures, the government is telling us it has to tax us more and more.

We could mention the over-\$200 million used to drive private sector operators out of day care or the \$50 million they want to put towards taking over private sector ambulance services in this province or some of the home care legislation that we'll see later this year that will drive the private sector out of the provision of home care or the \$7.1 billion they've spent on non-profit housing, and that doesn't include the subsidies that you and I, as taxpayers, have to pay in each of the next three years; \$1.2 billion, I believe is the commitment in each of the next 35 years to carry the mortgage for these people on these so-called non-profit or co-op housing buildings. It's sinful.

We would be better to not have the government at all in the housing business, to save the \$7.1 billion in capital costs and to send these people a cheque for \$1,200 a month, and they can go down the street to their local subdivision and buy their own house. At the end of 25 years, they'll own the darned thing, and we won't have incurred a \$7.1 billion capital cost. We can't get this sort of thing through people's heads.

I won't even go into the fact that all the non-profits in my riding, these huge buildings that were put up, were untendered. I won't even go into that, I can tell you. I think that must be illegal in this province; it used to be at one time. But they're untendered. The Ministry of Housing phones you up and says, "Will this developer do?" And it's from Toronto. It really irks you when you have unemployed constituents. They're coming from far away to come up and build non-profit housing units in my riding.

One more last comment. On January 13 of this year, I wrote the Honourable Bud Wildman, Minister of

Natural Resources, a letter. I was trying to head off another stupid expenditure by this government. This government decided that it needed new helicopters. It was one of these "Let's use up the capital budget of Ministry of Natural Resources quickly" because the deadline for the tender had to be March 31. By the way, it wasn't a tender; it was a letter of invitation to only two companies: Eurocopter, from offshore, or Bell Helicopter. Eurocopter wins the so-called tender—only two competitors—a \$2million purchase for two helicopters.

I'm told by everyone in the firefighting business and everyone that helps repair helicopters and all kinds of people who do work for the government in this area, in the private sector, that the helicopters that the government was replacing were hardly ever used—but to use up the capital budget.

So, as a very responsible MPP, or at least I hope I am, I write the minister. I talk to his assistants on the phone and I say: "Look, here's \$2 million. You don't need it. You're buying these helicopters offshore. It's going to cost you a whole whack more money to train pilots and that because they're a foreign helicopter that we don't even have any trained pilots or mechanics for."

Two million dollars they could have saved. It would have been a simple thing, but no. I get no response from the minister. That's January 13. You have unprecedented staff levels around here. You've got 93,000 civil servants and you can't answer a letter that's several months old. I think that speaks volumes for the level of competence of this government.

**The Speaker:** I thank the honourable member for Simcoe West for his contribution to the debate and recognize the member for Scarborough East.

**Mr Robert Frankford (Scarborough East):** I will only take a few minutes to give some of my other colleagues some time to speak. I start with a certain amazement that, listening to the opposition, it sounds as though Ontario is some uniquely bad province that has a debt unique in the western world. Surely we can look at governments all over which are in exactly the same situation, and all of them are realizing that they have to address the problems. We see the contenders for the federal Conservative leadership who are admitting something needs to be done. If I have it right, they are competing to say whether the debt will be eliminated within three years or five years, and that's about it.

The thing that strikes me from oppositions is that they have no ideas. What are they proposing? They look at little picky things that supposedly we have done. They look at defects. They get into ad hominem arguments, but then, at the end, where are we?

We are clearly not facing business as usual, and we are addressing and this throne speech addresses a comprehensive approach which I'm really surprised other

governments elsewhere are not adopting, but surprisingly they don't seem to be.

1720

There is some hope. I see some jurisdictions which are along the same lines, and I would note the elections recently in Jamaica, which have returned the progressive party there, and in Australia, which I think should be looked at more closely, because I believe Australia is one example of a very sophisticated social contract bargaining situation which has stood that country in good stead in tough times and where we have seen the return of the Labour Party in the face of a reactionary free-market ideologue party which they may have realized was rather similar to the federal party we are suffering from and have suffered from for about the last 10 years.

I don't want to use up too much time, but we do have this three-part approach. We have the social contract at the same time as we have a reduction in programs and we have the necessity to raise more revenue, which we are going to be finding out about very shortly.

I just wanted to very briefly touch on a couple of areas in the speech which are very important to me and to my people in Scarborough East. I'm very pleased about the aspect of point 4, supporting communities and small business. The government is acting to bring economic renewal into the heart of our communities. The budget will contain details of the government's community economic development initiative.

All economies are local economies. I know the need for stimulating local rural economies, but in my riding of Scarborough East we have exactly the same, and I'm very pleased that we have initiatives like Jobs Ontario, which, contrary to what we hear across the floor, is doing something. There is a real need for training. We are in a time of rapid change in the structure of work, which is a large part of the overall difficulties we're in, but this is something that we are doing, something recognizing both the needs of employers and employees to get into the new economy, often very much the information economy.

I want briefly to touch on another thing which is very dear to me, which is reforming health care. The government will continue to reform the health care system and control costs. As you know, Mr Speaker, we have been doing that very successfully so far compared with what had gone before. Health costs only went up 1% compared with many times more in previous years, so that at least has flattened the graph, but we have immense possibilities for health care reform, for democratizing the system, for making a more satisfactory care system for patients and I believe for physicians.

I don't share the cynicism about social contracts. I know, as a professional, as a current or former provider, the ways in which we as physicians lacked many of the things that in other sectors are taken for granted: a career



structure, a retirement plan. I don't know what's going to be in the social contract, but I think it's easy to see things like that which are necessities which will make a better system, which will allow us to distribute health care equitably across the province.

I'm sorry to see all the cynicism which comes across, but I suppose that this is the opposition doing its job.

I won't go any further. I'd like to give my colleagues some chance. But I believe this is something where we as a province are setting a lead for this country and for this continent and I'm very proud to be part of it.

**Mr David Winninger (London South):** I'm certainly pleased to rise in response to the speech from the throne, because my constituents in London South know only too well the importance of returning Ontarians to work and maintaining central services and controlling the deficit. Certainly, the study conducted by the C. D. Howe Institute indicated that Canada's debt crisis is even greater than most Canadians realize. Their conclusions were disturbing, particularly for those who had argued that the debts of the province are of little concern. Their discussion in fact culminated in a warning that Canadian governments were facing a foreign exchange crisis similar to that experienced by New Zealand, Sweden and Italy. All these countries were forced to make deep cuts to entitlement programs, such as old age security, to satisfy their foreign lenders.

Putting Ontarians back to work goes beyond deficit reduction. As the speech from the throne indicated, our "goal is to return Ontario to a prosperity based on responsible fiscal management; investment in jobs; partnership between government, business and labour; principles of fairness and human dignity; respect for the environment; and an abiding concern to provide" for the weakest among us, including our children.

The announcement yesterday by the Minister of Environment was certainly welcome news, that Ontario had met its target of 25% reduction of waste in 1992. In fact, legislation is being beefed up to allow municipalities to recycle more waste and to foster the growth of the green industry in Ontario.

Our Jobs Ontario Capital program has worked excellently to create those jobs needed in our economy, and the \$6 billion to be spent over the next decade to build on our capital infrastructure will only serve to expand those objectives.

So job creation is certainly a major thrust of the throne speech, deficit reduction is a thrust of the throne speech, but at the same time we must seek fairness in society. Our decisions always have to be guided by concern for people, by the right of all residents of Ontario to seek conditions of fairness, respect and economic opportunity. Certainly, reform of the social assistance system will aid us in that endeavour because it will break down some of the barriers to integration of

people into the workforce.

I'm going to leave time for my colleague to speak.

**Mr Perruzza:** It's indeed a pleasure to be able to participate in this throne speech debate. Mr Speaker, as you know and as every other member of this Legislature knows, a throne speech is essentially a mini-blueprint, a plan of action, a game plan that details how the government continues to govern for the immediate future. I have to tell you that in many cases, individual throne speeches are also the foundation, the building block of much more comprehensive plans for government action for the future.

You can't detail a game plan or a plan of action without reviewing the game films, without going back and taking a look at how the game's been played in the past. Only in that way can you assess to any great degree where you are at for the time being. I have to tell you that when we go back to the old game films, when we go back to the old plans—and I'm not going to go as far back as the Conservatives; I may just touch on the Conservatives, but I am going to speak to the kind of government, to the kind of game plan that our friends the Liberals played in this place.

What did they do during the most productive and prosperous period in this province's history, between the years 1985 and 1990? I'll tell you what they did. They taxed and then they spent, they taxed and then they spent, they taxed and then they spent some more. They spent so much that as an outsider, simply a resident of Ontario, an elected representative at the municipal level, I can tell you that they appeared to be nothing short of drunken sailors, nothing short of drunken sailors. It was a party in this province. It was a party. It was a Liberal, five-year party.

1730

What did they do? They did a number of critical things that essentially changed the game plan, changed the rules for government. They squeezed their municipal partners, they squeezed the school boards, they squeezed all of the other transfer partners, whether it be hospitals, whether it be doctors, whether it be commissions, whether it be school boards, whether it be municipalities and they kept all the money for themselves. They kept all the money for themselves. It's not that they invested in the future of Ontario.

They didn't put the money into building roads, building new sewers and renewing the structure that sustains and maintains this province. No. They threw money everywhere. They layered program on top of program on top of program on top of program. They didn't go back and review the old programs. No, absolutely not. They didn't go back to the old Conservative programs to figure out whether or not they were working. No, that was too difficult for them to do. That's not what government was to them: The most prosperous time in Ontario's history, they had all the money they

ever needed, and they just simply threw it across Ontario everywhere. It didn't matter who came asking.

But the sad thing about it all is that they didn't take care of the most marginalized, they didn't take care of the weakest. Absolutely not. They left them out in the cold, they left them out on the park benches, they left them out in the food bank lines. Absolutely; that's what they did. They turned their backs on the neediest in society. They had all of the money, but they abandoned those who needed it the most. They took care of all of their friends in every other place, but certainly not the people who needed it most.

What do we need to do in the next little while? I'm going to conclude my remarks, because I notice that the Premier came into the House and he's going to want to speak to this. But I have to tell you, our game plan now—as a social democrat, I don't want to sit at a table and I never expected to sit at a table where we are going to be talking about sharing the pain. But what we have to do is we have to get the house in order. That's the game plan for the next decade, and that's our game plan.

When we have the house in order, I can tell you that we're going to be able to take care of all the people who were left in the lurch when they had a chance to take care of them, when they had a chance to do something.

**The Speaker:** I thank the honourable member for Downsview for his contribution to the debate, as well as the member for London South and the member for Scarborough East. Are there any other members who wish to participate in this debate? The time for the third party has expired. Premier.

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** Thank you very much, Mr Speaker. I appreciate the opportunity to speak in this debate and would say to my colleagues that it is a pleasure to participate in this discussion. I feel very strongly that the approach that the government has taken and that is set out in the throne speech is an approach that's worthy of the support of the House and it's worthy of the support of the people of the province, and I want to take this opportunity in this place to express those thoughts as clearly and as emphatically as I can.

I want first of all to of course repeat my welcome to the two new members who participated in the debate, in the discussions in this House, for the first time in the last few days and say how much we all look forward to their participation in future discussions, and to say to my colleagues that I don't think there's any question that we live in times of challenge and times where difficult decisions must be made on behalf of all the citizens of the province.

There have been many harsh words spoken and many things said. I expect and anticipate that in the course of a throne speech debate, that will happen and that will be the case. I want to say to my colleagues in this House, particularly my friends in the opposition—I look across

the way and there are a lot of people I still consider to be my friends, indeed almost all, including my good friend the member for York Centre. I recall well our early meeting when he was first elected and his enthusiasm when he became a member of the government. I made that possible as leader of the third party. I haven't sensed a tremendous gratitude flowing backwards from that direction. There are a great many of my colleagues in the Liberal Party whose elevation to office a truly generous move by the New Democratic Party made possible in 1985.

Indeed, I see the member for Timiskaming is here. His arrival in this place owed something to the New Democratic Party, and I don't recall him ever having expressed even a sound bite of gratitude to all of us. The doors we knocked on together and the number of people we talked to, the meetings that I addressed on his behalf, and he never even sends me a Christmas card to express gratitude for the fact that I made that happen.

So I say to my colleagues and my friends in the Conservative Party, whom I'll have some things to say about as well, who frequently approach me on a personal basis for some act of kindness that governments can perform from time to time, I say to all of them that whatever harsh things may be said in the course of question period or things that may be said, I take those all with a grain of salt and certainly never take them personally, because I know that's not how they're intended.

Let me say to the people of the province, Mr Speaker, that what we are doing as a government is a course that is not an easy one, and I don't pretend at all that it is one that is intended to generate instantaneous popularity. I understand that; I think we all do. The reason the government is doing what we are setting out to do is not because it is necessarily the first thing that people want to hear, not because it is necessarily the first thing that people would prefer to happen in their desire or, in a sense, on their wish list for things to happen, but because we have reached the conclusion that it is the right thing to do and that these are steps that must be taken.

Mr Speaker, it's always possible to look back. Members opposite, the Leader of the Opposition today in many of her questions, her colleague the member for Renfrew North—I must say as an aside, when the Leader of the Opposition was elected Leader of the Opposition, she told us that this was really going to be politics with a difference, that the Legislature was going to be just absolutely turned on its head in terms of the positive and constructive approach that would be taken.

She said we would be struck down with the fact that really politics would be revolutionary, that people would be included in a totally new way and that there would be constructive policy proposals presented and that there would be this fervour of ideas emerging from the Liberal



caucus such as we've never seen before, and that of course, when the government did things right, she'd be the first person to come out there and say it was right, that it was time for an opposition with a difference.

1740

I ask those people in the province of Ontario who've watched this place and who've watched the opposition in performance, what do we find? The same old ritualistic questions, the same old bombast from the member for Renfrew, the same sort of arcane rhetoric which opposition leaders used to get away with in the old days but now have no place on the floor of the Legislature, none at all.

I've been listening carefully for one positive suggestion, for even one inch, one sense of what could be done, of what could be said, and even today she said, "Aha, I tricked you into answering a question." Well, it's the same old tactics, the same old Liberal malarkey. I go back with the Liberal Party a long way, both in Ottawa and here, and there is one thing that keeps the Liberal Party together, and that is the quest for power; nothing more, nothing less. That's the one thing that keeps them going, the one thing that sustains them, the one thing that keeps them strong.

If there's an issue to be dealt with one day, whatever the issue is, what's the demonstration out there? How do we know what the Liberal Party's going to ask on a given day? I simply listen quietly with my ear to the window, hearing which particular demonstration is going on on that particular day—and there are a lot of demonstrations going on every particular day—and I say, "Aha, we know certainly that will be one of the questions which Liberal research will have prepared for the leader of the Liberal opposition in her presentation of her case."

It was the fellow who was reporting for the *Globe and Mail* who wrote the article on the debt the other day, Mr Little, who made what I thought was a very wise comment. What he said was: "The nature of the structural problem facing this province with respect to its debt is that during the 1980s a structure of spending was established which could only be sustained if the economy was working flat out."

I say to the honourable member, and I say to the member for Scarborough, he knows that's the case, he knows it's true, and I think that people, respected observers across the country and across the province, know that we face not some mere shift in the business cycle; we face a structural problem which we have to deal with in a very major and dramatic way.

*Interjections.*

**Hon Mr Rae:** I don't expect any positive or constructive advice from the Liberal Party and I've never been disappointed in my expectation. What I would say to the members of the Liberals who are opposite who are shouting at me so dramatically—

**Mr Gregory S. Sorbara (York Centre):** It's the 80s Bob Rae, talking of the underfunding of the universities, the underfunding of the colleges, the underfunding of the health care system, the urgent need for pay equity. This was Bob Rae standing in this House.

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Hon Mr Rae:** I would say to the honourable member that there are things that have to be done today—

**Mr Sorbara:** Everything in the province was underfunded.

**The Speaker:** Order, the member for York Centre.

**Hon Mr Rae:** —that have to be done by virtue of what has happened to our economy and the—

*Interjection.*

**The Speaker:** Order, the member for York Centre. Please come to order.

**Hon Mr Rae:** —impact it is having on the people of the province.

**Mr Sorbara:** He is criticizing the 80s. He was the spokesman that everything was underfunded, that there was nothing that had enough money.

**The Speaker:** Would the Premier take his seat, please. I ask the member for York Centre to please come to order. I ask the member to please come to order. If the member refuses to come to order he will be named.

**Hon Mr Rae:** Mr Speaker, I can handle this. I've dealt with louder and bigger hecklers than this in my time and I will again, so I'm not too troubled by the member for York Centre, although I must confess, I said nice things about him in the beginning and I'll continue to say nice things about him regardless of the things that he says about us, because I know, Mr Speaker, that whatever he says, he's saying only in fun.

So this group of people who literally cannot believe what happened—they don't believe what happened in 1990. They honestly can't accept what took place. There they were in an act of supreme cynicism—

**Mr Callahan:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker—

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Quickly, what is your point of order?

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Please take your seat.

**Mr Callahan:** I have a point of order.

**The Speaker:** I asked for it and you didn't say anything.

**Mr Callahan:** Somebody was talking to me.

**The Speaker:** What is out of order?

**Mr Callahan:** Why don't you control order in the House, Mr Speaker? I can't speak to you unless you control order in the House.

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Mr Callahan:** Thank you very much.

**The Speaker:** What is the point of order?

**Mr Callahan:** The point of order, Mr Speaker, is that in this House we, each of us, every one of us, is to speak forthright and in terms of what's happened in the past being honestly done, and what's happening in the future. The Premier is talking about things that to me, as I recollect from 1985, were all the things that he did as Premier—

**The Speaker:** No. The member does not have a point of order. Would he please take his seat. Premier.

**Mr Hugh O'Neil (Quinte):** Don't like that, eh?

**Hon Mr Rae:** Mr Speaker, I quite like it. They're coming unravelled on that side, and it's understandable. I can understand it. Here was the party which had been, like we were, out of office for many, many years as we looked at the 42 years of Conservative rule in this province. They were elevated to power by our decision that it was time for a change. They were elected in a very decisive victory in 1987, and they had the world at their feet. It was all there. I can remember—

**Hon Ruth Grier (Minister of Health):** Lots of money.

**Hon Mr Rae:** Lots of money. In fact, I'm glad my colleague from Etobicoke mentioned that. I can recall being in the Premier's office, not when it was my office but when it was being occupied by David Peterson, and him looking at me rather kind of dolefully and saying, "We've got so much money rolling in we really just don't know what to do with all of it." I must confess they managed to find something to do with all of it, with their 43 tax increases over the five years, increasing the deficit by over 35% at a time of unparalleled prosperity.

Squirrels are supposed to put their nuts away in the winter. Why squirrels are supposed—

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Hon Mr Rae:** —to put their nuts away in the winter—

**Mr Sorbara:** It doesn't matter who you vote for, you get the same government.

**The Speaker:** The member for York Centre.

**Hon Mr Rae:** What we have in the Liberal opposition is we have squirrels on amphetamines, squirrels on speed.

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order, the member for Brampton South.

**Hon Mr Rae:** They were not capable of planning for the future. They failed to plan for the future. That's the failure.

Now, when I listen to the comments that have been made by my friend the Taxfighter—

**Mr Sorbara:** What is it, you just plug it in the chair and it spouts all this shit?

**Hon Mr Rae:** You can relax now. I'm moving on to the Conservatives, unless you want to turn it around.

I say to my friends in the Conservative Party that the approach the Conservative Party takes is to say that everything should be cut and no taxes should be raised. Let me say that what I find from the Conservative Party that is truly inconsistent is that the leader of the Conservative Party says, "We would not raise any taxes—never," but then he proceeds to say to people, "But of course there should now be user fees on people who use hospitals; there should now be user fees on people who go to the doctor; there should now be"—

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Hon Mr Rae:** Well, that's what I read in the Oshawa Times. I read it today in the Oshawa Times, and I would say to members opposite, let's not be too cute with the people of the province. You're talking about raising revenues. We're talking about raising revenues. The difference between us and you is not whether revenues should be raised or not. That's not the difference. The difference between us and you is, how do we create a fairer system for raising revenues and how do we make sure that those who are in a better position to pay in fact are paying? And that is a very significant difference.

The plan which this government has put forward is a constructive plan. It's a plan which calls for expenditure reductions. It's a plan which calls for a social contract with our own employees and with the employees in the broader public sector, which social contract has the intention and purpose of sitting down and talking with our own employees and talking with employees in the broader public sector and talking with the employers in the broader public sector about what changes need to be made in order to ensure that we have a sustainable system for the future, in order to ensure that we have a system which is fair, in order to ensure that we have a system which is going to work for the future, and in order to ensure that we protect the services of the public of Ontario and that we ensure that as many jobs as possible are going to be protected and ensured for the future.

That is the purpose of the social contract. There's no great mystery about it. I will admit it is something which has not happened before. It is also something which has not been needed to do before at the level and at the dimension which we're having to do it now.

I think it's fair to say that the challenge which we face is one of ensuring above all—and I think it's important for us to focus and maintain our focus on this—our challenge is, as it has been from the beginning, and it remains the same: The first is to ensure that there are jobs for the people of Ontario and that the recovery



that is now under way, as modest as it is, is sustained and allowed to continue and that we will ensure that in fact there is in place an investment plan for the public sector and for the private sector which will ensure the creation of new jobs and new opportunities for the people of the province. That's what must be done and that's what the focus is. That's the direction. That's why it's being done.

1750

I hear people say that what the NDP wants to do is cut jobs and cut services. Not true; in fact, quite the opposite. What we want to do is make the changes in the structure of the public sector, if you will, and begin to make some serious structural changes so that in fact jobs in the public sector and the private sector and certainly the services that are provided in the public sector can be maintained, because if we simply walk away or we simply say there's nothing to be done or simply say we're going to slash and cut and reduce every service and we're just going to do it in a mindless way, then I think we'll all be worse off, if we simply let the deficit rise at a time of recovery.

It's one thing to let it rise in a time of recession; it's another thing altogether to let it rise in a time of recovery. We will in fact be creating a climate in which jobs will be lost, in which it will be more difficult for people to invest, in which it will be harder to attract investment and in which the long-term future of the province and indeed the medium-term future of the province will be much poorer and much weaker than otherwise in terms of the decision that we're taking.

*Interjection.*

**The Speaker:** Order, the member for Etobicoke West.

**Hon Mr Rae:** The second aspect of what we're proposing, Mr Speaker, and the second part of what we're proposing is that this government has to demonstrate yet another thing to the people of the province, as any government does, and that is, not that hard decisions can be avoided, because I don't believe hard decisions can be avoided at this time, but that hard decisions can also be fair decisions. That is the test of government today, and it seems to me that that's the choice.

We know that the Liberal opposition, which didn't make hard decisions and hard choices—

**Interjection:** They didn't have to.

**Hon Mr Rae:** Because they felt they didn't have to. We know that they're going to be constantly and eminently critical of this government for whatever it is we do, whatever decision we take, one way or the other, we know they'll be opposing it and we know they'll be going out and playing every single tune that's out there, demonstrating their capacity to sing along.

The Conservatives, who have now become a kind of rump for the National Citizens' Coalition, who have

become a kind of reflection of that, we know where they'll be coming from because we know the interests that they'll be defending and the attitudes that will be taken.

But I want to say to members opposite, we believe that the approach that we're taking is a constructive one, we believe it's a fair one and we believe it's one which will in fact, if we stay this course, as we will stay this course, create more jobs and more justice than the alternatives which are presented to us.

I will say to my friends in the Conservative Party, at least I hear an alternative being presented to us by them. I say to my friends in the Liberal Party, I have no idea what alternative they're presenting, except for the fact that they're going to be campaigning in the next election on the simple slogan "Throw the rascals in." I think the people of Ontario are entitled to more—

**Mr Monte Kwinter (Wilson Heights):** That's the wrong slogan. The slogan is going to be, "This is the election you've been waiting for."

**Hon Mr Rae:** The only question is whether the member for Wilson Heights will be there running in it, and I hope he is.

I want to say to honourable members, I look forward very much to this next few months, to the process which is under way. It is difficult; it is challenging. I'm not pretending for a moment that it is popular or that it is easy, but I would say to all the public and I would say to my friends in this House, if it was easy, it would have been done a long time ago, and I think we have a pretty good idea who would have done it.

The fact that it's difficult and needs to be done means in fact that the people of the province are entitled at this time to clearness of purpose, to a decisiveness and to a commitment on their behalf to the protection and creation of jobs and to the establishment of a more just social order to which I and my colleagues are firmly committed.

**The Speaker:** On Wednesday, April 14, 1993, Mr Marchese moved, seconded by Ms Murdock, that an humble address be presented to His Honour the Lieutenant Governor as follows:

"To the Honourable Henry Newton Rowell Jackman, a member of the Order of Canada, Knight in the Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, doctor of laws, bachelor of laws, bachelor of arts, honorary colonel of the Governor General's Horse Guards, honorary colonel of 429 (Tactical Transport) Squadron at Canadian Forces Base Trenton, Lieutenant Governor of Ontario:

"We, Her Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Legislative Assembly of the province of Ontario, now assembled, beg leave to thank Your Honour for the gracious speech Your Honour has addressed to us."

On Thursday, April 15, 1993, Mrs McLeod moved

that the address in reply to the speech from the throne be amended by adding the following thereto:

"That this House regrets that the speech from the throne only confirms the government's inability to provide a clear strategy to support the recovery of Ontario's economy, generate and encourage economic investment, create jobs and aid those who are unemployed and on social assistance to get back into the workforce, and condemns the government for:

"Failing to understand the deep and lingering impact of the recession on the people of this province;

"Refusing to recognize that government initiatives to encourage job creation have failed;

"Failing to take action that would restore investor confidence and build lasting partnerships with the private sector in order to aid in this province's economic renewal;

"Failing to see how increased taxation will hinder economic recovery;

"Failing to provide a carefully considered program to control the deficit; and

"Failing to provide leadership by recognizing that the continuing disintegration of the government's integrity is causing immeasurable harm and a loss of confidence in the government of Ontario."

On Monday, April 19, 1993, Mr Harris moved that the amendment to the address in reply to the speech from the throne be amended by adding thereto the following:

"Failing to understand that government cannot create private sector jobs—only the private sector can; and

"Failing to create a tax and regulatory climate that will encourage the private sector to do so; and

"Failing to recognize that eight years of high-spending, high-taxing governments have only deepened the impact of the recession on Ontario; and

"Failing to act decisively in the area of education and training in order for us to provide the best possible foundation for our children and workers to prepare for the technical and restructured jobs of the future; and

"Failing to control expenditures and deficits in the province of Ontario."

The first question to be decided is Mr Harris's amendment to the amendment to the motion.

All those in favour of Mr Harris's amendment to the amendment will please say "aye."

All those opposed will please say "nay."

In my opinion, the nays have it.

Call in the members; a five-minute bell. No, sorry; a 30-minute bell—up to 30 minutes. The bell is, under the rules, up to 30 minutes. You know the standard procedure.

The division bells rang from 1758 to 1806.

**The Speaker:** All members please take their seats.

All those in favour of Mr Harris's amendment to the amendment will please rise one by one.

#### Ayes

Arnott, Carr, Cousens, Cunningham, Eves, Harnick, Harris, Jackson, Jordan, Runciman, Stockwell, Tilson, Turnbull, Wilson (Simcoe West), Witmer.

**The Speaker:** All those opposed to Mr Harris's amendment to the amendment will please rise one by one.

#### Nays

Abel, Akande, Allen, Bisson, Boyd, Buchanan, Callahan, Caplan, Carter, Charlton, Christopherson, Churley, Cooke, Cooper, Coppen, Curling, Dadamo, Drainville, Duignan, Eddy, Farnan, Ferguson, Fletcher, Frankford, Gigantes, Grier, Haack, Hansen, Harrington, Haslam, Hayes, Hope, Huget, Jamison, Klopp, Kormos, Kwinter, Lankin, Laughren, Lessard, Mackenzie, MacKinnon, Mahoney, Malkowski, Mammoliti, Marchese, Martel, Martin, Mathysen, McLeod, Mills, Morrow, Murdock (Sudbury), O'Connor, O'Neil (Quinte), Perruzza, Philip (Etobicoke-Rexdale), Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt), Pilkey, Poole, Rae, Ramsay, Rizzo, Silipo, Sola, Sorbara, Sutherland, Swarbrick, Wark-Martyn, Waters, Wessinger, White, Wildman, Wilson (Frontenac-Addington), Wilson (Kingston and The Islands), Winninger, Wiseman, Ziemba.

1810

**The Speaker:** The ayes being 15 and the nays 78, I declare the amendment to the amendment lost.

We will now vote on Mrs McLeod's amendment to the motion. Those in favour of Mrs McLeod's amendment will please rise one by one.

#### Ayes

Arnott, Callahan, Caplan, Carr, Cousens, Cunningham, Curling, Eddy, Eves, Harnick, Harris, Jackson, Jordan, Kwinter, Mahoney, McLeod, O'Neil (Quinte), Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt), Poole, Ramsay, Runciman, Sola, Sorbara, Stockwell, Tilson, Turnbull, Wilson (Simcoe West), Witmer.

#### Nays

Abel, Akande, Allen, Bisson, Boyd, Buchanan, Carter, Charlton, Christopherson, Churley, Cooke, Cooper, Coppen, Dadamo, Drainville, Duignan, Farnan, Ferguson, Fletcher, Frankford, Gigantes, Grier, Haack, Hansen, Harrington, Haslam, Hayes, Hope, Huget, Jamison, Klopp, Kormos, Lankin, Laughren, Lessard;

Mackenzie, MacKinnon, Malkowski, Mammoliti, Marchese, Martel, Martin, Mathysen, Mills, Morrow, Murdock (Sudbury), O'Connor, Perruzza, Philip (Etobicoke-Rexdale), Pilkey, Rae, Rizzo, Silipo, Sutherland, Swarbrick, Wark-Martyn, Waters, Wessinger, White, Wildman, Wilson (Kingston and The Islands), Wilson (Frontenac-Addington), Winninger, Wiseman, Ziemba.



**Clerk of the House:** The ayes are 28, the nays 65.

**The Speaker:** The ayes being 28 and the nays 65, I declare the amendment to the motion lost.

We will now vote on the main motion. Same vote reversed? Is that agreed?

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** No? I heard one negative voice. Those in favour of the main motion, as placed by Mr Marchese, will please rise one by one.

#### **Ayes**

Abel, Akande, Allen, Bisson, Boyd, Buchanan, Carter, Charlton, Christopherson, Churley, Cooke, Cooper, Coppen, Dadamo, Drainville, Duignan, Farnan, Ferguson, Fletcher, Frankford, Gigantes, Grier, Haeck, Hansen, Harrington, Haslam, Hayes, Hope, Huget, Jamison, Klopp, Kormos, Lankin, Laughren, Lessard;

Mackenzie, MacKinnon, Malkowski, Mammoliti, Marchese, Martel, Martin, Mathysen, Mills, Morrow, Murdock (Sudbury), O'Connor, Perruzza, Philip (Etobicoke-Rexdale), Pilkey, Rae, Rizzo, Silipo, Sutherland, Swarbrick, Wark-Martyn, Waters, Wessenger, White, Wildman, Wilson (Kingston and The Islands), Wilson (Frontenac-Addington), Winner, Wiseman, Ziemba.

#### **Nays**

Arnott, Callahan, Caplan, Carr, Cousens, Cunningham, Curling, Eddy, Eves, Harnick, Harris, Jackson, Jordan, Kwinter, Mahoney, McLeod, O'Neil (Quinte), Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt), Poole, Ramsay, Runciman, Sola, Sorbara, Stockwell, Tilson, Turnbull, Wilson (Simcoe West), Witmer.

**Clerk of the House:** The ayes are 65, the nays 28.

**The Speaker:** The ayes being 65 and the nays 28, I declare the motion carried.

It is therefore resolved that an humble address be presented to His Honour the Lieutenant Governor—

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order. I realize the time pressures. I consider this to be an important parliamentary procedure and I would ask the indulgence of the House to be able to complete it as it is set out in our book of procedures.

To the Honourable Henry Newton Rowell Jackman, a member of the Order of Canada, Knight in the Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, doctor of laws, bachelor of laws, bachelor of arts, honorary colonel of the Governor General's Horse Guards, honorary colonel of 429 (Tactical Transport) Squadron at Canadian Forces Base Trenton, Lieutenant Governor of Ontario:

We, Her Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Ontario, now assembled, beg leave to thank Your Honour for the gracious speech Your Honour has addressed to us.

#### **BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE**

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Government House Leader):** The business statement: Pursuant to standing order 55, I would like to indicate the business of the House for the coming week.

On Monday, April 26, we will give third reading consideration to long-term care, Bill 101.

On Tuesday, April 27, and Wednesday, April 28, we will give second reading consideration to the education omnibus bill, Bill 4.

In the morning of Thursday, April 29, during the time reserved for private members' public business, we will consider Bill 3 standing in the name of Mr Tilson and Bill 6 standing in the name of Mr Mills.

On Thursday afternoon, we will give second reading consideration to Bill 7, the municipal waste management act.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** It now being past 6 of the clock, this House stands adjourned until Monday next at 1:30 of the clock.

The House adjourned at 1818.

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## Legislative Assembly of Ontario

Third Session, 35th Parliament

## Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Troisième session, 35<sup>e</sup> législature

# Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Monday 26 April 1993

# Journal des débats (Hansard)

Le lundi 26 Avril 1993

Speaker  
Honourable David Warner

Clerk  
Claude L. DesRosiers

Président  
L'honorable David Warner

Greffier  
Claude L. DesRosiers



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### **Table des matières**

La table des matières des séances rapportées dans ce numéro se trouve sur la couverture à l'arrière de ce fascicule.

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Monday 26 April 1993

The House met at 1331.

Prayers.

### MEMBERS' STATEMENTS

#### ISRAELI INDEPENDENCE COMMEMORATION

**Mr Steven Offer (Mississauga North):** Today is Yom Ha-Atzmaut, Israel's independence day. Forty-five years ago, Jewish people around the world rejoiced as they received the benefits of a long-sought-after dream, a Jewish homeland.

For the past 45 years, Israel has provided a refuge for Jews from around the world. Since 1948, Israel's Jewish population has grown from 500,000 to over four million people. This growth occurred mainly from immigration. People from North America, Europe, eastern Europe, Russia, Ethiopia and Arab countries have moved to Israel to enjoy a life of Zionism and religious freedom.

As Jews around the world look back at the past 45 years of Israeli independence, people remember the obstacles that were overcome to make Israel the great nation it is. Flowers now grow where sand once stood; vegetables are harvested in land where nothing used to grow. The Israeli people have created a country out of a land where very little once stood.

On this happy occasion we cannot forget the many people who fought for Israel's independence in the many wars and battles in her short history. Furthermore, we cannot overlook the many problems still evident in Israel and her surrounding borders. Hopefully, in this, Israel's 45th year, peace will be found throughout the Middle East.

Jews throughout Canada play an important part in Israel's existence. Without the support of the Diaspora, Israel would have a difficult time supporting her existence. It is for this reason that we in Ontario can take pride in Israel's independence day. Congratulations, Israel, on your 45th independence day. May you continue to provide a safe and strong refuge for all Jews from around the world.

#### LONG-TERM CARE

**Mr Jim Wilson (Simcoe West):** If the government is sincerely looking at cost efficiency and providing quality services, then the NDP is contradicting its own objectives with its recent long-term care policy document. In this document the government has once again stated that it is "Giving a preference to a system that delivers services on a not-for-profit basis." Between the lines, what the NDP is really suggesting is that it intends to drive the private sector from the provision of home care services.

As I have mentioned on several occasions in this Legislature, private home care agencies employ 20,000 people and provide 45% of home care services. Driving

the private sector from home care is an act of blatant discrimination carried out by the government against individuals who happen to work in the private sector.

The NDP preference will result in a shortfall in community-based services, services that are targeted for the disabled and the elderly. Taxpayers will suffer when government is forced to spend more money to close the gap in services that will occur once the NDP has forced the private sector out of business.

If the government's alleged social contract aims to provide services in a more cost-efficient manner, why then is the NDP declaring war on the private sector? Traditionally, when the not-for-profit sector runs deficits, the government bails it out, and currently several not-for-profit home care agencies are running deficits. At a time when the government is randomly slashing services, the NDP must restrain its ideological impulses and give the private sector the assurances it needs to continue to play a critical role in the delivery of health care services in this province.

#### GARRISON COMMON PLAN

**Mr Robert Frankford (Scarborough East):** This morning I attended the announcement of the implementation of the Garrison Common plan. As you may know, this is a proposal for the development of lands in the city of Toronto around the lakefront in the downtown area. The Premier spoke of the province's support for the proposal, and we also heard commitments from Metro and the city of Toronto to participate.

This is an exciting project and tribute must be paid to David Crombie and the waterfront regeneration trust, which has pulled together the diverse interests of the community, governments and the private sector to produce something which will generate jobs and stimulate the downtown economy of the future.

I'd like to quote some of the objectives of the implementation plan. They include: to protect and enhance the natural and environmental features of the area by reconnecting the city to the lake through linked parks and public open spaces, a waterfront trail network, habitat restoration and improved waste water treatment; to improve the attractiveness of the area as a tourist destination; also, to stimulate economic redevelopment and community rebuilding through the revitalization of private and public lands and to integrate into the local and regional fabric from a community, transportation and development point of view.

I was particularly interested to attend the event because I have an area in my riding of Scarborough East which has a number of similar characteristics and needs. Residents of the Port Union area have been meeting with local planners and politicians to look at

the possibilities of similar regeneration of land, economic and community development as well as recreational lake access. The objectives that I quoted strike me as the same as I hear in Scarborough East. We have in fact already had some discussions with the always constructive Mr Crombie.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** The member's time has expired.

#### ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

**Mrs Elinor Caplan (Oriole):** Saturday, April 24, marked the 78th anniversary of the Armenian genocide. On April 24, 1915, Armenian intellectuals were deported and mass killings began. The Armenian genocide has not left one Armenian family untouched, as over 1.5 million Armenian people died.

In 1980 the province of Ontario passed a resolution asking the government of Canada to mark April 24 as a day of remembrance for the Armenian community and to officially recognize the Armenian genocide as a historical event. To date the government of Canada has not recognized this event, even though during the 1984 federal election the Conservative Party promised, if elected, it would do so.

It is only through official recognition that events such as the Armenian genocide are acknowledged. Events such as genocide, the Armenian or the Nazi Holocaust, are important to acknowledge and to discuss to ensure that they never happen again. We again today have examples around the world of genocide. Perhaps if more people were aware of horrible genocides of the past, future occurrences would not be tolerated.

On the anniversary of this tragedy in Armenian history, I rise in the House on behalf of my constituents to remember the Armenian people who lost their lives 78 years ago. All Armenian families and communities are touched eternally by this event. We must dedicate ourselves to ensure history does not repeat itself.

1340

#### TRANSIT SERVICES

**Mr Cameron Jackson (Burlington South):** The NDP decision to cut the expansion of GO Transit services to Burlington has once again made the community of Burlington painfully aware of the Rae government's policies of economic mismanagement and insensitivity to the needs of people. Unable to understand the principle of a return on taxpayers' investments, the NDP has decided to proceed to cut \$16.5 million from GO Transit services, including the full service to Burlington, even after having already spent, one year ago, \$11.5 million for the Aldershot station as part of the full service implementation. The NDP give-and-take equation in fact gives nothing to Burlington, as it continues to take greater Toronto area taxes and commercial concentration levies in the millions of dollars every year in another example of the pathetic

planning of NDP government.

The GO Transit expansion was badly needed for Hamilton-Wentworth and Halton regions, and for Burlingtonians this service was a symbol, at least partially, of the justification for the heavy GTA taxes they continue to pay for transportation and urban growth services in our community. Even the environmentalists are questioning the decision of this government, for obvious reasons.

What truly angers the people of Burlington is how the NDP government went ahead without consultation and will continue to spend more than \$15 million to transform perfectly good highway signs into bilingual signs. The priorities of this government are wrong. The pathetic priorities of the government should be changed. Decisions with greater equity should be made.

#### JOBS ONTARIO

**Mr Larry O'Connor (Durham-York):** On April 6 I visited Northland Satellite Communications Inc in my riding. This is a small marine electronics company which has been able to grow because of the Jobs Ontario Training fund. It has provided the resources for three employees to be trained. These new employees will be trained to become qualified technicians to repair cellular telephones, satellite communications and marine communications.

Jobs Ontario made it possible for the company to sponsor the trainers, to bring people from two electronic companies, Marconi and Uniten, up to Georgina to train these employees.

Bob Schalkoort, the president of Northland Satellite Communications Inc, says that it wouldn't have been possible for this company to grow from six to nine employees without Jobs Ontario. In fact, this businessman has been going throughout the community and telling people just how great Jobs Ontario is. The company told me that before these employees were trained, the electronics equipment used to be sent to the United States for repairs.

It makes me feel proud that our government has been able to fulfil three goals: firstly, to train workers for a skilled trade; secondly, to help small businesses like this to grow; and finally, to provide opportunities for economic growth within Ontario.

I urge anybody watching today who could be an employer ready to hire somebody to contact their Jobs Ontario office. In my riding, if you're on the York side you call the York broker, and in Durham, the Durham broker.

#### LEADER OF THIRD PARTY

**Mr Steven W. Mahoney (Mississauga West):** The thunder of mutual backslapping by the Tories and the NDP in this Legislature has become even more pronounced than usual in recent weeks. It is clear that there is a new image being written upon the political land-



scape, and it isn't very pretty. There's a new political accord in Ontario between the NDP socialists and their Tory apologists, led by Mike Harris. Tory public pronouncements supporting the socialists can only lead one to believe that Bob Rae and Mike Harris have some sort of secret pact of blue suits in support of bad policies and worse ties.

After giving an interview to the *Toronto Star* last week voicing private concerns over looming cuts in government spending, Mike Harris went AWOL on Friday, sending his poor critic to wobble in his place and voice *carte blanche* approval for the NDP. This will not come as a surprise to members who hearken back to a year ago, when Mike Harris piously congratulated the NDP for tabling a \$9.9-billion deficit and then spent several months backpedalling furiously upon realizing that Liberal warnings of a much higher deficit were coming true.

Instead of fulfilling the role ascribed to Her Majesty's loyal opposition, that of voicing the concerns of people not being heard by this government, the leader of the third party has rolled over and quietly snuggled up in bed with our socialist Premier. Tories around the province believe that their only hope is that while Mike Harris is in bed with Bob Rae, he keeps the lights on so that he can see the true colours of the socialist silk.

#### CONSERVATION AREA

**Mr Leo Jordan (Lanark-Renfrew):** I direct this statement to the Minister of Natural Resources.

The proposed Madawaska highlands regional trust will serve to reduce our freedoms to use our land and will create permanent animosity between the people of Lanark-Renfrew and the government of Ontario. The economy of this area is heavily reliant upon logging, tourism, hunting and fishing. If the ministry proceeds with plans to establish this conservation area, our economy and way of life will suffer in Lanark-Renfrew.

Your ministry has had several so-called information sessions pertaining to this issue, and the attendance has been phenomenal. The people who attended these meetings know that the government intends to take control of their land. Your ministry sessions did absolutely nothing to allay these fears.

Furthermore, this government seems to hear only one voice, the voice of the environmental leagues, and not the people it affects the most: the property owners.

I say to the minister that the people of Lanark-Renfrew are furious with the fact that this government proceeds by thinking that we do not know how to manage and use our resources. I've got news for this government. We have been excellent stewards of our land for over 100 years, and we demand the right to continue in this fashion.

I ask the government to listen to the people of Lanark-Renfrew and scrap this proposal.

#### ISRAELI INDEPENDENCE COMMEMORATION

**Ms Zanana L. Akande (St Andrew-St Patrick):** I rise today to speak on behalf of the government caucus members and to congratulate the state of Israel.

This is a historic day. We are marking the 45th anniversary of the creation of the state of Israel. Last week, my colleague Elaine Ziemba spoke about Yom Hashoah and the 50th anniversary of the uprising of the Warsaw ghetto. Six million Jews perished in the death camps of Nazi Europe.

Out of the Holocaust, the state of Israel was created to ensure that the Jewish people would have a homeland. The survivors of the Holocaust have created a modern dynamic state, and our government is pleased that the province of Ontario and the state of Israel have an effective working relationship. The Jewish community in Ontario has played a crucial role in making sure that Ontario is aware of the needs of Israel, and many of my constituents are involved in this process.

We have in the gallery today representatives from the Israeli consulate: consul general Dror Zeigerman and Mrs Zeigerman, vice-consul Haim Waxman and Mrs Waxman and consul Benjamin Noy and Mrs Noy.

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** I know the House would want to make a few comments with respect to Israeli Independence Day, and I just want to say that I want to join with the member from Mississauga and my colleague the member for St Andrew-St Patrick and I know my colleague the member for Willowdale and others who attended today a reception for the—

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Premier. Do we have unanimous consent? Agreed? Agreed.

**Hon Mr Rae:** —for the Jewish community in Canada and for the Israeli community to say how much our thoughts are with the people of Israel and with the Jewish community here in Canada on this occasion, as we celebrate the 45th anniversary of the state of Israel.

Tomorrow, talks will be resuming in Washington. I know that our thoughts are very much with those people who are at the table, just as they were with all those who attended the historic breakthroughs in Camp David.

The lives of literally millions have been transformed by the creation of the state of Israel. Canada's ties with the state go back to the earliest days. Our associations as a people are deep and profound. Our whole community has been transformed by the presence within Canada, for several decades and centuries, people who've come from around the world to make Canada their home, just as they've gone to Israel after the creation of the state of Israel.

1350

We welcome the consul general here on this occasion and pay tribute to him, and we look forward to even stronger ties between the people of Ontario and the people of Israel.

**Mr Monte Kwinter (Wilson Heights):** I too wish to say a few words in commemoration of this, the 45th anniversary of the founding of the state of Israel, a state in the Middle East that, from its very inception, just because it was created, was immediately put under siege, and for the past 45 years the people in Israel have had this as a constant way of life.

The state of Israel is a beacon of democracy in the Middle East, a tiny country that has taken a desert and turned it into a garden, a country that is a world leader in technology, in education, in culture and is truly a model for those aspiring to see what people of goodwill can do.

As we enter into this latest round of peace talks, I think all of us can only hope that in fact peace will come to Israel so that the people of Israel can continue to do what they do best, and that is to provide a homeland for those in other countries who have been under terrible torment and torture. The state of Israel has been under current pressure, economic and social, because of its taking in of well over 400,000 refugees from the former Soviet Union. It has become the homeland of black Jews from Ethiopia. To everyone in the world, Israel continues to be exactly what it has been since its inception: a model state, a beacon of democracy and a hope for all of the oppressed in the world.

**Mr Charles Harnick (Willowdale):** I too would like to say a few words about the 45th anniversary of the state of Israel. I too would like to acknowledge the presence of the Israeli consul general and the vice-consul and to say what an honour it is for me to be here and to have the Israeli consul general present. It means a great deal for me; it means a great deal for the Jewish people.

I might also tell you that when we stand on the floor of the Legislature and acknowledge a day such as Israeli Independence Day, such as Holocaust Memorial Day, it's something that the Jewish community in the city of Toronto 10 and 15 and 20 years ago could never have conceived of. It means a great deal to the people of this community for this Legislature to acknowledge the state of Israel, to acknowledge the fact that this state grew out of the very greatest adversity, to acknowledge the fact that Israel embodies for Jewish people all over the world the bitter and the sweet of life, the fact that the state of Israel is a refuge for Jews all over, the fact that every Jew is a citizen of the state of Israel.

For me to be able to stand here today in the presence of the Israeli consul general is indeed the very greatest honour that I can have. On behalf of the Jewish community, I can't thank this Legislature enough for granting me this opportunity.

**The Speaker:** Statements by ministers? It is now time for oral questions.

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** Mr Speaker, on a

point of order: There was this morning a very important decision affecting fishing in Ontario. I think it would be fair to ask the government of the day to make some kind of statement with respect to that court decision, and I would ask, in the interests of the natural resources people and in the interests of commercial fishing and native fishing in this province, why there is not some kind of statement with respect to this very important court decision. I would ask that you inquire of the first minister as to when we can expect a statement.

**The Speaker:** The member for Bruce will know that my responsibility is to ask if there are ministerial statements. If there are, then this is the time in the agenda which allows for the same. However, no doubt the members' interests have been well communicated to the government benches.

It is now time for oral questions. The Leader of the Opposition.

### ORAL QUESTIONS

#### LABOUR RELATIONS

**Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition):** My first question is to the Premier. We have said before and we will say again that we support the need for restraint. For the past two years we have been telling your government that your mismanagement of the economy and of this province's finances has worsened the effects of the recession. But you waited until only four weeks ago to suddenly discover that the province is facing a financial crisis. Premier, the chaos and the confusion that your government has created reached a new height on Friday.

Premier, you have kept talking about the need for partnerships and cooperation if we are to deal with this need for restraint, but if you really wanted cooperation from your partners, you would have sat down with them a year ago; you wouldn't have waited until the crisis hit. It has become painfully obvious that neither the employer groups nor the unions trust either your government or its negotiating process. Many have made it clear that they do not intend to participate in the so-called social contract talks.

Premier, now that you have waited until this late in the day to get the negotiation process under way, I ask, how do you intend to proceed if in fact no one is willing to participate?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** I would be very surprised if at the end of the day, as they say, people who perhaps have not fully accepted the need for the kinds of changes that we are proposing didn't respond in a positive and in a constructive way to the situation in which we find ourselves, in which the province collectively finds itself.

I would say to the leader of the official opposition, if she's now saying that she supports the initiatives which the government has undertaken, then I welcome that



support. If she's saying that she continues to oppose it, then I can only say to her that the advice we're getting from people, certainly the letters and phone calls we're receiving, is that we're on the right track, that people realize that difficult decisions have to be made. I think the leadership of the broader public sector, whether it's the union leadership, the employee leadership or the employer leadership, share our view that while they might not like having to make some of these changes, that we're all having to make them together and that this process of discussion and dialogue must and will continue.

**Mrs McLeod:** I am saying very clearly that we support and have called for restraint, that we have called on your government to recognize the financial problems that this province was facing because of your mismanagement for the past two years, as the record will show. But what I am also saying very clearly, Premier, is that you have created the crisis, your mismanagement has created the chaos, and we all need to know what plans you have to resolve the issue now.

Premier, you are well aware that many union leaders have called your proposals a declaration of war. The province's unions are warning that they can't even meet your deadline for the start of the social contract discussions. The time is running out. You have a budget to bring down in less than a month, and we'd like to know how long you are prepared to wait to see if this process is going to come together.

**Hon Mr Rae:** We are certainly, if I may say so, prepared to hear what various people have to say about our proposals. Look back at the growth rates in revenue, for example, during the Liberal administration of 10.2%, 13.3%, 10.1%, 15%, 11.4% and compare that to the situation that faced this government, whereas in 1990-91 we had an increase of 4.4% and in 1991-92 a decrease in revenue facing the province of 5%.

I can understand full well why the Leader of the Opposition would want to try to personalize this thing, but I say to her that I think the people of the province know far better than Liberal partisans that what we're doing is responsible, that it makes sense, that it's an effective response to a very difficult situation and that in fact we are all going to have to participate in the solution.

I would say to the honourable Leader of the Opposition that when people look back at the record, look back at what happened under the Liberal administration—I've had all kinds of business people at the most senior level, CEOs of corporations, saying to me, "Premier, we understand the problem you inherited and the fact that previous governments have not had the courage to deal with this issue." We have the courage to deal with the issue, we are dealing with it, and we know our social partners are going to want to deal with it as well.

**Mrs McLeod:** Well, Premier, it took the previous

government some four years to get the Tory legacy of a \$2.6-billion deficit down to zero, and we're not sure how long it'll take to get rid of your deficit.

1400

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Order.

**Mrs McLeod:** But Premier, the record is not what's on the table today.

**Mr Jim Wilson (Simcoe West):** At least they had a set of books you could read.

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order.

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** I ask the House to come to order, both sides. The Leader of the Opposition with her final supplementary.

**Mrs McLeod:** Premier, the issue that's before this House today is the question of what you are going to do about a problem you have created if the people you're counting on to participate say no. The landmark British Columbia labour deal that was supposedly the model for your social contract has now fallen apart and that province's health care employers have voted against the deal.

Premier, I think that does not bode well for the future of the talks here in Ontario, particularly since the people you are negotiating with were already suspicious and after Friday they are genuinely angry. So, Premier, I am simply asking you to tell us your plans. If you cannot get your negotiating partners to agree to participate willingly in your wage rollback proposals, is it your intention to bring in legislation to impose them?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I much prefer to look at life in a perhaps slightly more positive way than the honourable member. I think it's important for us to recognize that the situation the province is facing is not a particularly easy one. It doesn't have a whole lot of precedents. But I want to say to the honourable member that all that requires, therefore, in response is that we work together, that we be as candid as we can with each other about the situation we face and that we understand that there's little point in engaging in idle rhetoric.

I know when you're in opposition, and the Leader of the Opposition, particularly the Liberal opposition, that's difficult, but all I can say to the honourable member is that I don't intend to engage in any of it. We've got a job to do. We've got a dialogue to establish. We've got a problem to solve. We intend to work with our partners in helping to solve this problem, getting us on the way to a stronger economy, to stronger job growth and to a much better financial picture for the province.

We're convinced that in cooperation with our partners we can in fact achieve that goal. I think that's the path

most people in the province would expect and like us to pursue.

**The Speaker:** New question.

**Mrs McLeod:** Perhaps I can turn, then, to the effectiveness of the government's planning process to date, but my second question will be to the junior Minister without Portfolio, Ministry of Finance. Is the minister in the House?

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** He's not listed as absent. He should be here.

**Mrs McLeod:** Shall I stand down my question, Mr Speaker, until we know whether or not he is to be here?

**Mr Elston:** He's supposed to be here.

**The Speaker:** Can the chief whip be of any assistance?

**Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines):** Brad, where are you?

**The Speaker:** Would the Leader of the Opposition like to stand down the question?

**Mrs McLeod:** If the minister is expected, I will stand down my question. Thank you, Mr Speaker.

**The Speaker:** We move to the third party, with its first leadoff question. I recognize the leader of the third party.

#### TAX INCREASES

**Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing):** Mr Speaker, I would like to have a chat with the Premier.

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** So would I.

**Mr Harris:** And so would you; so would a lot of people, Premier.

I found it interesting that the Liberals were yelling over at you, for all those years they were in office, "Spend, spend, spend," and they said, "Okay, okay, okay, we'll spend." It was a little bit like a pillow fight.

Mr Premier, on Friday your Finance minister took the first step towards correcting the irresponsible and wasteful spending built up over eight years of Liberal-NDP-accord spending. However, at the same time your Treasurer confirmed the worst fears of men and women in this province. He confirmed that you and he and your cabinet and your party are eyeing the single-largest tax grab in the history of the province of Ontario. Premier, I think even you would agree that not only will raising taxes not create a single job, but according to the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, \$2 billion of taxes will cost 50,000 jobs in this province.

Given that your plan seems to be to downsize government, which we agree with, and that the only way that's going to be effective is if you upsize the private sector, why, can you tell me, are you allowing your Treasurer to bring in a tax grab that will cost 50,000 further jobs in the private sector?

**Hon Mr Rae:** First of all, I want to say to my colleague from the Conservative Party that I've heard speeches and comments he's made. For example, I understand that one of the things he's been proposing is an overall change with respect to health care where there would be, I understand, a very substantial resort to user fees across the health care system, in which case we're looking at another way of raising revenue.

I would say to the honourable member that the issue is tax fairness and the issue is our dealing in a positive and effective way with the deficit. I think one has to recognize that if you think the deficit is a significant problem for the future of the provincial economy, and given the fact that we're now into a period of recovery, it's important that we begin to deal with this issue.

If you look at the experience of the Liberal administration in New Brunswick, if you look at the experience of the Conservative administration in Manitoba, if you look at the experience of the New Democratic Party administration in Saskatchewan, if you look at the experiences of all the provincial governments, people say, "You know, you're all the same now."

Well, look, perhaps we've all recognized that there is a problem we have to deal with. When you look at how a variety of governments are dealing with these issues, invariably, from one party to another, we're faced with having to deal with the revenue situation and with the spending situation. That's what your government had to do in 1981 and 1982. That's precisely what took place then.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Would the Premier conclude his response, please.

**Hon Mr Rae:** I would say to the honourable member that we are trying to wrestle with this question as fairly as we can. We do not believe it is possible to deal responsibly with the debt and deficit situation in this province without also dealing with the question of taxes. We don't think you can ignore the tax question. That's not to say we're relying solely or exclusively on taxes. In fact, I think the evidence will point to the most significant expenditure reduction that this province has seen since the Second World War. There's never been an exercise like it.

I would say to the honourable member that this has been the focus of our efforts. There will be an element of tax increase in the next budget. There's no getting around it if we're going to deal effectively with the deficit question. That's the position we've taken.

**The Speaker:** Would the Premier conclude his response, please.

**Hon Mr Rae:** I think, when you look at what we need to do and the balance we need to strike, it's the most responsible, fair thing to do. We think it's the fairest way to proceed.

**Mr Harris:** I've two comments for the Premier.



Yes, I've called for little user fees on a lot of things. You're calling for 100% user fees on everything. You're going to introduce in this House today a Bill 101 bringing in \$150 million of new user fees. So yes, I talk about little user fees on more things instead of 100% user fees. Yes, we're both talking about user fees. I admit that.

Secondly, Premier, let's be clear about a couple things here. We are the highest-taxed jurisdiction in North America. That's why we don't have tax capacity. Let's be clear about something else.

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order.

1410

**Mr Harris:** You're talking about spending cuts on a base that the Liberals moved up three times the rate of inflation every year they were in office, at a rate so high that it's laughable that we can't cut expenditures and get back to a more reasonable level. This is not difficult at all.

Two years ago, I called for a 2% wage freeze. Had that been brought into play instead of your 13% hike, you'd have saved \$3.5 billion, more than all of Friday's hand wringing put together. We have called on you repeatedly to pull the government out of the housing industry. You still refuse, costing you \$605 million this year. You still have a spending problem. I admit that the Liberals got you into this spending problem, but you still have it. That's what you inherited and that's what you must deal with. I asked you to deal with it the first year in office. I asked you to deal with it the second year in office. You've started to deal with it the third year in office, and I ask you again, Premier, since every study shows that if you hike taxes you'll lose jobs—

**The Speaker:** Would the leader place his question, please.

**Mr Harris:** The Burns Fry study shows that if you cut spending, you'll get \$1.25 off the deficit; if you hike taxes a buck, you'll only get 75 cents. Would you not agree that there is much more yet that can still be cut, instead of hiking taxes, and that this in fact will cut the deficit more and allow the private sector to upsize?

**Hon Mr Rae:** There's two things; it's such a long preamble I can't resist commenting on a couple of them. The first thing I'd say is that your statement that you persist in making, that Ontario is the highest-taxed jurisdiction in North America, is false. It's a completely false statement. It's a false statement, and we can demonstrate it very clearly. If you're going to stand by that remark, I can tell you there isn't an observer around who would share that perspective with respect to Ontario's situation.

**Mr Harris:** Every investor does. Everybody in the private sector does. You name one that is higher.

**Hon Mr Rae:** I can tell you that for you to persist

in repeating something that simply isn't true and simply doesn't respond—

**Mr Harris:** Name it. Name one.

**Hon Mr Rae:** Neighbouring jurisdictions have higher income taxes and have higher payroll taxes.

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Hon Mr Rae:** The Tories might want to run Ontario down as a place to do business. I'm proud of Ontario as a place to do business, and I'm going to tell people the facts, even when the Tories are spreading misstatements about the situation with regard to that.

The second thing the Tory leader says is that somehow this problem belongs exclusively to the Liberals. I want to say to the honourable member, when you look realistically at this problem, it's not a problem that started in 1990 and it's not a problem that started in 1985. The problem we face is even more serious and difficult than that.

I look back at the record in the early 1980s. I look at the Suncor decision, \$650 million for 25% of an oil company back in the early 1980s, a SkyDome that ended up costing twice as much as it was supposed to cost, a Darlington nuclear station that cost three times as much as it was supposed to cost, \$14 billion.

No party has a monopoly on virtue in this area. We now have to deal with a difficult problem. Part of it comes from the distant past, part of it comes from the recent past in terms of the mid-1980s.

**The Speaker:** Would the Premier conclude his response, please.

**Hon Mr Rae:** We have to deal with this problem, and we're determined to deal with it. We don't think we can deal with it without dealing with revenues, but your statements about Ontario's revenue position and its position with taxes are utterly and completely untrue.

**Mr Harris:** Look, we're trying to deal here with solving the future problems. There's nobody, I don't think, sitting here who agreed with the Suncor decision, but you wanted to buy 100%. How you have enough nerve—you said, "Buy more." We said: "Hey, you're making a mistake here. We'll lose government if you carry on doing this." We were all right again, but you wanted to buy 100%. So don't talk to us about Suncor. That's your record on Suncor.

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Mr Gerry Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt):** We didn't want to buy any of it. We didn't want any of it.

**Mr Harris:** That's right. The Liberals had one thing they've been right on in the last decade. But let's deal with the future. Let's deal with solving the problem.

Mr Premier, do you agree with the Burns Fry study that says if you cut spending, you will cut the deficit

\$1.25, and if you hike taxes, you'll only cut it 75 cents. Premier, do you agree with the study done by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association? It says for every \$40,000 you hike taxes—\$2 billion, we'll say 50,000 job losses. Can you explain to me, do you disagree with those studies? If you do, do you have one single one that counteracts that and shows something different?

Secondly, where are the 11,000 laid-off public sector workers going to go if all your policies are going to destroy another 50,000 jobs in the private sector? Where are they going to find work as you downsize government if you are also downsizing the private sector? Can you answer me that at the same time?

**Hon Mr Rae:** It's precisely because we want to maintain the recovery in the private sector that we're taking the steps that we are. I think that on balance, when you talk to people in the private sector, they recognize that at the provincial level there has to be some movement on the revenue side to deal with the extent of our problem.

That's why it's happened in New Brunswick, that's why it's happening in Quebec, that's why it's happened in Manitoba, that's why it had to happen in Saskatchewan. All of our neighbours are faced with a similar situation whether the government is Liberal or New Democrat or Conservative.

Maybe you can explain to me why Premier Filmon had to spread the base of the sales tax and raise his revenue situation. Maybe you can tell me how Premier McKenna had to raise his income taxes by several points in order to deal with his particular situation. There isn't a provincial government that isn't facing this situation.

I think the people of the province understand that and they know that what they're hearing from the opposition at this point is nothing more or less than pure and simple partisan rhetoric designed to create a headline of the moment and not designed to deal with the underlying problem. This is a government that's dealing with the underlying problems and we're proud of the fact that we're tackling these problems in a straightforward, candid and very direct fashion.

**The Speaker:** New question.

**Mr Harris:** I think if the Premier checks the record, he'll find that I was saying the same thing four years ago, three years ago, two years ago and this year. I will support you when you move in the right direction. I will fight you tooth and nail when you move in the wrong direction. That indeed is my job and I think you'll find that over four years it has been pretty consistent.

#### WASTE DISPOSAL

**Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing):** Premier, I'd like to ask you about consistency, I'd like to ask you about integrity, I'd like to ask you about making statements that reflect the fact and I'd like to ask you about the

letter that you wrote concerning hauling garbage to Kirkland Lake.

In your letter you said, "It is clear that the general population of Kirkland Lake is opposed to the plan." Mayor Mavrinac says, "This is misinformation, this is an absolute bloody lie and the Premier of the province is propagating this."

Premier, can you tell me, is Mayor Mavrinac right or do you have information to counter all of the information he has, including the fact that he is still mayor? Do you have any information to say the people of Kirkland Lake clearly are opposed to the plan? Could you share that with us or could you tell us whether Mayor Mavrinac is right or wrong?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier)** Speaker, I'd like to refer this to the minister responsible.

**Hon Bud Wildman (Minister of Environment and Energy):** I think that it's obvious that in the meetings I've had with Mayor Mavrinac and with local representatives there's a difference of opinion in the Kirkland Lake area regarding the transportation of waste from the GTA to the Adams mine site. There are those who are in favour and those who are opposed.

**Mr Harris:** I will, I guess, as the rules are, direct my supplementary to the Minister of Environment. It's interesting that whenever I challenge the Premier on statements he personally made, either to the Youth Employment Service in Sudbury or now in his direct letter, he doesn't want to answer those.

I suggest to you that Mayor Mavrinac is quite correct in everything he has said. There is absolutely nothing you have to produce to challenge the statements that he has made. There was a referendum where the overwhelming majority of Kirkland Lake said, "We want the study to proceed."

Mayor Mavrinac ran against another candidate who clearly was opposed and he is the mayor. He has all the information, all the research, all the polls, plus the elections, on his side, and you have the Premier of the province saying, "It is clear that the general population of Kirkland Lake is opposed to the plan." Maybe he's meeting every general who lives in Kirkland Lake. Do you suppose that's what it is, Mr Minister of Environment?

Let me ask you this by way of supplementary: We have a plan before us that makes so much common sense to everybody who looks at it that they don't understand why you aren't doing it. It makes economic sense. It would allow you to save millions of dollars that you're wasting on the interim waste management authority—

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Would the leader place his supplementary, please.

**Mr Harris:** —since you still need to find money to waste. Why is it that your Premier is writing letters and



making statements that are 100% false to justify your stupid position?

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**Hon Mr Wildman:** I've had many discussions with Mayor Mavrinac and I know that he would never use that kind of intemperate language in dealing with this issue.

As a matter of fact, there was a referendum at the time of the municipal election which asked if people favoured the possibility of an environmental assessment and the majority were in favour of an environmental assessment. There is nothing to prevent a proponent from proceeding with an environmental assessment and there never has been, keeping in mind that Bill 143 remains in place and government policy remains in place and that any Environmental Assessment Board would have to take into account the government policy.

Having said that, there was also a recent opinion poll, which polled approximately 1,000 people by telephone in the area, and 57% of that group opposed the use of the Adams mine site for garbage, so there obviously is a division of opinion.

**Mr Harris:** By way of final supplementary—

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order. The leader with his final supplementary.

**Mr Harris:** Minister, we have a Premier about to enter into a discussion with their partners, of which we have the mayors and reeves of this province. A lot of the things the Premier is talking about—he says: “Trust me. We’re doing the best thing for the province.”

Can you tell me, Minister, how we can proceed with these negotiations when nobody can refute the accuracy and the correctness of the truth of Mayor Mavrinac when he says, “The Premier of the province is propagating this, an absolute bloody lie,” when the editorial in the Northern Daily News says, “Either way it’s a matter serious enough to question the integrity of the Premier”? Can you explain to me why the Premier would be spreading this kind of information throughout northern Ontario that is obviously incorrect, false, a blatant lie?

**Hon Mr Wildman:** Mr Speaker, I won’t question whether or not that is in itself parliamentary. I would just say this—

**The Speaker:** The awkward part is that the member was directing a question to the minister, and in so directing he made a suggestion that the Premier was telling a lie. It’s not appropriate language and I would ask the member to withdraw it and to use a different—

**Mr Harris:** Mr Speaker, obviously I’ve tried to be very careful, and if I have offended you or the House, let me just ask the minister to respond to the mayor of Kirkland Lake’s comments. Is the mayor right or wrong?

**Hon Mr Wildman:** Mayor Mavrinac is the president

of the association of Ontario municipalities this year. Most of us have known the mayor for a good number of years and know him to be a hardworking individual who works very hard for his community and for the municipal sector, and all of us know that despite the differences of opinion that we may have as politicians from time to time that Joe Mavrinac never shirks his duty and has been working hard for the municipalities of this province on the basis of the disentanglement and he’ll do the same with regard to the social contract.

#### DECENTRALIZATION OF GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** New question. Leader, is this your second leadoff question?

**Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition):** Yes, Mr Speaker. Although it was not indicated that the Minister without Portfolio for Finance was going to be absent today, I understand that he’s not going to be present in the House. I will, in his absence, address my question to the Chairman of Management Board.

I had thought that the Minister without Portfolio for Finance would have wanted to answer a question which affected the ministry he’s involved in as well as his own riding. I also knew that minister would be aware of his own participation in an announcement that was made just two months ago, a reannouncement which was actually a reannouncement of the government’s commitment to moving some 310 jobs to Brantford.

**Hon Floyd Laughren (Minister of Finance):** I want to hear your position on one single issue. Give us your position.

One. Just one.

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Mrs McLeod:** Mr Speaker, I say to the Treasurer so that I can proceed with my question—

**Hon Mr Laughren:** You ran away from the issues.

**The Speaker:** Order. Leader.

**Mrs McLeod:** If the Treasurer could stay a little calm so I can ask another question, I will have arranged to have sent to him immediately the three pages that we provided on Friday of what this government has not done, what it should have done and what we would do if we were in its place.

Now if I may continue with my question to the Chairman of Management Board and remind the Chairman of Management Board that he would be aware, as the Minister without Portfolio for Finance would be aware, of the government’s reannouncement just two months ago of its commitment to send 310 jobs to Brantford. The minister will also be aware that last week, in the midst of all the chaotic management, the government announced that those planned moves to six communities, including the 310 jobs going to Brantford, were cancelled.

Minister, we know that land has been sold to the province for some of these moves, that a number of employees have already sold their homes and relocated, and I ask you to tell us today how much money in total has already been spent on these abandoned relocations, how many jobs in those communities will be affected by the cancelled moves and how much money net, Minister, you intend to save as a result of the cancelled relocations.

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Chair of the Management Board of Cabinet):** The leader of the official opposition's question is one that I can't fully answer this afternoon in terms of all of the numbers she has asked for. Let me start out, though, by saying that the relocation reviews that were done were done by the individual ministries involved in those relocations as a part of a very difficult overall process that we've been talking about in this House and elsewhere for some time now around a need to reduce government expenditures.

The Leader of the Opposition knows full well that in terms of the total savings question she asked there are capital aspects to these relocation programs, operating costs aspects to these relocation programs, some of which impact in the Management Board secretariat, some of which impact in the individual ministries in which the relocations were being done. We can certainly pull those numbers together, but I don't have them here this afternoon.

**Mrs McLeod:** I was asking what I thought was an objective question. I can't believe that the minister cannot give me an immediate response. This government devastated six communities on Friday, six communities that were expecting those jobs because this government promised that it was keeping its commitment. They devastated those communities because they were saving money, they told us, and yet they cannot tell us how much money they were planning to save.

Let me try again. Let me ask the minister: As you know, part of Friday's announcement was that you're reviewing the scale and the timing of the moves to Peterborough, to St Catharines, to Niagara Falls and to Guelph. These communities were also assured just last February that these moves would go ahead as planned. Minister, can you tell us, can you tell those communities today whether the relocations to those four communities are going to be further delayed, how long the delay will be and how much money you plan to save through the delay?

**Hon Mr Charlton:** The four locations which the Leader of the Opposition has just mentioned, it was announced last Friday those four relocations would proceed. It was also announced last Friday that each of those four relocations would be reviewed as a result of the exercise which was announced last Friday.

I guess lastly it should be pointed out, and pointed out fairly clearly, that the former government, the

Liberal government, went into these relocations without having a single clue what the costs would be, what the relocation costs of individuals would be, what the capital costs would be. For the member opposite to get up and make the kinds of comments she's making today just reflects the political nature of the question.

**Mrs McLeod:** I'm simply asking a question about cost cutting. I thought that was the issue this government put on the table on Friday. I thought it had carried out the most extensive review of expenditures in government's history and I can't get an answer to a question about how much the cut is going to save.

1430

I draw the minister's attention to the announcement that he himself made, along with the Minister without Portfolio, Ministry of Finance, the MPP for Brantford. It was made on February 12, 1993, two months ago, and the minister said, "Today's announcement sends the strongest possible signal to the people of Brantford that the government is fulfilling its pledge to bring economic renewal to the regions through the relocation program, and that we intend to get the shovels in the ground as soon as possible."

Quite clearly, on February 12 this government saw that this was an important and an economically sound initiative. When it announced the cancelled relocations last week, the government also stated that most of the capital saved, a total of \$100 million, is going to be redirected to economic development projects in the communities where the relocations were planned.

The question is obvious. You're putting the money back into the communities to support the economic development that the relocations were supposed to support. You're putting the money back so the motive for cancelling the relocations is obviously not cost cutting.

**The Speaker:** Would the leader place her supplementary, please.

**Mrs McLeod:** Given you've decided to put the money back, why not give them what they want and go ahead with those relocations?

**Hon Mr Charlton:** I guess the reason why the Leader of the Opposition has to ask that question is that she doesn't understand the exercise the government went through in terms of trying to bring its operating expenditures under control.

It has been made clear by the Premier and by the Treasurer, the Minister of Finance, from the outset in this project that we want to try and maintain our capital investment in the infrastructure in this province at the same time as bringing the operating expenditures of this government under control. So the capital allocations to which the Leader of the Opposition is referring, we will move out and see that those investments happen in the communities affected, but in addition to the capital costs



of these relocation projects, there are significant operating costs associated with both my own ministry and each of the individual ministries involved in those relocations, and it is the operating dollars that we will save.

#### CARLTON MASTERS

**Mr Alvin Curling (Scarborough North):** My question is to the Premier. Last Thursday, Mr Premier, my honourable colleague from York Centre asked you a question about the Carlton Masters affair, to which your response, I would say, was completely unsatisfactory.

Let me put the question again to the honourable member. The perception of interference is very obvious when Julie Davis, the president of your party, and I understand another member of your caucus attend a party which is perceived as a celebration of Mr Masters's vindication. Prior to the release of the report, they attended that.

Tell me, Mr Premier, did you speak to Julie Davis about the case brought against Carlton Masters between the period of the allegation and upon your receipt of the final report?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** I spoke to a number of people in very general terms saying only one thing to anybody who would speak to me, including, if I may say so to the honourable member, a number of people who expressed their general concern about Mr Masters's situation. I said to them what I would say to you, and that is that I'm not in a position to discuss the case in any way or any detail except to wait for the results of the process, and that's precisely the kinds of conversations that I had with anybody to whom you are referring.

**Mr Curling:** I think I got from the Premier's response that he spoke to many people. I presume you spoke to Julie Davis, that she's one of the many people. Obviously, the involvement, Mr Premier, of one of your top advisers in the case sends a clear message that the justice system has not treated Carlton Masters fairly. Also, those were men who came forward. They feel cheated and they feel let down by the process.

I say to you, Mr Premier, unless an independent inquiry into the matter is conducted, neither party will have been properly served by the justice system. How then can the people of Ontario rely on the judgement you rendered against Mr Masters when all the while you were receiving secret political advice from Julie Davis?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I would say to the honourable member, he's seen the report that I saw, as all honourable members have seen the report. He may have a different view with respect to the circumstances surrounding the instances recalled and described in the report. I exercised my judgement with respect to the information contained in the report. He may have exercised his

judgement differently. Perhaps he'd like at some point to share with people how he would have exercised his judgement differently, given the information that's contained in the report.

These judgements are never easy, but as I said before, and I'll say it again: Given the nature of the report, I think the steps I took were fair and reasonable in the circumstances and I think they will stand the test of time.

#### COMMERCIAL CONCENTRATION TAX

**Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham):** This question is for the Premier.

The government of Ontario cannot bring Ontario out of the recession by itself. In fact, the private sector has a very important and major role to lead Ontario back on to the road of recovery. There are many things that you as a government can do to help the private sector. The first thing that you can do has to do with taxes, that you will not increase taxes and, in fact, if you could, find a way of reducing taxes. It's to that end that I raise this question.

Would your government repeal the disastrous Liberal commercial concentration tax in its consideration of the budget this month?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** First of all, in terms of the general situation, I just can't help recalling for the House that between 1980 and 1984-85, the most recent experience the House has had of a Conservative administration, the compound average annual growth rate of revenue during that administration was 11.2%. That was the revenue growth under the Tories. In a similar period for the Liberals, between 1985 and 1990, the average annual compound increase of revenue was 12.4%. That's a 12.4% average annual increase of revenue. Under the New Democratic Party government for the last two years: minus 1.3%.

I would simply say to the honourable member, given that revenue situation and the problem we find on expenditures and the extent of the recession in the province, I think the contribution that—

#### *Interjections.*

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Order.

**Hon Mr Rae:** I would like nothing better than to be able to go out and say what the honourable member in opposition can say: "I'll lower your taxes. I'll do this." We had the lower sales tax announced in the middle of the last provincial election by the former government. We have these people saying it now. Now, with respect—

**Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing):** He asked you about the commercial concentration tax. That's the question. Commercial concentration tax.

**Hon Mr Rae:** Now I'll get to the question. With respect to the commercial concentration tax, which I understand he's asking, I want to say to the honourable

member, I have heard many, many effective, sound and fair representations concerning the commercial concentration tax. So has the Minister of Finance. I can assure the honourable member that when people talk to me about how a tax that was designed by the Liberals to hit and punish the greater Toronto area may have even made a marginal token of sense somewhere back in the middle of the 1980s might make a lot less sense in 1993, I can only say to the honourable member, we're listening very carefully to the kinds of suggestions and recommendations that we're receiving on that score.

**The Speaker:** Supplementary.

**Mr Cousens:** It's awfully confusing for the poor people who have to listen to this session. A person asks a question and the Premier gets into a rambling response that does not begin to include the economic scene of the early 1980s, when inflation was double-digit and the government was dealing with that in a tangible way. This government is spending far in excess of inflation, and so we don't get answers to our questions.

Having said all that, I hope—

*Interjections.*

**Mr Cousens:** There's lots more to say on this subject, lots more. You're going to hear from the Tories on taxes, because if you increase the taxes—

**The Speaker:** Order. Would the member for Markham please take his seat.

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Could the member quickly place his question, please.

**Mr Cousens:** I will, Mr Speaker, and thank you for bringing order to these dissidents.

The private sector is reeling from the recession. It's reeling from high taxes already. The private sector and the whole Ontario economy are still reeling from the Liberal and NDP legislation regulations.

1440

A year ago, Mr Premier, our caucus and our leader pleaded with you to repeal Bill 40, a bill that kills jobs and investments in Ontario. To help create jobs and to get the private sector moving again, will your government repeal Bill 40?

**Hon Floyd Laughren (Deputy Premier and Minister of Finance):** Is this his supplementary?

**Hon Mr Rae:** Mr Speaker, I know you'll allow wide latitude with respect to what is supplementary and what isn't, and I certainly have no hesitation in responding by saying we have no intention of repealing Bill 40. But I would say to the honourable member that, as I listened carefully to the advice we received from all quarters, no doubt we will reflect on that advice, but I can say to him: What I find amazing about all the fuss and bother about Bill 40—I go out and talk to the business com-

munity all the time now and I find people—

*Interjections.*

**Hon Mr Rae:** No, before, all the time, any time. Look at my schedule in the last two and a half years: There isn't a day that goes by when I'm not having a meeting with the business community.

I will say to the honourable member, I am rather astounded at how quickly moods and attitudes change. I find now people wanting to work constructively with the labour movement. I plan looking hard with respect to things. Perhaps the best example of this is the fellow in Hamilton who, in response to Bill 40—

**Hon Ruth Grier (Minister of Health):** And the hysteria.

**Hon Mr Rae:** —and the hysteria around Bill 40, said that he—Mr Foxcroft, who has patented athletic mouth guards, which he manufactures—went down to Buffalo. He said, "I'm going to get out of Ontario because of Bill 40." What's Mr Foxcroft saying now? He's saying: "I'm coming back to Ontario. I'm coming back to Hamilton. I want to do business in Ontario. I want to manufacture in Ontario. It makes more sense; it's cheaper, it's more efficient, it's a better place to produce, it's a better place to do business, it's a better workforce, there's better training, it's a better business environment. I'm going to set my political rhetoric aside and I'm going to get back to work in Hamilton." That's what the business people of the province are doing and that's exactly what's happening all around Ontario.

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order. There was a question about whether or not the supplementary should be accepted. The Premier may note that in his initial response he made an offer to accept advice. The member for Markham was certainly responding to that in terms of his supplementary, and I believe he offered advice.

Start the clock.

#### HEALTH SERVICES

**Mr Gordon Mills (Durham East):** My question this afternoon is for the Minister of Health. It's an attempt to clean up some confusion about tests for prostate cancer. I've heard that if you're a male 60 years or over, you must pay for your own prostate blood test, but if you're under 60, the test is free.

My question is: Is it true that men under the age of 60, working, with an income, get this prostate blood test free when the over-60-year-old men, retired and on a fixed income, have to pay for it?

**Hon Ruth Grier (Minister of Health):** I'm glad to have a question on this issue, because it's one about which there is in fact a great deal of confusion, and I've had a certain amount of correspondence from people who share the belief of the member's constituent that in fact there is some kind of arbitrary distinction.



I think a couple of points need to be made. First of all, this test is relatively new and questions about its value and its effectiveness have not been resolved by the medical community. For that reason, the ministry has no funded screening program for this PSA test. What is happening is that some hospitals are in fact using the test, so if a patient receives the test in a hospital, that is then covered by the hospital's global budget. If the hospital refers the patient to an outside laboratory, then there is no funding. That's the distinction. It is not yet a test which the ministry is funding.

**Mr Mills:** Thank you very much for the answer, Madam Minister. My supplementary is, do you foresee a time when this test will be free to every male no matter what his age is?

**Hon Mrs Grier:** Because of the interest in this test and the need to confirm whether or not it is effective, the ministry has established an expert committee which will make recommendations to the ministry on the effectiveness of the test, and any policy decisions will have to await the findings and the work of that committee.

#### CLOSURE OF AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE

**Mr David Ramsay (Timiskaming):** I have a question for the Minister of Agriculture and Food today. As the minister knows, Friday was a very black day for the riding of Timiskaming. The government made two decisions that dealt really a death blow to the economies of the twin towns of New Liskeard and Haileybury, and quite frankly I and my constituents are still reeling from those announcements.

As to the cancellation of the relocation of Ministry of Natural Resources jobs to Haileybury, while I disagree and believe it was wrong, at least it's apparent to all of us where the pressures came from and why that decision was made. But it is not obvious at all, nor apparent, why you and your ministry, Minister, decided to close the New Liskeard College of Agricultural Technology.

We believe in restraint, but we don't believe in mismanagement, and from what I've been able to reconstruct as to the decision-making process of the last few weeks, this decision came with a great deal of haste. It appears this was a decision that was taken without looking at the full impact to the community and to the agricultural industry of northern Ontario and the province as a whole.

Minister, the college has now formed a union-management committee and a community committee and it's preparing a cost-benefit study and a financial impact study. Minister, I'm asking you today to take a look at those studies.

**Hon Elmer Buchanan (Minister of Agriculture and Food):** I'm not exactly sure what the question was, other than the final part of it asking me to take a look at a study that's being conducted. I want to assure the

member for Timiskaming that, sure, I will look at any study that's produced by anyone who is related to the agricultural community.

I think the question was more fairly in his preamble leading up the final point, and that is, why close colleges at all? I want the member to know that we looked at all of the colleges, including the Ontario Agricultural College at Guelph, and looked at the overcapacity that we currently have in the college system. Some people have called for us to close more than just two, that we might reduce the number down to just two and close another two colleges in addition to what we've already done. We tried to match up the capacity we need by closing a couple of the colleges and seeing what happens next.

I understand the member's point of view, that this was the only college in the north and that there were some programs and some importance attributed to that college. We will be looking at things we can do to accommodate some of the very essential services and extension programs that this college offered for northern farmers, and we'll make sure we do the best job we can in continuing some of those programs without having the college there as a physical structure to carry on those programs.

**Mr Ramsay:** Minister, I would certainly ask that you take a look at those studies, because you certainly have an inkling of some of the problems there and some of the services that this college provides. I really can't understand, with that evidence, that you would make that decision, because you really have given a kick in the teeth of northern agriculture. This historically has been the Ontario government's outpost for northern agriculture. It was centred in 1922 in the clay belt, has done field trials since then, has been a full college for the last 25 years. It's done that field search. It's done Ontario-wide research for sheep, cattle and horses today, and it's the only diploma-granting institution for equine studies that supports the \$500-million equine industry in Ontario.

Minister, this is the wrong decision. It's the sole provider of innovation and training for northern agriculture, and again I implore you to take another look at this decision, to look at these studies and to work with the community to see how we can reduce some of those expenditures and maybe raise revenues from that institution so that we can better agriculture in northern Ontario.

**Hon Mr Buchanan:** I don't want the member to be under any illusion here. We're not going to revisit the decision. That decision has been made and that will be firm. We will look at how we can maintain some of the other programs and some of the important—he mentioned the test plots. Some of that activity can continue with other colleges as the support for those test plots, and there's a number of things we can do without

actually having a college there. But I do not want him to be under any illusion that any committee is going to come up with a recommendation that we should reverse our decision. That's not on. The decision has been made, and we're very firm on that.

1450

#### LAND TRANSFER TAX

**Mr Noble Villeneuve (S-D-G & East Grenville):** To the Treasurer and Minister of Revenue: The non-resident portion of the land transfer tax was established in 1974 in response to non-resident purchasers of farm land in Ontario. The tax is deferred if the individual becomes a landed immigrant. In 1991, Albertus Boercamp and his family purchased a dairy farm and moved to Atwood in Perth county. Six weeks later, at the age of 50, Mr Boercamp passed away.

Your strict insistence on the technical interpretation of the act certainly does not make me recall the NDP of old, the NDP we used to know. If the family had any indication that Mr Boercamp was seriously ill, they would have put the wife on title, or the children, and there would have been no tax. The family continues to farm, reside and pay taxes in Ontario. It is not a complicated matter to recognize that the act was not aimed at people who have had the mishap that the Boercamps have.

Cabinet has discretion in this instance, Mr Treasurer. Would you look at this situation and correct it the way it should be?

**Hon Floyd Laughren (Minister of Finance):** I do happen to be aware of this issue and recently wrote a letter back to the family's lawyer, which you have a copy of, I understand. When I wrote back I agreed to reduce the tax liability of the family by 50%, as I recall, in the letter back to the family.

I was concerned about a couple of things. One is tax consistency, even though I don't disagree that sometimes, when tax legislation is written, it has to be so precise that it can cause a problem with the implementation of the statute. I appreciate that. In this case, I thought we went some way to meeting the problem by reducing the tax by, as I recall—it's a couple of weeks ago now, but I believe that the liability was reduced by about 50%, and I really did think that was the kind of compromise that would satisfy everybody without treating previous taxpayers who had been through the same problem differently than this family.

**Mr Villeneuve:** Just to quote your letter, in the last paragraph it says: "The outstanding account may be reduced by one half." It does not say it will; it "may" be reduced. The one reason why this family did not meet its commitment was because the father and owner of the property passed away, unfortunately. This takes the NDP tax-grabbing to an unbelievably low point.

Will the Treasurer not agree? These people fully

intend to stay. They're farming now with two sons. They're paying taxes. They're not going to fly away on us. They are residents of Ontario in spite of the fact that the father has passed away. Would you not look at this and say: "Look, you now are residents. You comply. You don't owe the tax"?

**Hon Mr Laughren:** Yes, I'll take a look at it, but the arguments the member makes are very similar to the ones that were made most passionately to me by the member for Perth, Karen Haslam. That's why I went back and looked at the whole matter, because I was concerned about it, because technically 100% of that tax can be applied and not changed whatsoever. That's why I thought that a 50% reduction, while it didn't go all the way to giving a 100% reduction—

**Mr Villeneuve:** It said "may"; you only said "may."

**Hon Mr Laughren:** All right, but I'm making a commitment to the member here and now that I will take a look at that and make sure that that 50% is more than just a "may" but is a reality, and get back to the honourable member in that regard.

#### WASTE MANAGEMENT

**Mr Ron Hansen (Lincoln):** My question is to the Minister of Environment and Energy. I have an opinion piece here in the St Catharines Standard. It says: "Time and Tide of Technology Overtaking OWMC." In it, environmental reporter Doug Draper questions the need for the Ontario Waste Management Corp to continue with its bid to build a permanent toxic waste incinerator in West Lincoln. Mr Draper argues that there is a new generation of technology that could potentially serve as alternatives to OWMC's proposed toxic monstrosity: "Two of the more impressive alternative systems have been developed by Canadians and are getting more respect abroad than they are here in Ontario. Both are mobile. One destroys toxins using a chemical reaction rather than burning."

Would the minister agree that, given this new technology, it is no longer feasible for the OWMC to build its \$400-million white elephant?

**Hon Bud Wildman (Minister of Environment and Energy):** I know the member's concern about this issue, and I appreciate the question. He will know that the hearing before the joint board for environmental approval of the proposed hazardous waste treatment and destruction facility is expected to be concluded in early May. We anticipate that the decision will be rendered within six months of the hearing's finish. I don't want to prejudge the panel's rulings, but obviously, should the joint board approve the facility, the government would then have to decide what its next step will be.

We should all recognize that we will have to look very carefully at the numbers and the costs involved, as well as the rulings that we hear from the board, but we also should all recognize that this is only one compo-



nent of the government's overall hazardous waste management plan for Ontario. The

most important approach we have is the 3Rs—reduce, reuse and recycle—so that we can reduce the amount of waste that would have to be dealt with by any such facility.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** The time for oral questions has expired.

#### ATTENDANCE OF MINISTERS WITHOUT PORTFOLIO

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** Mr Speaker, I want to raise with you a point of order. Since the ministers without portfolio with responsibility for certain departmental affairs are now to attend to answer questions, we would respectfully request that we be advised when they are absent. We have been caught today with the absence of one of those ministers without portfolio. It seems to me, sir, that we need to be advised fully of the duties of those ministers without portfolio and, as a result, their attendances. I wonder if you might look into that particular issue for us.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** The member for Bruce will know that there is not anything in the standing orders which will assist me in trying to comply with his request. I understand that there is an informal agreement among the parties to circulate a list or to indicate to the opposition members who is expected in question period and who isn't. Perhaps that matter can be dealt with at the normal three House leaders' meeting that occurs on Thursday mornings, I understand.

Did the House leader wish to be of assistance?

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Government House Leader):** Just very briefly, Mr Speaker. Although I'm prepared to sit down with my colleagues and have a discussion about the issue they've raised, the agreement that was reached at some time in the distant past—long before my time, obviously—about notification is an agreement that's been carried on in this House.

Unfortunately, we've been proceeding—and I think it was made clear in our position last week—on the basis of notification around ministers responsible for ministries. We hadn't discussed any change in that procedure, so we're certainly prepared to discuss it with them at this point.

#### PETITIONS GAMBLING

**Mr Hugh O'Neil (Quinte):** I have a petition that has been forwarded to me by Major Ivan McNeilly, who is the divisional commander of the Salvation Army, Ontario central division, in Belleville. It's signed by many people in my riding, and it reads:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the New Democratic Party government has not consulted the citizens of the province regarding the expansion of gambling; and

"Whereas families are made more emotionally and economically vulnerable by the operation of various gaming and gambling ventures; and

"Whereas credible academic studies have shown that state-operated gambling is nothing more than a regressive tax on the poor; and

"Whereas the New Democratic Party has in the past opposed the raising of moneys for the state through gambling; and

"Whereas the government has not attempted to address the very serious concerns that have been raised by groups and individuals regarding the potential growth in crime;

"Therefore, we, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the government immediately cease all moves to establish gambling casinos and refrain from introducing video lottery terminals in the province of Ontario."

I sign my name to this petition.

1500

#### MUNICIPAL ZONING BYLAWS

**Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East):** I have a petition that says:

"To the Parliament of Ontario:

"Whereas all individuals of Ontario must be treated within the spirit of a free and democratic society; and

"Whereas the individuals must be treated by government in a manner consistent with the Ontario and international human rights codes;

"Whereas these codes demand that government respect the inherent worth and dignity of the human person;

"Whereas in the municipality of Penetanguishene, the following did take place:

"Whereas the municipality advertised in the local paper that housekeeping revisions to the Zoning Bylaw Report 1993-303 would be discussed on March 22, 1993, at the municipal office;

"Whereas some of the so-called housekeeping revisions changed the zoning from M1 to IRSD, to IRS, and other changes; and

"Whereas the individuals reading the advertisement had no indication that their property was involved and to be changed from industrial to residential;

"Whereas such conduct is a disgrace in a free and democratic society;

"Whereas such conduct cannot be labelled service to the people of a municipality;

"Whereas it seems to me it should be labelled 'Stabbing the citizens in the back, removal of participation, removal of the democratic process and replacing it with a dictatorship;'

"Whereas, after investigating the matter, it became

apparent that the Planning Act authorized and sanctioned such action, here the blame must also be placed on our provincial government, which permits the Planning Act to turn democracy into a dictatorship and turns inherent worth and dignity of the human person into false and misleading propaganda slogans,

"I, the undersigned, petition the Parliament of Ontario as follows:

"To revise the Planning Act and any other act in such a manner that such conduct, as shown above and experienced in the town of Penetanguishene, never can take place again in Ontario. Also permit me to address the legislative proper committee where I, in a participatory manner, can show how the people are treated and how the people should be treated."

That's signed by Mr Henry W. Freitag, box 838, 70 Lorne Avenue, Penetanguishene, Ontario, L0K 1P0.

#### GAMBLING

**Mr Dennis Drainville (Victoria-Haliburton):** Again, I add to the thousands of petitions that have been made against casino gambling in Ontario.

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the New Democratic Party government has not consulted with the citizens of the province regarding the expansion of gambling; and

"Whereas families are made more emotionally and economically vulnerable by the operation of various gaming and gambling ventures; and

"Whereas creditable academic studies have shown that state-operated gambling is nothing more than a regressive tax on the poor; and

"Whereas the New Democratic Party has in the past vociferously opposed the raising of moneys for the state through gambling; and

"Whereas the government has not attempted to address the very serious concerns that have been raised by groups and individuals regarding the potential growth in crime;

"Therefore, we, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the government immediately cease all moves to establish gambling casinos and refrain from introducing video lottery terminals in the province of Ontario."

I affix my signature to this very fine petition.

#### HOME CARE

**Mr John C. Cleary (Cornwall):** I have a petition with over 900 signatures, and it's addressed to the Lieutenant Governor and the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"We, the undersigned, beg leave to petition the Parliament of Ontario for wanting to eliminate the private sector for home care services in Ontario. We, the undersigned, feel the government should reconsider its position on this matter."

This is from the residents of the Cornwall and SD&G ridings, and I also have signed this petition.

#### LABOUR RELATIONS AMENDMENT ACT

**Mr Mike Cooper (Kitchener-Wilmot):** I have a petition to support Bill 80 and it's signed by 289 construction workers:

"We, the undersigned construction workers, urge all members of the provincial Parliament to vote in favour of Bill 80, as submitted for first reading."

#### POST-POLIO SYNDROME

**Mr Bernard Grandmaître (Ottawa East):** I have a petition from the Ottawa district post-polio association that reads:

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to establish a post-polio clinic in the rehabilitation centre of Ottawa-Carleton for the diagnosis, treatment and follow-up of patients and to disseminate information so that the estimated 1,000 known polio survivors in the centre's catchment area can receive adequate treatment and that the medical profession be educated regarding the post-polio syndrome."

I have signed the petition.

#### GAMBLING

**Mr Kimble Sutherland (Oxford):** Like a few other members, I have a couple of petitions, one from the Oxford presbyterial United Church women and the other one from St David's United Church council, expressing their opposition to casino gambling, and that's addressed to the Legislative Assembly.

#### HISTORIC VEHICLES

**Mr Hugh O'Neil (Quinte):** I would like to present another petition, if I may. It's from a Mr Robert Barkley, who is the vice-president of the Model A Restorers' Club in the Kingston region. The petition reads:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas government funding is supplied for the restoration and maintenance of historic buildings and sites, both public and privately owned, financing museums and the preservation of Ontario heritage;

"Whereas historic vehicle owners receive no assistance in the restoration or maintenance of these fine examples of an integral part of the history and heritage of Ontario,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislature of Ontario as follows:

"We, the members of Ontario antique auto clubs and concerned citizens, respectfully request an amendment to the Highway Traffic Act and regulations permitting a 'one-time-only' licence fee valid as long as the registered owner retains ownership, for 35 years and older historic vehicles with an option to register and legally display 'year of manufacture' plates in place of current issue historic vehicle plates.



"Modified vehicles, kit cars or street rods are not eligible."

I add my name to this petition.

#### SOCIAL ASSISTANCE

**Mr Donald Abel (Wentworth North):** I have a petition signed here by approximately 30 people from Stratford. It's addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario and it reads:

"We, the undersigned residents of Ontario, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"To change the current policy of evaluating the amounts of welfare and family benefits payments to recipients. We believe the net amount of welfare and family benefits should never exceed the net amount that is earned at minimum wage (based on a 40-hour week) regardless of the family's circumstances. Low wage earners should be entitled to the same benefits as welfare recipients; eg, prescriptions and emergency dental. Low wage earners deserve the privilege to net the same amount as welfare."

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY

##### LONG-TERM CARE STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1993

##### LOI DE 1993 MODIFIANT DES LOIS EN CE QUI CONCERNE LES SOINS DE LONGUE DURÉE

Mrs Grier moved third reading of Bill 101, An Act to amend certain Acts concerning Long-Term Care / Loi modifiant certaines lois en ce qui concerne les soins de longue durée.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** The minister has moved third reading of Bill 101. Does the minister have any opening remarks?

**Hon Ruth Grier (Minister of Health):** Thank you, Mr Speaker. I do have some comments and I'm delighted to have this opportunity to, I hope, bring to a conclusion what has been a very long process. It's my pleasure to move third reading of Bill 101 because I think it brings us one step closer to making long-term care reform a reality in Ontario through these important amendments to existing long-term care legislation.

We are at a point of a new departure in long-term care, and we have arrived at this point through the hard work and persistent efforts of very many people: hundreds of consumers, service providers and advocacy groups that have participated in consultations, program design activities and public hearings on Bill 101; the members of the standing committee on social development; and several ministers of Community and Social Services and Health over the years, as well as the Minister of Citizenship.

I hope that all members will recognize that this legislation is a starting point for comprehensive reform of how long-term care and support services are planned, managed and delivered by and for consumers.

The policy framework document which was released to the public on April 7, 1993, outlines our vision of a cohesive, community-focused system of integrated health and social long-term care and support services.

Over the coming months, communities, under the leadership of their district health councils, will be called upon to participate in local planning activities for the purpose of developing local strategic plans for the design and implementation of the long-term care services that best meet their needs and their priorities. The legislation before us today is the first step towards realizing this vision.

#### 1510

Members, I know, are familiar with the purpose of the bill, but I want to review briefly the key objectives of the legislation and then move on to address in greater detail the amendments that were made by the social development committee. Bill 101 will enable us to achieve fundamental and long-overdue reforms in nursing homes and homes for the aged.

Amendments to the Nursing Homes Act, the Homes for the Aged and Rest Homes Act and the Charitable Institutions Act will introduce, first, a more equitable method of funding homes based on the levels-of-care funding scheme for nursing and personal care; secondly, a fair and consistent resident payment policy based on ability to pay—residents will contribute to the cost of their accommodation only and will no longer be charged for care; third, there will be a province-wide system for coordinating access to facility services and assisting consumers to gain access to the home of their choice and the home that best meets their particular needs; and finally, we will have a new framework for accountability to facility residents, to their families and to the government.

Bill 101 will also enable the introduction of the direct funding model of service to assist adults with disabilities to choose, direct and manage their own services in support of independent living.

As the members of the House know, during the winter intersession the standing committee on social development held public hearings in seven areas of the province. Over 170 presentations and over 200 submissions were made to the committee by consumers, family care givers, service providers, advocacy groups and professional associations. Strong support was expressed for many aspects of the reform, and very clear concerns were expressed about certain features of the bill.

This government, as well as our opposition colleagues, took these concerns seriously, and in a spirit of great cooperation adopted a number of important amendments during clause-by-clause review by the social development committee.

I believe the single most important aspect of those

changes is the fact that they strengthen the primacy of the consumer in the long-term care system, and consumer rights protections and safeguards. As a result, it is my opinion that the bill has been improved substantially, and I thank the members of the committee for that work.

One of the issues that was raised by many of the people appearing before the committee was placement coordination, and extensive amendments have been made to the placement coordination provisions in the bill to clarify our intent that it is the consumer who chooses what home he or she will live in. If the consumer requests the assistance of the placement coordinator in selecting a home, when providing such assistance the placement coordinator will be required to take into account the person's preferences based on ethnic, spiritual, linguistic, familial and cultural factors. It's very important to emphasize those factors.

In addition, provisions have been added to require that the applicant consent to an admission. These changes ensure that no one can be forced to enter a home against his or her wishes.

As many members are aware, over time various ethnic, religious and cultural groups have developed charitable homes for the aged and nursing homes to meet the specific needs of members of their particular communities. The amendments that have been made will ensure that a person's preference to enter a particular home is respected and facilitated, and that no one can or will be forced to enter a home designed to meet the needs of persons with a different ethnic, spiritual, linguistic or cultural background.

These amendments also ensure that a person's familial ties and needs are respected and that persons needing care in a facility can enter the same home where his or her spouse or other family member resides.

During the hearings, operators of homes also expressed concern that they might be forced to accept persons whose care requirements could not be met within their particular facility. As a consequence, provisions requiring that a home approve an admission and the grounds on which a home can refuse to admit a person have been incorporated into the statutory amendments.

If the home, for example, lacks the physical facilities or if the staff of a home lack the nursing expertise necessary to meet the person's care requirements, the home may refuse or approve the admission. Additional grounds for refusal can be prescribed in the regulations.

We also heard concerns from several individuals and groups about the need to provide assistance in finding alternative services for consumers who are not eligible for facility care and for those who are eligible but face a waiting period to get into the home of their choice. To ensure that such assistance is provided, the bill has been

amended to require the placement coordinator to suggest alternative services or make appropriate referrals on behalf of such individuals.

Another issue that raised much concern was that of assessments. To ensure that when a placement coordinator is making an authorization for admission the records of the applicant's needs are up to date, a new requirement has been added to the bill stating that the assessment for eligibility must have taken place within the preceding six months. This will help ensure that only persons whose needs can be met appropriately in nursing homes and homes for the aged and who are in the greatest need are admitted.

Further provisions have been added to require the placement coordinator, when determining eligibility, to take into account assessments made by health practitioners, including physicians and other health professionals, relating to the person's condition and assessments or other information relating to the person's requirements for medical treatment, health care or other personal care.

A number of the groups appearing before the committee represented veterans' organizations, and members will be aware the Rideau Veterans Home and the Perley Hospital are being redeveloped to create the new Perley Rideau Veterans Long Term Care Facility in Ottawa.

The Royal Canadian Legion made several representations to the committee and to me personally about the need to maintain priority access to veterans' beds once the redesigned facility is in operation. To address this concern, a concern that members of the committee indeed held and brought to my attention—and I thank the member for Simcoe West for his particular concern on this issue, as was the member for Chatham very concerned in particular about this one—

**Mrs Yvonne O'Neill (Ottawa-Rideau):** What about the member for Ottawa-Rideau?

**Hon Mrs Grier:** The member for Ottawa-Rideau, all members of the committee. Can I be generic in this debate? There were some who in fact heckled and interrupted my remarks, may I say to the member for Ottawa-Rideau, which had me respond to them directly, which I know is a mistake and merely leads other members to consider that their particular contribution was not valuable. I want to assure all of them that the bill has been much improved, as I said in the opening of my remarks, as a result of the constructive cooperation that was evident on all sides during the discussion and during the clause-by-clause debate.

However, to address the particular concern that had been raised by the Royal Canadian Legion, provisions to ensure that preference is given to veterans for access to certain beds in the new facility have been added to the Charitable Institutions Act and the Nursing Homes Act.



This additional provision incorporated into Bill 101 places a statutory obligation on the minister to ensure that preference is given to veterans for access to beds in this home that (1) are funded through an agreement between the government of Ontario and the government of Canada relating to veterans and (2) are designated by the minister as veterans' priority access beds.

The next issue I want to address is that of appeal from eligibility decisions. Improvements have been made to the appeal process regarding eligibility for facility admission. The 30-day time limit, within which a person who is found ineligible has to appeal the decision, has been eliminated in recognition of the fact that some consumers and their families would need more time to prepare for and participate in the process. The appeals will be heard by a three-person panel rather than just one person, as originally proposed.

1520

The bill also originally indicated that no more than one physician could participate in the panel, and this restriction has been eliminated. To ensure that appeal proceedings and decisions are carried out expeditiously, the bill has been amended to require that a hearing must begin within 21 days after the appeal board receives the application for a hearing. The board must render a decision within one day after the end of the hearing and provide written decisions to the appropriate parties within seven days after rendering its decision.

In keeping with the belief of this government, a belief I know our colleagues in opposition share, that the long-term care facility system must be focused on improving the quality of care and the life of residents, the bill has been amended in several ways to empower consumers and to enhance residents' safeguards and protections.

Support for incorporating the residents' bill of rights and residents' councils, currently only in nursing homes, into legislation governing municipal and charitable homes for the aged was overwhelming. All residents of homes will now have these protections, which clarify what the resident should expect and what the home is expected to carry out.

The written notice that every resident is to receive describing the services the home is required to provide under the service agreement with the province must include the bill of rights and a statement of the obligation of the home to respect and promote those rights. The bill of rights is now included among the items that the home is required to post visible in the home.

**Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines):** Is this the environmental bill of rights?

**Hon Mrs Grier:** The member for St Catharines asks if it's the environmental bill of rights, and I'm glad to be able to assure him that I certainly hope before very long that that right will join the list of rights that the people of this province are entitled to.

Transitional provisions for substitute decision-making, modelled on the Consent to Treatment Act, have been incorporated into the bill and will be in effect until the Substitute Decisions Act comes into force. This will ensure that persons with the appropriate authority are identified to make decisions on behalf of the individuals who are not capable.

In addition, the bill has been amended to clarify that residents and their substitute decision-makers can participate fully in the development of the plan of care to be created for each resident.

We heard many concerns about the quality assurance provisions in the bill and many suggestions for an alternative to the term "quality assurance," which many groups and individuals felt did not encompass the concept and expectation of continuous improvement in quality.

The legislation now requires each home to ensure that a quality management system is developed and implemented, and the bill states specifically that the purpose of the system is to monitor, evaluate and improve the quality of accommodation, care, services, programs and goods provided to residents of the home.

Appropriate revisions to the requirement that a home provide a written notice to each resident and post certain information in the home also have also been changed to reflect the addition of the bill of rights and residents' councils and transitional substitute decision-making provisions.

The committee heard many arguments against the inspection powers, arguments which I believe are based largely on misconceptions and misunderstandings that many people had. I want to state clearly that we will continue to have inspections of facilities providing care to some of our most vulnerable citizens. We can do no less.

Consumer and advocacy groups such as the Ontario Association of Residents Councils and Concerned Friends indicated their support for inspections. Their criticism of the process, a criticism with which I happen to agree, has to do with the frustrating and difficult task of getting some homes to correct the problems that have been identified by the inspectors.

While inspections will continue with some modifications in the rules, which will be explained in further detail by my parliamentary assistant, the member for Simcoe Centre, I want to stress that we are by no means moving away from the collaborative and cooperative approach now employed by the province's program supervisors and compliance advisers.

These staff will continue to work in partnership with homes through consultation, problem-solving and supportive relationships to work continuously to improve the quality of care and services in nursing homes and homes for the aged. However, where this

collaborative approach does not achieve the desired results, we will act to protect the residents.

I believe I've covered the key changes and improvements to the bill and I'm sure the Minister of Community and Social Services, if he's able to return, or our respective parliamentary assistants and other members will wish to add to my comments and share their personal perspectives on the amendments.

In closing, I want to make a special point of commending the standing committee on social development and its Chair and the many individuals and groups who participated in the public hearings and put forward their ideas and suggestions for improving the bill and the long-term care system in general. I firmly believe in the value of open public debate and consultation on proposed legislation which makes it possible for this Legislature to be responsive and responsible to the people of Ontario.

I mentioned the work of the Chair and I want to particularly stress my admiration and respect for the work of the member for York North, and indeed for all the members of the committee, for the spirit of cooperation with which they approached the clause-by-clause review of the bill. The member for York North was one of those who I think began the debate on long-term care, which is, I hope, ending today with the passage of this piece of legislation.

It is a piece of legislation that many in the province and certainly many of the institutions have long awaited, because with its passage in fact an equitable system of funding can begin to flow to those homes, many of which have been pressing us for just this day to occur.

The opposition members of the committee indicated from the outset of clause-by-clause debate on the bill that they recognized and supported proceeding with the facility funding reforms in particular and that they would not hold up passage of the bill, and I appreciate that constructive response very much.

I'm delighted that we are all in agreement on the need to move ahead with long-term care reform and I look forward to the full support of the House today for this very important and long-awaited piece of legislation.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve):** Questions and/or comments on the minister's statement? The honourable member for Ottawa-Rideau.

**Mrs O'Neill:** I must begin by stating that I found some of the closing remarks of the minister very difficult to accept. It had to be a slip of the tongue when she said that today she hopes these are ending the discussions on long-term care that the member for York North began, because this document has certainly yet to come into life.

The second event that we are long awaiting is what

we're looking forward to as having been described as a real complex piece of long-term reform in health care, which we were told about during committee. At this present time Bill 101 is but amending seven bills. What we are expecting is real reform in the place of a piece of legislation devoted just to that. So I find that very confusing.

The minister's statements, much anecdotal reporting done here about the committee. What I find is we still don't have much in the way of commitment in time lines, fuzzy details of financing, and we still don't know how this is going to affect the communities.

I'll have more to say as the debate progresses.

**The Acting Speaker:** Further questions and/or comments?

The honourable member for Burlington South.

**Mr Cameron Jackson (Burlington South):** I listened with interest, but let me for the first time, at least in the House, welcome the new minister to her portfolio. Certainly long-term care is a matter which has been discussed at her cabinet table while she was the Minister of the Environment, but now as the Minister of Health she would have had a much more complete and fuller briefing.

What was noticeably absent from her comments was the very significant fact that these extended care services, which are the subject of the bill we will be debating this afternoon in the House—and I understand we may be voting this evening—that in fact it is the NDP government's decision in this bill to remove extended care services from the OHIP formulary of insured benefits.

1530

Now that, I believe, is a very significant decision on the part of the government which will have long-range implications. I would have hoped that in this spirit of openness and candour, the minister would have brought that very obvious element of this bill to the attention of the public, because it does remove as an insured benefit a right of a citizen who lives in this province who requires extended care services at a frail period of his or her health. It is being removed by this government, and they are now left subject to the control and the regulatory arm of a bureaucrat of the state.

In these times, that decision is a substantive one and carries with it a lot of responsibility. As seniors all across Ontario are reeling from this government's recent decision on cutbacks to the Ontario drug benefit formulary and other significant decisions which adversely affect seniors, this statement, within the context of this bill of removing extended care services from the formulary, should not pass today without it being brought to the attention of Ontario seniors.

**The Acting Speaker:** The member's time has expired. Further questions and/or comments?



**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** It's interesting that we are dealing with this particular bill, long-term care, on the first business day after the province has been shaken to its very roots by what was described as a mini-budget, one which has fully indicated it will take well over \$1 billion out of the health care industry, a significantly sized reduction in anybody's imagination. It has a significant implication for delivering to the people who most need our services health care at a time when our province is struggling with coming to grips with the new world.

I had the opportunity of meeting with Mr Don Moore, who is working at Brucelea Haven in Walkerton, and speaking to him as a person who is working in the Ontario Association of Non-Profit Homes and Services for Seniors and listening to his concerns about all of the changes that were coming at us in this province. We talked at length about a number of things, but he provided me with a copy of the presentation made at the standing committee on social development by Robert Pettitt and also one made by the association itself in February, 1993.

I've taken a look at both of those and looked at some of the salient points which were being addressed, and I must say that I came, near the end of the presentation by Mr Pettitt, to what is really the crux of the delivery of all the services in the government's mandate, and that is the issue of funding. Because without funding, without adequately paying the salaries of people who deliver services, nothing good can happen, and in this case the proof will indeed be in the pudding.

**The Acting Speaker:** Thank you. We can accommodate one final participant. The honourable Minister without Portfolio attached—

**Hon Karen Haslam (Minister without Portfolio in Health):** And member for Perth.

**The Acting Speaker:** And member for Perth—attached to Health.

**Hon Mrs Haslam:** I just wanted to mention that I'm very, very pleased to be working with the minister and to have this legislation come forward today for third reading. I think we all agree it's necessary to look at this type of legislation. It's a beginning, not an end, of our long-term care reform and I look forward to working very closely with all members of the House to be sure that this is step one on addressing some of the concerns that our seniors have in the homes for the aged.

Around funding, I think that we are looking at a more equal access to the area of homes for the aged. As I just wanted to reiterate, I am very, very pleased to join the minister today in saying that we're really pleased to see this legislation go through.

**Mr Elston:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I was just inquiring whether or not a minister without port-

folio who has responsibility for the carriage of activities in the ministry can actually participate by way of comment on a bill which is in her own ministry's undertaking when it is being shepherded through the House by the minister herself. It seems to me, a minister who is likewise responsible for that ministerial obligation should not be able to use up the private members' or backbench members' allocated comment time, and I would ask you, sir, to study that issue because the Minister without Portfolio is responsible for the Ministry of Health. I think, sir, that would mean that both the minister, however they describe themselves now, and the Minister without Portfolio responsible for Health should not be allowed to comment at the same time on the minister's communication to the floor. So if you could provide us with some information, that would be quite helpful.

**The Acting Speaker:** Thank you. It's an interesting comment that you make. It's my understanding that a parliamentary assistant or a junior minister cannot ask questions, but during questions and/or comments it is open to all members, as the junior minister could also be carrying the legislation.

**Mr Gilles Bisson (Cochrane South):** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I just want to know if there was a rule against silly points of order on the part of the opposition.

**The Acting Speaker:** Order.

**Hon Mrs Grier:** I want to agree with the member for Ottawa-Rideau that, of course, this is only the first step and I think I made that clear in my comments when I referred to the policy framework document I know she has in her possession that I released, and acknowledge indeed, that will require another piece of legislation. That is why I certainly look forward to swift passage of this piece because it is essential in order to lay the underpinnings and the foundation, and within the institutional side of much of what is to follow, as we have a broader debate about the implementation of the framework for long-term care.

The second point I want to make in response to the constant interruptions of the member for Bruce is to reiterate, as I have said in public many times, that the reason this government is taking some very difficult decisions, making some unpleasant choices, is because we have priorities. One of our priorities is to reform the long-term care services of this province and to turn those services into a system, something that has not happened despite years of debate about long-term care.

Let me reassure the member for Bruce that, as part of the expenditure reductions, as part of the expenditure reallocation, the \$647-million increase in expenditures on long-term care that was committed by my predecessor and by other ministers is still there, is still what we anticipate the increase to be and just as soon as this piece of this legislation is passed, the funding is there to

begin to flow to the institutions, the homes for the aged and the nursing homes that have been surviving with inadequate levels-of-care funding during the years of the previous government and that now await eagerly the passage of Bill 101.

**The Acting Speaker:** Thank you. The minister's time has elapsed. Further debate on Bill 101, An Act to amend certain Acts concerning Long Term Care.

**Mrs Barbara Sullivan (Halton Centre):** As we're going through the third reading debate on Bill 101, which, as you know, amends several acts in order to introduce level-of-care funding for nursing homes and charitable homes for the aged, I think that it's right and I think many other people will reflect and be concerned and have the same sense of trepidation as I do.

We have, as you know, in our party a commitment to support this bill, which does provide level-of-care funding between the two kinds of institutions, each of which provides care which has been studied and determined to be equivalent in the needs of people who require that care.

1540

However, when I say we approach this bill now with trepidation, I will tell you that we are looking at even a completely changed circumstance than we were viewing when we dealt with this bill in committee a few short weeks ago. I just want to walk through the funding issues because, you see, some 75,000 people, to use the government's own figure, participated in a consultation process that led to not only this document but to the green document, Partnerships in Long-Term Care, which the minister put on the table a couple of weeks ago.

Those 75,000 people, as a result of those consultations, have built up expectations with respect to service delivery, with respect to how funds will be allocated and spent within their own community, with respect to what protection they will have in terms of accessing and obtaining a place, finding a place in a long-term care system. I want to, however, walk through some of the parameters until we reach last Friday.

Last June, the Minister of Community and Social Services announced in a statement to the Legislature that funding commitments for long-term care redirection would include \$647 million in new funding by 1996-97. Of the \$647 million about \$440 million would be directed to community programs. The remaining one third—that is, \$200 million—would be spent on facility services, a combination of provincial funds and facility resident payments. Subsequently we discovered that the facility resident payments would in fact be \$150 million of the \$200 million.

Then, in the same announcement, the figures change and we are told that of the \$637-million commitment to long-term care services, a minimum of \$37.6 million will be provided over a five-year period through a

transfer of existing funds from the provincial hospital budget to long-term care community-based services, and then we are told that the \$200 million in facility services would come from a \$56-million provincial contribution and the \$150 million in copayments or resident fees.

**Mr Elston:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: The Minister of Health has left the floor just briefly for other business. I would like to ask, is the member for Simcoe Centre, the member for Durham-York or the member for Perth actually carrying the bill while the minister is absent?

*Interjections.*

**The Acting Speaker:** Order, please.

**Mr Elston:** The question is, is the junior minister or are the parliamentary assistants responsible for the bill?

*Interjections.*

**The Acting Speaker:** Order. Minister of Health.

**Hon Mrs Grier:** Mr Speaker, I was just behind your seat. I had not left the chamber and I was attempting to get some further information that would contribute to the debate. It is my intent to be here most of the afternoon in the anticipation that we will finish the debate today, as I hope the member for Bruce has agreed. In my absence the member for Simcoe Centre, who has carried this bill in committee and in consultation, will be here to deal with any issues that may be raised.

**The Acting Speaker:** Thank you.

**Mr Elston:** I thank the minister for clarifying the fact that the junior minister does not have carriage of the bill when she is here but that the parliamentary assistant does.

**The Acting Speaker:** We resume debate.

*Interjections.*

**The Acting Speaker:** Order. The member for Halton Centre has the floor.

**Mrs Sullivan:** Thank you. I was addressing the entire question of the \$647 million in funding which was announced last June. At various times the government has indicated that \$440 million would be directed to community programs. Then we start to look at some of the figures which are included, by example, in the long-term care funding description which came out in April.

We are told that \$133.5 million will be allocated to expand integrated homemakers; \$37.6 million to expand community support services; \$40 million for services in support of housing; and \$56 million, plus the extra \$150 million which comes directly out of the patients' pockets for increased residents' payments, will increase services in facilities. There will be additional funds of some \$200 million to finance in-home services in general. No expectation of any further disclosures there



but, once again, a conflict in all of these different figures that we're seeing from time to time.

Then on Friday the bomb drops. In Ministry of Health initiatives with respect to the expenditure control plan, we look down at "Population Health and Community Services System" and discover this quote: "Long-term care will proceed as announced, with expenditures adjusted to reflect the need for the development and approval of community implementation plans." The chop beside that line is \$100 million. Included in that chop is an additional chop to public health services, which are a significant part of the government approach to long-term care.

The continuum of care, which we have been discussing over a period of time, means that as well as facility care, the community services would include health promotion and disease prevention programs. Yet where are the chops?

*Interjections.*

**The Acting Speaker:** Order, please. The honourable member for Halton Centre has the floor, is participating in the debate. Other members will have the opportunity to question or to comment as soon as the member has completed her participation. Please allow her the opportunity. The member for Halton Centre.

**Mrs Sullivan:** I will reiterate: The buildup of expectations with respect to funding announcements in the past have been completely undermined as a result of one announcement to chop \$100 million out of the health care budget, particularly as it's directed to long-term care. The second area is that the municipalities are also having the rug cut out from under their feet, and for many, in fact, for about 30,000 of the 60,000 beds that we have in Ontario in long-term care, the funding comes from the municipal base.

What is happening now is that people who are employed in those facilities are having the rug cut out from underneath them. The property tax base is being hit once again. There is a buildup of expectations with respect to the services which are going to be delivered on an equivalent basis, no matter where the resident is located, and all of a sudden the money is being yanked away: in one way, out of the entire allocation from the ministry; in the second way, out of the allocation to the municipalities.

As I look at and reflect on the people who came before our committee believing that there was going to be a system in place that was funded with a consistency—certainly in terms of this government, more of a consistency in its announcements than has surrounded most other health care announcements, the \$647 million—all of a sudden we are faced with an announcement that expenditures will be adjusted. Well, the \$100 million that sits beside those two areas of public health and community health and long-term care is very

worrisome indeed.

How, then, is the government going to make that chop? Where is it going to come from? Is it going to come from the facility base? How many more beds will of necessity close? How many more community-based agencies, which are to provide the services if there is a freeze on new beds—as there is a freeze on new beds—will be starved to the point where they cannot fill in the slack, and how many people will again be disappointed because they cannot have their needs met in any community, let alone in those communities which we know are underbedded and underserved in terms of community agencies and facilities that exist in those places?

1550

I don't know how to say it, other than to say there is a breach of faith here. The government has led people on to believe that services will be in place, that they will be delivered within a certain time line in a certain way, and yet now we see, with no other explanation than one or two lines in the expenditure control plan, an indication that \$100 million is being cut out of a \$647-million expansion of home care services. That's more than one sixth. We don't know where those cuts are coming from, but I'll tell you, the \$100 million that's shown there is only a portion of what's now being cut.

I want to move to other areas in association with the funding issue, because as the bill was being discussed in committee, it became very clear that in addition to concern about the availability and the funding flow of that \$647 million, there was a concern that for each person entering a long-term care facility, a home for the aged or a nursing home, a plan of care was to be developed for that person, but nowhere was the government obligated to cover the costs of providing the services that were described in that plan of care.

If I can take the liberty of referring to some of the very important interventions which were made to committee on this issue:

The nursing homes association said, "Facilities must have the flexibility in meeting their service agreements, especially when they do not have sufficient resources."

Other intervenors indicated, "Service agreements should include a commitment to the funding needed to fulfil the requirement of a service agreement."

When we move to the care plan, we see indications that "The care plan must be financed appropriately so that the services required by the patient can be met within the amounts of money which the government provides to meet those service plans."

The plans of care, basically, have to be more than promises. They have to be commitments to the resident with respect to the health and personal services that will be available to that person within the home. If the

funding is not available—and I reiterate that there is no obligation on the government to provide funding to meet the requirements of the care plans—then once again there is a breach of faith in the promise given and in what will be in fact the actual means of delivery.

I probably wouldn't have been quite as concerned about this issue had I not seen the very blatant chop that's included in the expenditure control plans which were announced on Friday. In fact, it seems to us that we are entering a totally different ball game than we were in when we were in committee. I believe that every member who sat on that committee and who looked at the very significant issues associated with the reform of a long-term care plan has to now share the concerns that I have and that agencies around the province have with respect to that issue. How firm are any of the commitments that have been made with respect to long-term care. In fact, is the green document worth the paper it's printed on? Should we be going back to base? And when are we going to start telling people in fact what can be delivered and what can be expected?

I want to speak to some of the issues where there was concurrence as we went through the bill. There were three or four areas that, it seems to me, were brought from a very broad base of people around the province to committee and around which members of the committee had no disagreement.

One of the areas was with respect to the rights of the residents to have a say in the placement choice and to have their own needs, whether they were ethnic, spiritual, linguistic, familial or cultural, met within decisions around which these people would be spending the rest of their life, or a portion—a major portion, perhaps—of the rest of their life. The demands came from virtually every part of the province and from every organization which appeared before us, whether service providers, boards of directors of community homes for the aged, charitable homes for the aged, municipal homes for the aged, residents' associations themselves, senior citizens' organizations or others.

Certainly, the broad agreement of the need to ensure that the placement coordinator simply couldn't override an individual's heritage, an individual's religion, an individual's choice of the nature of the home that he or she wanted to live in was very important and was well expressed and articulately expressed to the committee. Everyone on the committee and all parties agreed that those issues had to be taken into account, and I am pleased that the resident bill of rights and the resident council has been added to the bill. I believe it strengthens the bill and that the experience of the nursing homes sector will be a positive one when it's applied to the charitable homes sector.

The difficulty now is that, given the yanking back of funding, how can we be sure that those promises will be

met? How can we be assured that those guarantees that have been provided now by legislation can continue? Can we say to a person that his or her preferences which are based on ethnic, on spiritual, on linguistic, on familial, on cultural factors in fact will be recognized if the funding isn't there to ensure that the space is available in the appropriate place at the appropriate time?

I think that once again, and now legislatively, we will be holding out a promise and building an expectation that is going to be very difficult to deliver in the end, and I would like to see some assurance from the minister before this debate is concluded that those issues will be recognized and the funding that's appropriate to ensuring that the resident preferences are taken into account is in place. We know we had to battle a substantial amount to ensure that those rights were written in and that the recognition of those preferences were written into the bill, and given that the first draft of the long-term care bill indicated that there would be patient choice, we couldn't understand in the beginning why they were left out, unless there was an intention that those issues be left out of the bill. Now, with the \$100-million cut, we are wondering if in fact that choice will ever be available to residents when they are making a determination and the application for placement into a home.

We spoke at some length in committee about the role of the placement coordinator and in fact the power of the placement coordinator, and as we went through public hearings in various communities around Ontario, we heard in some communities of a placement coordination system that was working extremely well. I think Thunder Bay was put to everyone as a model to be examined. There were other areas which had placed a high degree of support behind the placement coordination systems which existed there.

#### 1600

None the less, when we saw the drafting of the bill we saw an extraordinary amount of power given to a placement coordinator in terms of determining what could in fact be decisions respecting the remainder of a person's life and the way that person would be treated, housed and cared for during the remainder of their life. We have since then received the green book. It's difficult, as you know, having been provided with one bill in isolation and outside of an implementation and a planning framework, to place that bill now within the entire framework document, because we now see a slightly more fleshed-out view of the multiservice agency, where the MSA would provide a single entry point into the long-term care system.

The green document goes on to suggest that the MSAs would provide a continuum of service, of care, ranging from disease prevention—now we know that the budget for disease prevention has been chopped substan-



tially—to in-home, acute and chronic treatment. We have no information about what chronic treatment will be available, because of course the chronic care role study hasn't been made available to us; nobody knows what's in it; nobody knows how this government sees chronic care in the first place, let alone in the last instance.

What we read, though, is that the government envisages one-stop shopping. They say, simply by calling an MSA, seniors, adults with physical disabilities and people who need health care at home will have access to a comprehensive range of services provided in both the community and in facilities. Now, the MSA was not available; the concept was not on the table; the issue was not included in Bill 101, the bill we are discussing today and that was before us in committee. As a consequence, placement coordinators had powers that may in fact usurp the powers of the MSA and there is no indication of how the two will work together.

The placement coordinator, under an amendment that was included in the bill, must now—if the eligibility for admission is not approved and the authorization for admission to a home or to a facility is not approved, the placement coordinator under amendments to the bill is responsible for suggesting alternate services and making alternate referrals on behalf of the applicant. What we see here is a clear confusion in thinking, because we now have a placement coordinator doing the work of the multiservice agency.

Who comes first and how do they link? We asked those questions in committee and the answers weren't there. We asked about how the placement coordinator would work and how a community would be defined for the placement coordinator's work. We know there has to be a separate placement coordinator for each individual home, and if that placement coordinator is responsible by statute for making alternative service suggestions and making appropriate referrals, then how will that fit with the MSA, the multiservice agency that will ensure that seniors, adults with physical disabilities and people who need health care at home, will have access to the comprehensive range of services in both the community and in facilities.

Who is doing what? We understood that this document, this expenditure control document, was one which looked at duplication of services and overlap and tried to come to terms with streamlining government. In fact, in the billion-dollar chop to the health care system, one quarter of the chops across the system, we see the word "streamlining" used several times. Yet what we are now building into the system is an overlap and a duplication of effort by the placement coordinator and the multiservice agency that will work in the communities.

We also see, in terms of service delivery, that the placement coordinator has some responsibility with respect to the assessment of the potential resident, yet as

we look at the role of the multiservice agency, we also see another assessment role. How many times do people have to go through processes of assessment, of being assessed by one group here and one group there? In one case the medical model, so-called, is taken out and yet there still may well be a need for personal care services within a residential facility. In the other case, the medical model must be very much on the table in terms of determining whether a person can take advantage of and be served well in a nursing home facility.

We have, on the one hand, an assessment process that works over here, and on the other hand, an assessment process that works over there, both of them called the same thing, both of them apparently to assist in moving people through the system so that there is a continuum of care, and yet each one operating at odds one from the other. There has to be an awful lot of cleanup in that particular situation.

I want to move to the question of the appeals, and to do that I think we have to understand how this system will work from the point of view of the service agreements in that each residential facility, whether it's a home for the aged or a nursing home, will enter into a service agreement with the province which will outline in broad general terms the requirements of the individual home in meeting provincial standards. An addendum, an aside, a separate contractual agreement will be attached to the standard service agreement and will spell out specific instances and specific services which the individual home must deal with and provide.

Once signed, the service agreement which is written means that funding will be provided by the government to those homes and those institutions—the homes, whether they're nursing homes or charitable homes—to assist in defraying the cost of operation. However, there's no appeal, either of what's written in the service agreement or on the basis of how much money the government will be providing.

I mentioned earlier that the province is responsible for establishing the service agreement, will sign the service agreement, but has no responsibility for providing adequately the funding that will ensure the care is provided. If the government determines that X level of services must be provided and does not provide the funding for that X level of services, the home has no right of appeal. The home has no way of a different decision, of determining that its costs should be lowered, that the demands on the system should be lowered, that the demands on the home should be lowered in terms of services that are provided.

The other aspect is that these plans of care which are developed and the service agreements which envisage the plans of care being developed may not all be offered within the facility, and yet the home must sign an agreement and must provide a plan of care which guarantees that the home will deliver services for which

it has not necessarily full responsibility and for which it may not receive funding.

1610

When we're talking about \$100 million of cuts when we already had concerns about how adequately the plans of care for individuals in these homes would be financed, we, I think, are right in warning people to have a second look at what in fact is on the table in the long-term care promise that's included in the green book.

The appeal mechanism simply isn't adequate from the point of view of the home, nor is it adequate in terms of the rights of the resident. The appeal process is one which will take a resident into a highly aggressive, controversial, confrontational system which ultimately ends up at the Divisional Court if an appeal is launched following a decision at the Health Services Appeal Board.

It's our view that there should be a different kind of mechanism, a different method of approaching the resolution of disputes, whether it's in respect to the service agreement between the home and government or whether it's with respect to issues that a resident himself or herself wants to bring forward and have dealt with in a way that the person feels has not been handled adequately at the home level.

There are other methods. We know that there are alternative dispute resolution methods that could include arbitration, could include a less formal committee structure, could include local decision-making where perhaps a placement coordinator or another body is involved in those kinds of arbitration. This was forcefully put before the committee by a number of intervenors. The only response we had—and the parliamentary assistant unfortunately had to put it many times—was that the entire question of the appeal process would have to be dealt with in the next round of long-term care legislation.

In the meantime, there is an appeal process now built into this piece of legislation which is here before us, the first of the long-term care bills, so clearly, whenever the next piece of legislation comes forward, perhaps September, perhaps next autumn, perhaps never, this bill will have to be amended again to bring about an appeal process that's reasonable, that works, that removes some of the confrontation and some of the aggression from this system and that participants in the system see as having some validity and some caring.

We could not understand why, when there were so many intervenors, when there were proposals that were put, when discussions had been held for a period of time with people who work in the bureaucracy surrounding the long-term care reform, there was not more on the table before committee and in this legislation to reflect what people saw as a real need and a real demand in terms of the system.

What we are seeing now is something which is clearly not what people want. The providers don't want this appeal mechanism, the residents, the seniors, don't want this appeal mechanism, and yet it appears we're stuck with it until such time as the government comes forward with another bill, the time line for which we have simply vague promises. That is a matter that we want to see followed up. We hope the minister will make some announcements in the House very soon about the kinds of approaches she's looking forward to in an appeal process.

We think it's wrong to put someone who is frail, who is perhaps concerned on a personal basis about the level of care that he is receiving, about services that should be available, to a process where he has to appear before a formal board, probably with legal advice. Then, if a further appeal is seen to be necessary, where that has to be done in a courtroom situation. We think that many of these issues could be dealt with in a different way that is more personal, more caring and more in fact relevant and appropriate to the situation in which people will find themselves in the facility.

We had some extensive discussion in committee about quality and about determining how quality assurance plans, quality improvement plans, which I raised in the Legislature on the first go-round of this debate on second reading, could indeed be applied so that an appropriate wording use was placed in the bill and therefore before this particular sector, but as well so that the words had some meaning with respect to current practice.

The bill originally, as you well know, indicated that there should be quality assurance plans in facilities which would be expected to improve the care and the work plans and the staff training and so on within those facilities. The difficulty with the words that were used in the bill, and we gave the government the benefit of the doubt and said that perhaps these were drafting errors, was that "quality assurance plans" referred to one particular methodology and are necessarily static. They don't provide for an improvement framework, which is what we wanted to see and which I believe the entire industry wanted to see. That change was made and we are pleased that the change to a more generic term was introduced.

None the less, that change as well, however, begs the issue of the inspection process which is included in this bill, because on the one hand we have an inspection process which is comparable to that which was in place many years ago in the nursing homes area, under the Nursing Homes Act, and which was found not to work. It was highly confrontational in nature and it was not seen to be a joint moving forward but rather something which in fact created less of a cooperative approach to change and to improvement.

With the introduction of the words "quality improve-



ment plan" into the bill, however, we now have a new reason to relook at the inspection processes that are included in the legislation. Our view is that those inspection processes should be based far more on the model which is now used in the nursing homes sector, which is an improvement model, which is a peer review model, which is a model that ensures and I believe spawns cooperation rather than the confrontation which the inspection model, which is now described in this bill, puts forward.

I regret in our committee discussions, although it's not an issue which will find massive public demand, that this entire area did not receive more concentrated interest. Those who participated in discussion of the entire inspection process did so from what to my mind was a very ideological point of view. One group said, "It doesn't work if you do it this way"; the other group said, "It doesn't work if you do it this way."

It seems to me that the issues associated with framing an appropriate inspection process were not adequately addressed in committee so that an appropriate legislative solution could be placed within the context of this bill and ultimately into full operation.

1620

The matter, I think, is going to have to be revisited when there is another section of the long-term care legislation before the House. I think that along with the entire appeal process—the two frankly do go hand in hand, and we'll also have to take into account the whole debate and discussion with respect to quality improvement as it applies to facilities.

I want to, if I may, although it isn't specifically a part of the amendments that are included in Bill 101, speak to the issue of the management of the long-term care services which are included in the green book, and particularly the issue of how the new system will function.

With what we have now, I think that the difficulty here is that we have a bill, as I've said, that's presented in isolation from the overall implementation framework, from the overall policy framework. The green book is also significantly vague in terms of addressing the shape of the fundamental changes which will necessarily occur.

What the green book tells us, in terms of how the new system will function in terms of planning, is that the district health councils will have a new mandate for long-term care service planning through their long-term committees.

Then the discussion goes on to indicate that district health councils will "participate in forming government long-term care policies, working through the association of district health councils" and that DHCs will "develop service and allocation plans within community services' funding envelope guidelines, reflecting the needs of

people locally and taking into account the area's demographics, rural-urban mix, cultural composition and existing services."

I'd like to say first of all that if this is going to occur, if the district health council is going to be given additional responsibilities, then we should have a bill before the House now changing the mandate of the district health councils, because they do not have the power to do what this document says they are going to have to do.

In the meantime, arbitrary decisions have been made by the government with respect to facilities. There will be no new beds in facilities, ie, there will not be another nursing home bed put into operation, nor another bed in a home for the aged put into operation, for a period of time.

We do not know specifically the period of time and we now have a new body, the DHCs, which are apparently to be responsible for the service and allocation plans, the funding and distributing of funding envelope, and also to develop plans to improve community services etc. They have no mandate to do that. We need new legislation if they are going to have that mandate.

We now have a bill which provides equivalency in funding, a level of funding that is totally outside of this new system surround, and the DHCs haven't participated in it at all. The DHCs will not be participating in it, nor will the DHCs have access or the legislative responsibility for some time, it appears, because the minister has indicated to us that there will not be a new long-term care bill on the table for some time.

So we're in a situation where district health councils have now been told to set up committees. We are told that funding will not flow; \$100 million is coming out of that funding while the DHCs—or we assume it's the DHCs—are working on coming up with service and allocation plans.

The DHCs, we are told, are going to have the responsibility for allocating that money. They don't have the mandate, they cannot legally do that, yet we have a bill over here that says that many of the issues that the DHCs are going to determine are going to be placed before them as a result of level-of-care funding.

It doesn't work; it simply does not work. We have the cart placed before the horse. We said that from the very beginning, that we should have had the philosophy, the policy context, the implementation framework, the buy-in from the participants, and that has not happened. Now we have a new system being devised into which the bill we are faced with and dealing with and will be voting on within a week or so, whenever it comes to us for a vote, operates completely independently of the long-term care framework.

The calls which are coming into my office and into the offices of my colleagues are saying that people do

not understand where the fit will be. They do not understand how one, by example, can ensure that there are respite care beds maintained in nursing homes and homes for the aged if the regional planning and composition and demographic analyses have not yet been completed. They do not understand how a nursing home can be required to provide certain services if the analysis of what services are needed to meet the needs of the community has been done.

We see in this entire system an ad hockery that really is quite astonishing and we hear of pilot projects to test the effectiveness of transferring management responsibility from the government to the local level. We hear of pilot projects which were supposed to have taken place some time ago in direct funding and did not take place. We see difficulties in, by example, the chop in health promotion programs for seniors and chops in the drug benefit plan for seniors, and yet we see that the drug benefit plan is included in the discussion of multiservice agencies. What's going on here, Mr Speaker? We cannot tell and no one can tell who and what will be responsible for what and what.

I think that when people are seriously calling and saying, "This is not fitting together," that the green book is not fitting together with Bill 101, they are absolutely right. They particularly aren't fitting together when you've got a \$100-million chop right out of the budget that was to fund the long-term care reform. This chop appears arbitrary. No one knows the extent to which their own interests and their own projects and their own agency services will be affected by that chop. It appears arbitrary, it's one-line, the minister has not further explained it, and frankly that is not good enough.

Many of our homes are homes that have boards of directors. The charitable homes for the aged are homes with their own boards of directors and their boards have been elected or selected in a manner that's appropriate to the body. They may include residents of the facility, they may include families of residents of the facilities, they may include people with expertise in various areas with respect to the operation of the home. It may include people who are representative of specific religious organizations that are sponsors of the home, but they have an accountability through that board structure and they have a responsibility that has, as you know, a range from fund-raising to expansion of services to provision of basic services within their community.

1630

We have a new and secondary level of accountability that is being placed on the homes as a result of Bill 101, a responsibility for them to enter into service agreements which will require them to provide certain services for their residents that are equivalent to all of those provided for every home across the province, but

then for others which are unique to that home. One wonders what happens when the accountability required of the sponsoring organization is in conflict with the accountability required by the government or where there is a higher level of accountability to the sponsoring organization than there is to the government.

We have been told that the role of voluntary boards of directors should be recognized in this bill and that the voluntary boards of directors have indeed been responsible for maintaining quality in homes for many, many years. There has not been a problem nor has there been seen to be a problem. None the less, the governance structures appear to be under attack, and many organizations are deeply concerned that they will be able to attract volunteers to serve on their boards and to provide the community representation and the community coordination we've been used to in the past.

The bill in fact redefines the role of the voluntary board of directors by putting the board in a position where it has to rubber-stamp decisions that are made outside of its boundaries and outside of its borders. The government, in drafting Bill 101, did not take into account the voluntary board, the very strong role in integrating services, whether it's in the community for home care services or other services of that nature, along with those which are provided in a facility, nor did the government take into account the legal responsibility which those boards now have and undertake for, by example, the inspection system and for providing services of a quality and nature that respect the needs, the safety and the security of their residents.

Once again we feel that as this bill and the long-term care reform moves along we are going to see conflict between the boards and the government, which is requiring service agreements to be developed and signed, and we see again a necessity for change that will recognize that the governance system of charitable boards and municipal boards is something of a long-established tradition in Ontario and one which has recognized the skills and the talents of volunteers who have given hours of free time to ensure that the homes are well operated, well maintained and indeed meet the needs of people from their communities. We are going to be asking the minister again to respond to the entire issue of the conflict between the voluntary board governance and the responsibilities and requirements of the ministry and to review the impact on voluntary boards and their attraction of people who in fact want to serve when the ministry is making all the decisions in isolation and quite apart from the operation of the individual home.

I want to speak for a moment about direct funding. We have, as you know, been supportive of a pilot project which would enable people with physical disabilities to direct the funding for services which they require by indicating the priorities that they place



towards a certain kind of service, the nature of the direction of the service, the selection of the person or agency to provide that service and the recognition that simply because one has a physical disability doesn't mean that one should be refused to participate in decisions, including those which would enable one to determine one's own continuum of care.

We were disappointed and, in fact, we still refute the ministry's assertion that the pilot project could not have gone ahead without Bill 101 being in place. We believe that it should have gone ahead a long time ago and that some of the issues associated with self-management of care should have been reviewed in the context of a much earlier pilot. Certainly, in 1989 the previous government was prepared at that time to move ahead with a pilot project in direct funding.

The issues are important issues. If it's recognized that a person has the dignity and the right to select his own care givers and those who will be providing personal care for him, it seems to me that person is strengthened through that initiative.

We also know that there may well be problems in self-management of care. We know that some of the models of self-management eliminate, move away from, those problems. I suggest to you that a supportive housing surround, by example, is one. But some of the issues, including the question of what happens when the care giver is taken with the flu and cannot reach the home of the disabled person who has contracted for the service, are very practical issues, and frankly we would have liked to have seen those addressed and some of the studies done and before us before this bill went ahead.

We think that when the previous government had been prepared to do that kind of study and to work on that kind of pilot in 1989, some four years ago, and we have yet to see a pilot move forward in any way, there is a real and, I think, honest and deserved sense of disappointment with the approach to the self-managed care or a direct funding of care.

If we look at those organizations that have been supportive of direct funding for many, many years, we see enormous support. As I look through the pages of intervenors who discussed this entire issue, we don't see one intervenor that had any reservations about moving ahead. We do not understand why the government—and as I say, we refute that the government needed this legislation in order to move ahead, but we feel that this should be an extremely high priority and the government should tackle this immediately.

1640

The independent living centres of course have provided one model, and several organizations spoke to the independent living centre as being the appropriate model and perhaps the only model for direct funding. It seems to me that we are going to have to look beyond simply one model and we are going to have to look beyond

simply one specific group in terms of the direct funding issue. Seniors as a whole should also have an opportunity to take part in a self-managed care situation, perhaps through an independent living centre scenario or through others that can be developed through other organizations and with other supports in the community.

We have been interested in the conceptual detail as it has been put in the past with respect to supportive housing for seniors. One of the things that we were extremely disappointed in in the green book, the partnerships book, was the fact that the supportive housing issue was addressed in basically one line. Without the attention provided to supportive housing, all the talk of pilot projects in terms of a direct funding model, in terms of independent living centres and the coordination between all of those issues and the models which could be appropriate, is just really so much in the wind.

We are asking specifically that the minister will make an announcement within the next very few days on the design of pilot projects for direct funding, self-managed funding, and that people will have an opportunity, and that we will have an opportunity, to know who is likely to be involved in the direct funding models which are likely to be placed before us.

One of the issues that once again is not specifically included in Bill 101 but around which there may well be a link is the palliative care issue. We know that the government has committed close to \$5 million to palliative care. We also see a commitment that a certain number of respite care beds would be available within the existing complement of nursing homes and homes for the aged. Clearly, a number of those respite care beds will be used in situations where the care giver is dealing with a palliative situation and the patient will be enabled to move into a home for a period of time.

What we are deeply concerned about is that there will be demographic change that we know about, that there will be such pressure on our long-term care beds in our facilities that there will not be a place for those respite care beds to become available.

We spoke about that issue in committee. We had no satisfaction that indeed there was any way of freeing up beds which are now used for long-term care by people with increasing chronicity. People are sicker when they go into a nursing home, they are more frail when they go into a home for the aged than they have been in the past, and as our population is aging, the opportunity for those respite care beds to be freed up is one that appears to us to be dreaming in Technicolor. In fact, what will have to happen, if the ministry is honest, is that a respite care bed will only be freed when a person dies. What that means is that the next person who is on the list for acceptance or for approval, for authorization to enter that home and use that bed, will not be able to do so.

So while we applaud improvements in palliative care

funding that is delivered at the community base, we say that the government is dreaming in Technicolor if it thinks it will in any way, shape or form be able to provide the respite care beds that it's promised. Once again, I underline that it's dreaming in Technicolor if it considers in any way that those respite care beds are going to be available unless a considerable number of new beds are added to the system.

Mr Speaker, I have a few minutes to speak generally about Bill 101, which was, as you know, a disappointment to us, coming as it did in isolation, and the nature of the shape of the bill itself, that so much of the bill is left to regulations: so much of the determination of where money will be spent, how it will be spent, what direction will be taken is left to regulation; that so much of the determination of which residents are allowed to enter which home, when, is left to regulation; that eligibility for entry to a home is left to regulation; that virtually every single question that individuals want to ask about how and when they might spend the rest of their lives is left to regulation.

There has been nothing that is clear in a law put before them about what guarantee of services will be provided, what guarantee of cultural and other diversity will be available, what guarantee with respect to their access, what guarantee with respect to the kind of accommodation, the kind of care, the kinds of services, the kinds of programs they will have access to and that will be available to them, the kind of information with respect to what a home will cost, changes with respect to limitations on spending, on charges to be made to a resident.

All of these things are not clear, open. They are all included in regulation, which means there's no debate. It means that the people who now serve as spokesmen for residents, for people who are now requiring service and care in facilities and who will in the future, have no guarantee, first of all, of what's on the table, and second, what can be removed from the table with or without any kind of information being passed on.

So what we see, first of all, is a bill which is a conceptual bill. It went far beyond what it needed to in that the government could have, in this first stage, we believe, made the funding changes through order in council and then moved into the entire long-term care reform in an appropriate, integrated way, where you don't have a bill placed on the table and then having to be brought back for change, some of which will be substantial. Already we know where some of that change is required. I mentioned some of them, the appeal process being one.

1650

There's an enormous amount in long-term care reform in the first bill that's before us that's been left out: respite care, just barely touched upon; palliative care, in this bill not touched upon at all; rehabilitation,

not mentioned in any way and yet we know that rehabilitation in a facility or outside a facility is extremely important in ensuring that a person will be able to leave a facility within an appropriate period of time; dental care, completely left out, and indeed we had the Ontario Dental Association appearing before the committee speaking about the vital aspect of basic and ongoing dental care which should be provided as a preventive measure and not simply as something to be added on in terms of a chargeback either to the resident or to the home. It's left out of this bill and it's left out of the green book, the long-term care reform framework book. Once again, assistive devices have been mentioned in one line in the long-term care green book. Transportation has not been mentioned at all, even in one line.

The assistance for family care givers issue—what happens when the sandwiched generation is finally out-sandwiched—mentioned in one line, a study coming up. Good grief, how many times do we have to wait for more study and more study? This is a government that indicated it wanted to do something in that area and yet, once again, it simply left the issue off the table.

I began, in discussing this bill, by indicating that we are now approaching Bill 101 with far more trepidation than we did when we went into committee, despite all of the issues that we raised in committee and indeed in spite of all of the issues on which we believe we achieved some success in committee. And we're pleased with that. We felt that the atmosphere in the standing committee was indeed a valuable one and that we owe a lot to the chairman of that committee for that; I concur with the words of the minister. But I must go back to the point I began with.

We believe now that with the substantial chop in health care funding that was made on Friday, we are now standing in all of our places—and my party of course will be voting for this bill—holding out expectations of service delivery that will not be met, that it will be impossible to meet, and that it will be impossible to meet in a time line that this government has indicated the program would provide.

What that means in the long run is that not only will residents be treated unfairly in homes; it means that people applying to enter a facility will not have their expectations met of facility care being available to them appropriate to their needs. It means that community-based services will not be funded adequately, and we've already seen facility-based services starved to the point where they cannot cope with one additional client or one additional even minutia of care.

We are seeing our providers, the people who work in the long-term care system, being treated very unfairly in terms of their income levels, in terms of how they are compensated for the very heavy work that they do in providing service in facilities and on the ground in communities. We see people being displaced from home



care services rather than an expansion of those services being put in place when it's required, as our institutions are being restructured and reformed. In fact, I guess, to sum up this concern, I think that what's happening here is that we are holding out, and the government is holding out, a promise that it will find impossible to keep unless there is a change in the entire funding mechanism and the announcement which was made on Friday, which in fact jeopardizes a singularly important part of the long-term care reform.

As you know, we'll be supporting Bill 101 with enormous reluctance, given the funding changes that were announced on Friday. We believe that it is going to be virtually impossible to carry out the long-term care reform under these revised scenarios and that it will be extraordinarily difficult, with any fairness and equity, to implement even Bill 101, which was one tiny step along the way to full long-term care reform.

**The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin):** Questions or comments? The member for Ottawa-Rideau.

**Mrs O'Neill:** I certainly would like to commend the member for Halton Centre for bringing to the floor of this Legislature the many uncertainties that surround Bill 101. We're still wondering how firm the commitment is to long-term care. It is described as a clear undertaking. We fear that could be government rhetoric.

I'd like to just read one passage from the green implementation book that underlines what the member for Halton Centre said, and I am pointing to:

"For a long time, people with developmental disabilities and their families have urged that there be greater equity in serving their wide range of needs. Beginning within the next three years, there will be a review of the two systems," long-term care and services for those who are developmentally delayed. Is that a commitment, a review to begin in three years?

The NDP government, in this legislation, as has been brought forward by the member for Halton Centre, says it's all so very easy, but there is a great deal of confusion surrounding assessment, a very crucial process for the long-term care reform. The expansion of the community-based services is still in limbo, and the role of the private operators is certainly in jeopardy and has been underlined several times by this government as preferential for non-profit organizations. What happens to the up to 50% of those who are private operators?

The bill comes in isolation, regulations governing much that it is trying to fulfil. The role of the district health councils is still very undetermined. The bill is being presented in an incomplete fashion, but one piece of the puzzle.

**The Deputy Speaker:** The member for Dufferin-Peel.

**Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel):** I will say that the

Progressive Conservative Party voted against this bill for second reading. I expect that unless something unusual happens, we will be supporting the bill, but most reluctantly, I will say.

The minister is currently in the House. She and I have one common thing between us, and that is that we both have relatives in the Avalon Care Centre in Orangeville, and we both therefore have some personal experience of the operation of the private home care, the private residence.

I guess when I say we're going to support this, Madam Minister, there is a certain amount of reluctance. One of the pieces of reluctance is that there's no question that the bill is creating a form of bureaucracy, and at a time particularly when we're trying to cut down on bureaucracy, in the Treasurer's and the Premier's statements and perhaps your statements as well last week, and as the cutbacks in the civil service continue. Yet here we are creating more bureaucracy. We are going to need more civil servants to operate this process.

I would hope that the appeal mechanism—as I understand it, there is no appeal mechanism and I would like to see some changes in that.

1700

One of the comments, Madam Minister, to which hopefully you will respond in due course, is that there have been comments made, not by you, as I understand it, but by the former minister, that if this bill isn't passed, the bridging of the gap or the making of the gap for funding for long-term care will not take place unless this bill is supported.

I hope that statement will be denied as a position of your ministry because certainly, if that is the case, that's almost a form of blackmail. The private home care operators have supported this bill and, as I understand, will continue to support the bill, but that is one of the reasons why they're supporting it, and I hope that you will deny that allegation that has been made.

**Mr Larry O'Connor (Durham-York):** I want to compliment the member for Halton Centre for her thoughtful comments. I think that she probably could have gone on at great length. I know that all the members who participated in the committee hearings certainly heard from a number of different areas. I think she probably could've spoken at great length about the written notices of residents and the need to empower the residents, whether it be involved in simply the posting of information or whether it be the appeal mechanisms for seniors.

One area that I know I could speak at great length on, and I'm sure she could as well, is the plan of care. I know that it's an opportunity to allow people to develop the plan and to put in place the vision of care, and it's something that I know again we probably could speak

on at great length.

I know that while we travelled the province there were a lot of people talking about consumer choice and we did have to make some amendments. After listening to a lot of people, we changed the outline so that we could reassure people that the choice of the residents and the people who wanted to be a resident in a certain home was going—to make it easier for people to have that choice. It's something that is quite important.

One thing I think, as we come from different communities of course, in the tone of empowerment the district health council has got a key role to play in all of this. I know that the district health councils that represent the two parts of my riding, the Durham Region District Health Council and the York Region District Health Council, have already got committees up and looking at trying to see how they can fit into this, and they're trying to establish their subcommittees. I'm sure that if the member for Halton Centre had more time, she'd probably go on a little further about the role of the district health councils.

**Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West):** I'd like to speak just briefly on implementation of this particular piece of legislation. I think the government has found out very obviously in the last few short weeks that it is so much more difficult to claw back or retrench money and jobs than it is to in fact put it in place in the first instance.

I speak directly about the placement coordinators and the multiservice agencies that will have to in fact be added because of this particular piece of legislation. I would caution the government as emphatically as I can that when placing these particular expenditures on the books, you be very careful about the numbers and the size of the bureaucracy you in fact create.

The clawbacks that we've seen in the last few days, the reductions municipalities are going to face, hospitals, school boards etc, should leave you with the very distinct and obvious impression that when you are putting the bureaucrats in place is the time when you make those prudent, fiscally responsible and managerially responsible decisions.

After the fact is no good, because by trying to claw them back, you end up in a cat fight, which you're apparently in today, where there are no winners. People who have had jobs and lose them are not happy about the situation, and I don't think any government in this province is happy about seeing people laid off or rolled back etc. As you learn on local council, it's much easier to give than it is to take back.

So just one note of caution on any expansion ideas, any expansionist plans that this government has in any ministry, but particularly in Health or Community and Social Services, and particularly when it comes to the placement coordinators and the multiservice agencies:

Be very, very careful about how expansionist you get, because if you find you're going to spend too much money, you've got to claw that back, and it becomes problematic and certainly more difficult than not putting it in place in the first place.

**The Deputy Speaker:** The member for Halton Centre, you have two minutes to reply.

**Mrs Sullivan:** I'd like to thank colleagues from all sides of the House for their comments with respect to the remarks that I put on the table today.

I want specifically to respond to the questions raised by the member for Scarborough Centre with respect to the plan of care. The member has spoken about a plan of care as being a positive initiative whereby the residents of a home will know and will understand issues surrounding their own care and treatment.

One of the difficulties with the plan of care is that it can be written and yet there's no guarantee that it will be delivered. There's no guarantee that the institution, the facility, which is providing that plan of care will have the funding in order to deliver the plan of care.

In other words, if a plan of care for an individual resident requires rehabilitation, perhaps physiotherapy, requires medical services of some form or another, requires a recreational component, requires perhaps an oxygen supply or a chiropractic service, some or all of those portions and segments of the plan of care may be available within the home and there may be the human and physical resources to provide those, but if they aren't available in the home and the funding isn't available to ensure that they're put in the home, they will not be provided, and therefore the home will be in breach of its service agreement.

There is something wrong here with the way this bill is written and the way the regulations are being presented, and if you don't think this is going to become an issue in your own constituency, just wait until this goes into effect.

**Mr Jim Wilson (Simcoe West):** I do want to take a few minutes this afternoon to join in the debate on third reading with respect to Bill 101. Perhaps before I get into the text of my remarks, I want to just compliment my two colleagues the member for Dufferin-Peel and the member for Etobicoke West, who I think raised some very good concerns in the last few minutes, one with respect to a new level of bureaucracy that may be introduced as a result of this legislation and, second, the member for Dufferin-Peel raises some very good concerns that we've heard out there and that perhaps the government would deny.

But you'll recall, Mr Speaker, that when the private nursing home operators were lobbying us—in fact they had a huge rally on the front lawn of Queen's Park and other people from the private sector with respect to health care had a huge rally last year on the front lawn



of Queen's Park—at that time Minister Frances Lankin told nursing home operators that she would move to bridge the gap between funding between the private nursing home sector and the charitable and municipal homes for the aged sector.

What we saw was the ministry and the government move a little bit towards bridging that gap. Of course now we're talking about levels-of-care funding so the point is moot, but I think the point that the member for Dufferin-Peel was trying to make was that along the way the passage of Bill 101 got tied to increased money for the private nursing home sector and, although there remain a lot of flaws in this legislation, I and my colleagues in the Ontario PC party feel pressured from the not-for-profit sector and the private nursing home sector. We feel pressured to pass this legislation because the government, through its political wisdom back in November and December of last year, very much tied future funding to the passage of this legislation.

So I want to say with that that I and my colleagues, or most of them—I haven't surveyed all of my colleagues, and of course we have a number of free votes in my party. I expect most of them, though, will be supportive of Bill 101. Certainly we're supportive in principle of this legislation, because we recognize and support the need for the redirection of long-term care in this province.

However, we remain concerned with the NDP's vision for the redirection of long-term care and with several aspects of Bill 101. While we are pleased with the progress that was made during the committee hearings, both during the public hearings and the clause-by-clause hearings, with a number of issues that were outstanding and that we had problems with with respect to the legislation, mainly issues such as consumer choice, greater accountability of placement coordinators, increased sensitivity towards cultural, linguistic and social needs and improvement of the assessment process, Bill 101 does leave several problems unresolved, in our opinion.

1710

Before I talk about some of those problems, I do want to very briefly take a moment to highlight some of the 150 Progressive Conservative amendments that were put forward or planned to be introduced with respect to this legislation, and I want to outline for the public and recap for members of the Legislature some of the changes that the government did accept and where the government, because of our prodding, I think, brought in some of its own amendments to make this legislation in fact better.

As the member for Dufferin-Peel pointed out in his remarks a moment ago, yes, many of my colleagues in the Ontario PC Party did not support this legislation upon second reading. However, after the amendments and the good work that was done by the staff and the

legal counsel of the ministry, we've for the most part been able to come around and support this legislation. Yes, we do have a bit of a gun to our head in terms of funding, and yes, we still have some problems, but we think that the government, and I give it credit now, did come a long way on a number of issues during the committee process, and after all, that's what this government feels the committee process is for. We used to iron out these issues ahead of time, but now we find ourselves going head to head, on province-wide television in many cases, in the committee rooms downstairs. But, as I say, the government did come around to making some changes, and I think we can live with the legislation.

Included among some of the key changes to the bill is a residents' bill of rights like that already in the Nursing Homes Act. It has been added to the acts governing municipal and charitable homes for the aged. The bill of rights also includes a fundamental principle clause which will ensure that physical, psychological, social, cultural and spiritual needs of residents are respected. That was an amendment that was put forward probably by all three parties, and we were pleased to be able to support that.

Consumer choice will be enhanced because of amendments that allow applicants to select the facilities to which they wish to apply. A placement coordinator assisting an applicant in making selections must take into account the ethnic, spiritual, linguistic and cultural factors.

I recall conversations with Villa Colombo, with Baycrest and with a number of other charitable non-profit homes which were very much concerned that their special ethnic and cultural concerns and wishes would not be taken into account, and I think they were right; they were right to lobby their MPPs, they were right to lobby the government on this issue, because the original drafting of the bill certainly didn't leave us with a high enough comfort level that placement coordinators would be required to take into account the ethnic, spiritual, linguistic and cultural factors of applicants, and I commend the government for coming around on that particular amendment.

They also supported an amendment which talked about an applicant must consent to his admission to a facility, thereby eliminating the chance that people get placed in settings in which they do not wish to reside. That was cleared up during the clause-by-clause hearings.

Amendments have been added so as to provide homes with grounds to refuse an admission if (1) the facility lacks the physical facilities needed to meet the applicant's needs, (2) the staff of the home does not have the expertise required to care for the applicant, or (3) if they meet the grounds for refusal established in the regulations. Facilities will be required to provide a written

notice to the applicant, the placement coordinator and director of the home explaining the refusal of admission. I think that's a good thing.

Preference must be given to veterans who wish admittance to facilities where the minister has designated veterans' priority access beds. This was a tremendously huge issue for Progressive Conservatives because we have always, always, stood behind those brave men and women who defended our country in two world wars and in Korea. What we found was that there was a great deal of concern among Legion members in particular, who have been over the years very supportive of ensuring that the health care needs of legionnaires are met.

The government, after a lot of prodding and after a meeting had to be arranged with the minister, finally came around to putting an amendment in the legislation. If they hadn't done it, we would have really pressed our amendment and I know the Liberals would have pressed theirs. None the less, the government did come around, and I think there's greater assurance in there that veterans and their rights will be respected in this legislation.

"In the circumstance that a placement coordinator finds a person eligible for admission to a facility but is unable to admit them immediately or finds a person ineligible for admission, he or she must suggest alternative services to the client or make referrals on the client's behalf." This was an amendment put forward by myself on behalf of my colleagues. Again, I think it brought some fairness and some assurance to clients that they simply wouldn't go to the placement coordinator to be turned down for admission and left out in the cold, as it were. This was to ensure that placement coordinators provided a little more information and a great deal more assistance.

"To ensure that the quality of services is continually being improved, facilities will be required to have quality management systems." Again, all three parties spoke at length about changing the wording in the bill from "quality assurance" to "quality management." At the end of the day, the government saw fit to adopt our amendments.

We supported provisions to establish residents' councils, which already existed in the Nursing Homes Act. They will now be extended to legislation governing municipal and charitable homes for the aged. We supported protection against reprisals for whistle blowers who disclose information to inspectors. That's now in the legislation as a result of prodding by opposition members.

One amendment that we didn't support and I don't have time to get into at great length here, but transitional provisions have been included in the revised act to allow for substitute decision-makers pending the proclamation of the Substitute Decisions Act of 1992.

Just briefly, for the record, the reason I and my colleagues do not support those provisions is we felt that the hasty attempts by the government to bring Bill 101 in line with the previously passed legislation, the Substitute Decisions Act, really weren't good enough and perhaps would do more damage and sort of mutilate the intent and effect of the Substitute Decisions Act.

For that reason and many others, we didn't support those amendments, but none the less, the government did bring forward those amendments. They're now included in the revised final edition of the bill, and there is an argument on the other side that without those, the Substitute Decisions Act would have had no meaning in this legislation. Our only complaint was that the government should have thought this through. It seemed to be a case of where part of the ministry didn't know what another part of the ministry was doing and, at the last minute, had to come up with some pretty highfalutin' amendments to make sure that they weren't stepping outside of what had already been decided and passed in the Substitute Decisions Act of 1992.

"In determining eligibility for admission, a placement coordinator shall consider information relating to the person's medical treatment, health care or other personal needs and any assessment of the applicant made by a health practitioner." That was another amendment put forward by the PCs and adopted by the government.

"If admitted to a facility after having been wait-listed for a six-month period, a person's need must be reassessed." This was something that I, on behalf of my colleagues, very much pressed the government to include in the legislation to ensure that people weren't on waiting lists for a great length of time. While they were on that waiting list, the applicants' needs may indeed have changed. So we tried to come to a compromise where we would ensure that within a reasonable time frame the needs of the applicant would be reassessed if they were on a waiting list for a great deal of time.

We also supported amendments that, "After having authorized an admission to a facility, the placement coordinator will forward medical, social assessment and care information to the facility upon the approval of the client or the client's substitute decision-maker." We felt this amendment was necessary to ensure that the facility and the operators of the facility and the staff there had complete information and complete knowledge of the needs and all aspects of the client's life. It just makes the transition into the home much easier and more logical.

Originally, Bill 101 created only one opportunity of appeal for consumers and none for facility operators. Unchanged is the ability of applicants deemed ineligible for admission to a facility to appeal a placement coordinator's decision.

Bill 101 is being amended to ensure that hearings on



rulings of ineligibility will begin within 21 days after the day an application for a hearing is received by the Health Services Appeal Board. Decisions must be rendered within one day following the end of hearings. I think the minister spoke briefly to that in her comments, and we were supportive eventually of those changes.

We're also supportive of changes which talked about the fact that the residents or the substitute decision-makers will be allowed a role in the establishing and updating of the plan of care drawn up for them.

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Inspectors must give a copy of their completed report to the operator of the facility that has been the subject of the inspector's review. I think that's a commonsense provision that apparently was always the intent to be the practice of the ministry and the inspectors, to ensure that the operator received a complete copy of the inspector's report. But we found out that sometimes in inspector staff there's a turnover, and a different inspector might go in and he or she will have a report that the operator of the facility may not have seen, the previous complete report, and sometimes new inspectors come in and say, "Yes, but the last time our inspector was here, you were told to do X, Y and Z, and you haven't done it," and the operator of the facility would say, "But I never saw that; that was never brought to my attention." So we tried to clear that up so everybody knows where they stand.

An inspector will be required to obtain a warrant from a justice of the peace if he or she wishes to enter places mentioned on the warrant or to exercise a right outlined in the act that has been refused. Again, we thought it was a point of fundamental justice that warrants have to be sought, and the government, as I say, at the end of the day did come around to ensuring that amendments to that effect are included in the legislation.

The amendments to Bill 101 represent a dramatic improvement to the legislation. We made considerable gains in several areas during the clause-by-clause hearings and successfully urged the government to amend Bill 101 to include many of our suggestions or forms thereof.

As well, the PC members of the standing committee on social development were able to support most of the government's amendments to Bill 101, since many of them address the very issues we'd expressed concern about during the public hearings on the legislation.

We were disappointed, though, that the government refused to accept our amendments that would have expanded the opportunities for appeal and a creative dispute resolution mechanism. The Ontario PC Party argued throughout the process for the adoption of such mechanisms, and I'll expand on those thoughts in

greater detail in just a few minutes.

But I also want to talk about funding, because it is one of the outstanding issues with respect to the whole long-term care package, in particular with phase 1 that we're dealing with in Bill 101 here today.

One constant source of frustration for the opposition through the consultation process on this bill was the absence of any sort of detailed funding arrangement from the government. In June 1991, the Minister of Community and Social Services announced that \$647 million would be spent on long-term care services by the years 1996, 1997, but during public hearings on Bill 101, the parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Health, the member for Simcoe Centre, was asked to provide more detailed background on this total. It is sad to say that this request, although we did receive a breakdown, really didn't give us great comfort and really didn't yield any new information that we could sink our teeth into and be assured that the government really has this \$647 million it says it's going to put into community-based services.

All we know for sure is that Bill 101 says—or at least the government's assurance that accompanies the passage of this bill is—that about \$205 million in new dollars will be put into the nursing home, charitable home, municipal home sector, which will now be called the long-term care facility sector.

We know that \$205 million is committed. What the government's a little shy about telling the public is that \$150 million of that \$205 million isn't government money. It's money on the backs of seniors and the disabled and the elderly in our province. It's new user fees.

I was astonished today in question period that the Premier had the gall to get up and try and blame Mr Harris for talking about user fees in this province. The problem that we've seen with this government is that there are a lot of user fees. There are hundreds of millions of dollars of user fees in the health care system now. Anyone who's ever taken an ambulance ride or been a resident of a chronic care hospital or is a resident of a charitable home, a nursing home, knows that there are user fees for different services and accommodation and that sort of thing in the sectors now. All we have said—and we've been consistent for the past three years, when it came up in the last campaign—is look, poor people are getting bills for ambulance services right now. It's \$85 for a non-emergency transfer and it's \$165 or \$185 now—perhaps the minister will want to correct me on the exact figures, but it's around \$185—for an emergency transfer. Rich or poor, you get a bill from the government. What kind of fairness is that?

We have said, let's not lie to the people. Let's not pretend user fees don't exist. Let's simply be honest with the people of Ontario. Admit that there are hundreds of millions of dollars worth of user fees in the

system now, and this bill introduces \$150 million more of user fees. We want a discussion, and I challenge—

**Hon Gilles Pouliot (Minister of Transportation):** Listen to your boss. A tax grab.

**Mr Jim Wilson:** The Minister of Transportation is heckling me. I challenge him, because he's a member of cabinet, to very soon have that discussion with us of where user fees should be appropriately placed, because poor people are being sent bills and they can't afford it, while people who can afford it aren't being asked to pay their fair share even under this socialist government's amendments.

I don't see anything wrong with a policy that says that. I think it's honest, I think it's morally correct, and I think it recognizes reality. It's incumbent upon all members to stop using rhetoric with respect to this issue and to level with people, because the people out there, they're smart. They know they get bills for ambulance rides. They know that if they've got a loved one in a nursing home or whatever, there are lots of bills to be paid. Those are all user fees, whatever way you talk about it, and the government is bringing \$150 million more of user fees.

Secondly, on the point of funding, it's important to note in this legislation, as my colleague the member for Burlington South said earlier this afternoon, that for the first time in the history of this province, we're seeing a major delisting of an insured service under OHIP. This bill spells the end of extended care. There will be no more extended care certificates written out by physicians. That is the end of extended care.

When I talked to the previous Minister of Health, Frances Lankin, in committee about delisting insured services—because you'll remember that she delisted electrolysis last year, and I think we had all-party agreement that there was a lot of cosmetic type of electrolysis going on and that that wasn't appropriate and it shouldn't be insured under OHIP. But the fact of the matter is that she assured me at that time that there would be no more delistings of services without full public debate. Well, I'll tell you, we didn't really have full public debate even on our clause-by-clause hearings because the public wasn't aware that this was the first major delisting.

So all I want to say to the NDP members is, don't in the next all-candidates meetings get up and pretend you're holier than thou with respect to health care, because frankly, no one's going to believe it, and your opposition at those meetings will have lots of fuel to say that you guys began the end of medicare as we know it in Ontario, and this bill proves that.

That's all I have to say about that, because there are lots of Hansard copies out there in circulation with the minister's own admission in committee and members of the government's admission in committee that yes, this

is a significant delisting and it is the end of extended care. To be fair, they are replacing it with this new levels-of-care funding, but I'm going to talk about that in a minute too.

With the release of the government's policy paper, Partnerships in Long-Term Care, a few more funding details were made available. We saw the release of that document, I think, on April 7 or April 8. The first few weeks that we were dealing with Bill 101, we were doing it in a void. We didn't know what the government's greater vision of long-term care was supposed to be, so we pressured and pressured and pressured the government to come up with the final, or what I'm told is the final, version of their vision of long-term care. With that, a few additional details on spending allocations were provided, but there were numerous questions left unanswered.

The government has neglected to include any sort of breakdown on how the money will be spent on projects that are contained in the government's own long-term care documents. Included in these projects are expanded community support programs, extension of palliative care programs and the expansion of supportive housing. As well, the government has declined to commit to any deadlines or establish any time frames for actually making the promised funding available.

This particular piece of legislation will come into effect upon proclamation. Now, the government's record on proclaiming, actually bringing a piece of law into effect, is pretty poor. If you look at the Regulated Health Professions Act legislation that we spent last summer doing and passed last year—if it wasn't the year before; I guess it was last year—they're nowhere near proclaiming all of that. They're going to bring in some quick proclamation for the section dealing with midwives because of the promise they made out there, but the rest of the 23 regulated health professions are left up in the air with respect to the regulatory framework that's being developed.

That bill isn't proclaimed, yet the government's moving ahead with this stuff and wants to move ahead with Bill 100, which deals with sexual abuse, sexual harassment by health care professionals. At the same time, the health care professionals legislation hasn't yet been proclaimed and we're told we'll be lucky if it gets proclaimed this year in whole.

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Having said that, it goes back to the point raised by the member for Dufferin-Peel. Here the government wants us to pass this legislation and we give in, we're passing it, because we kind of have a gun to our heads because it's tied funding to the nursing homes sector to this legislation. There's no way out, so we have to pass this legislation. We tried, as I said, through the committee process to improve it and I think made some improvements.



However, I just want to make it clear out there that the government could go ahead any day and flow money to the private nursing homes and the charitable homes without this legislation, that it's a political game that's being played. Secondly, I was meeting last Friday with a nursing home operator, the operator of the Collingwood Nursing Home in my riding, and she said, "Well, that's fine, you're going to pass the bill on third reading, but when will it be proclaimed?"

You see, now, Mr Speaker, people out there are getting wise to this government and they realize that it's not so bad at passing legislation—most of it I don't think I've ever voted in favour of—it can get its legislation passed, but whether the heck it can get it proclaimed and actually figured out and all the regulations done has been an intellectual challenge for this government, to say the least. A number of their very senior and good bureaucrats have quit along the way, so they've been left trying to develop regulations in a bit of a knowledge vacuum, and I speak particularly there about the Regulated Health Professions Amendment Act.

Last Friday, contained within the government's expenditure control plan, there was another vague reference to the funding of long-term care reform. This time, the government told Ontario's long-term care clients that, "Expenditures" will be "adjusted to reflect the need for the development and approval of community implementation plans."

Well, I only ask a question of the minister that perhaps she or the parliamentary assistant could respond to. Perhaps they could explain to this House what this adjustment might entail. Again, the expenditure control plan, the cuts made by the government last Friday, sent out some pretty nervous signals to people in the health care community, and particularly those who are waiting for long-term care reform.

Congratulations government. You've cut 5,400 hospital beds, you've laid off over 2,000 nurses, but none of that money's gone into the community-based sector, and we've also laid off community-based nurses, VONs and health unit workers, who actually do education and prevention programs. So I just hope with the passage of this legislation we'll actually see the money flow in a timely manner.

Two weeks ago the nursing home operators, charitable homes, were given their case mix indexes. Those darn things are meaningless unless you know what kind of dollars are involved so you can plan and actually live up to what's required in this legislation, and that's providing actual levels of care funding and levels of care services.

The government's inability thus far to live up to its long-term care financing promises has not gone unnoticed by seniors' groups. The Senior Citizens' Consumer Alliance in a news conference here at Queen's Park just

recently pointed out that, "While a \$100-million down payment on the \$647 million was provided in the Treasurer's 1992-93 budget to strengthen community support services, only \$26 million of the \$100 million was actually spent last year on home care service expansion." That's from the Senior Citizens' Consumer Alliance.

Ontario's seniors have received no explanation for the obvious discrepancies between the NDP rhetoric and the reality and have every reason to be sceptical of the future reform of the long-term care system.

In regard to the proposed levels-of-care funding scheme, a whole realm of unanswered questions has been encountered. As of yet the government has not released the specifics of what the new classification system will exactly look like. It is known that the proposed funding model will consist of three funding envelopes. They are nursing and personal care, quality-of-life programming and accommodation.

It's also noteworthy that Bill 101 provides no requirement that the level of funding which coincides with this new funding mechanism, ie, the levels-of-care scheme, will be consistent with the amount of money actually required to provide the services and programs needed by residents.

What we have, and I said it in committee many times, is levels-of-care funding but not necessarily levels-of-care funding. The government put the cart before the horse in terms of it said what the pot of money would be for this institutional long-term care, but then it went around assessing residents to find out what their needs are going to be, and we're told that the needs exceed the amount of money in the pot, so there's no way the government can actually meet the levels of care and the expectations it's put out there with its own rhetoric and its own legislation.

Two weeks ago, as I mentioned, the facilities were given their case mix indexes, but as I said, it's darned near useless to have those without any idea what kind of money is going to be attached to each level of care etc, and it's making planning very difficult out there in the real world.

Under the heading of appeal opportunities and dispute resolution mechanism, notably the government has refused to incorporate a mechanism that would have dealt directly with the funding and other concerns that we heard expressed by facility operators. It was repeatedly argued during committee that appeal opportunities for facilities and consumers had to be built into the structure created by Bill 101. The PC Party introduced several amendments during clause-by-clause to increase opportunities of appeal in the interest of improving the accountability of placement coordinators and decisions of the minister.

Under Bill 101, the minister will be allowed to

withhold funding in the case of breaches of service agreements. Both operators and consumers could be negatively affected by such an action, since the withholding of funds impacts upon the operation of the facility as a whole and on all residents directly.

We still weren't able to get an amendment through that would actually allow operators of the homes to appeal funding decisions by the government. That's something that we felt, given that we don't necessarily have levels-of-care funding, given that the pot of money was established before the actual need was found out, was very important, because at the end of the day the persons who are going to suffer if the money isn't there are the actual residents themselves.

It's not so much—I should correct myself—that the money isn't there; it's if the government deems that a home has breached its service agreement. That's this new contractual way of doing business. Remember, you don't have ensured extended care any more; you've gone to this airy-fairy, state-versus-home-operator contractual agreement called the service agreement. If the state, if Big Brother, decides that the operator of a home is not living up to a service agreement, then the minister may withhold funding. If the minister withholds funding, the question that's never been answered is, what happens to all the poor residents of that home as a result of the government withholding money? Do they not eat? Do they not get their needs looked after?

Although the government tried to settle us down on that issue in committee, I was never fully satisfied that it really thought through that mechanism of withholding funding for breaches of service agreement, because if there's a breach of the service agreement, funding can be withheld. We're told, though, that would be the very last, draconian measure that would be taken by the government, to withhold funding. But the fact of the matter is, it's still a hammer there. It's still the final hammer on the heads of operators and it is a very heavy sanction that won't necessarily hurt the operator, but certainly will hurt the residents, and we felt that there were better ways to work with operators of homes and you could send out a better signal to our health care professionals, our operators of homes, to nurses, to residents, that this government has more faith in them than what this bill actually speaks to.

We stressed, though our some 150 amendments, that this sort of sanctions, ie, the withholding of money, must, for sure, be a last resort, and I think we have enough on record in Hansard to assure us that to some degree the government understands that concern, although it does remain outstanding.

The government, in its refusal to adopt our suggestions to expand appeal opportunities, has promised to examine the issue in the so-called phase 2 of the reform of long-term care. This, of course, will likely be too little, too late, since, as representatives from the Ontario

Nursing Home Association point out, the difficulties and problems in shifting to the new system are likely to occur in the earliest stages of implementation, and we hope the earliest stage of implementation is soon. But the NDP chose to ignore this commonsense conclusion and, instead, proceeded without a balanced mechanism in place to settle matters when disputes do arise.

Similarly, the government has refused our suggestions to include in Bill 101 a dispute resolution mechanism to deal specifically with problems concerning service agreements, the inclusion of a third-party arbitration mechanism as a standard contract clause in the circumstance that there are disputes concerning the service agreement; that is, disputes regarding the interpretation of, compliance with or ability to comply with the service agreement. Our amendment would have ensured that a resolution is fairly reached by a neutral party, a third party, thereby enhancing the system's accountability.

#### 1740

Under the heading of the not-for-profit sector preference, the NDP's redirection of long-term care in Ontario has private sector care providers very concerned. Premier Rae, former Minister of Health Frances Lankin and new Minister of Health Ruth Grier have made no secret of their preference for not-for-profit services, and Bill 101 legislates a preference for not-for-profit nursing homes or long-term care facilities.

Private home care providers, as an example, were shocked to hear from a senior adviser to the Premier in November 1992 that the government intended to cut their market share of home care services from the current 45% to 10% in two years. "When later questioned about their intentions for the private sector home care providers, senior policy advisers to Lankin and Rae refused to confirm or deny the two-year reduction plan." That's a quote from the newspaper.

It is apparent that the NDP government's approach to reforming the health care sector is based more on its ideology, and its ideology says that the private sector should not have a role in the delivery of human services. We know, for example, that with respect to Bill 101, when dealing with institutional care in the nursing homes sector, the charitable homes sector, the government did a secret study. I'm told that the result was that it could cost up to a billion dollars to buy out the capital investment now held by private nursing home operators in this province.

The government figured, I guess, that it couldn't afford to do it through the front door, so through Bill 101 and other long-term care legislation yet to come the government is going to drive private nursing home operators out of business eventually, as it's done in day care, and for sure drive out of business private home care operators out of business who now provide some 45% of the home care in our province.



There are several practical problems with respect to the NDP's strict adherence to this public sector preference or this bias against the private sector in the delivery of health care services.

The first problem is that the Ontario Home Health Care Providers' Association points out that the government has set contradictory goals for itself. On one hand, it's aiming at expanding home care services. Bill 101 will require consumers to prove that they cannot get enough care or the appropriate type of care in the community to be considered eligible for facility care, the facility care that's dealt with in Bill 101. Part of the job of the placement coordinator is going to be to look at the assessment, to take the decision on placement obviously.

Part of the criteria in the draft manual accompanying this legislation speak to the fact that you better be in pretty bad shape before you're going to get into a nursing home or long-term care facility in this province. One of the criteria is that you have to have exhausted all the community-based services available to you where you live.

I think the Ontario Home Health Care Providers' Association is trying to point out that if you drive the private sector out of business, in many communities in this province there won't be any home care services to call upon. In fact this whole thing may backfire on the government because the placement coordinator will have no choice but to put people into nursing homes because there aren't any services available in the community.

We know that the government intends to eliminate, or would like to if it could really have its way, just about half of the home care providers in this province. The government has paid much lipservice to the continuum-of-care model in the reform long-term care system. This model in theory would see the establishment of a whole spectrum of services for clients. We've yet to receive from this government a detailed plan of how it intends to create such a system and are not satisfied with the vague funding commitments to various aspects of the supposed redirection.

A second problem will be created if the government continues with its penchant to drive the private sector out of the delivery of services: Eliminating private sector service providers will mean that jobs will be dislocated. The commercial agencies employ about 20,000 health and support service employees across the province; 6,000 home support and agency administrative staff will also lose their jobs.

The third problem that will be created is that consumer choice between different services will be eliminated with the edging out of the private sector. Missing as well will be other elements by which the industry can measure proficiency and efficiency of home care services.

If you don't have the private sector to measure the

efficiency of the public sector services against, then how do you measure efficiency? How do you find out, when you're supposed to be living in a free-market world, whether there isn't another option out there that can do it better and cheaper, ie, the private sector? If you eliminate them, you lose that yardstick, you lose that measure and that's something that you know—it's pretty difficult talking to socialists and getting them to understand that but I hope they'll come around.

The NDP's preference for one sector over the other is hinged on ideology, I said, not only quality or cost of care. In fact differences between quality and cost between agencies are negligible, according to the Ontario Home Health Care Providers' Association. Commercial agencies comply to contractual regulations and standards as set by public programs.

Contrary to the horror stories the government used to like to tell when it was in opposition about the big, bad private sector operators, we actually don't find that there's great cause for alarm. Yes, there are some operators who needed to pull up their bootstraps and do a better job delivering services, but that's why we have inspectors and that's why we have enforcement.

We know that the commercial operators and the public service now, and had to in the past, abide by the same set of standards so that it is pretty difficult, I think, for the government to argue that the problem was that they were for-profit agencies. The problem was that past governments kept cutting back on inspection and cutting back on enforcement so some agencies, I suppose, were being able to slip through the system. That's unforgivable.

The fourth problem is that the private sector has historically accepted jobs that the not-for-profit sector has rejected, for instance, at nights and on weekend. The fact that they've grown from providing no services to now providing 45% of home care services over the past 10 years suggests the extent of the gap in services that would exist if it were not for the private sector.

Fifth, the cost to the taxpayer for not-for-profit service, delivery mode only, will increase since the deficits of the not-for-profit agencies have historically been covered by the government. One of the reasons the not-for-profits tend to do okay and sometimes can be said to deliver a little better care than the for-profit is that governments over the years have bailed out the not-for-profits.

What kind of a market is that when the government, with its \$54 billion that it spends every year, has that kind of clout to bail out not-for-profits? What kind of fairness in measurement between the commercial side and the not-for-profit side is that? That's just absolutely ridiculous.

The Ontario Home Health Care Providers' Association writes: "The reason the commercial agencies have

increased their share of the publicly funded home care in recent years is because they have been flexible, responsive and efficient, and able to meet service demands which the not-for-profit agencies could not."

Mr Speaker, I'm almost ready to conclude my remarks.

Commercial home care providers pay their employees the same rate as those in the not-for-profit sector for the most part, and profits of home care companies range between 1% to 5%. This is hardly a get-rich-quick scheme—where's the Treasurer?—and those companies pay taxes on their profits, which the not-for-profit sector doesn't do.

The sixth problem that will be created if the government continues to drive out the private sector: The private and public sectors have for over a year and a half been working together to develop standards of home care services. The Ontario Home Health Care Providers' Association believes a balanced home care system, with both private and not-for-profit operations, is the best way to ensure the highest levels of care and service.

That has historically been the policy of governments of Ontario, that there should be a balance between the private sector and the not-for-profit or public sector in the delivery of health services.

Unfortunately, "balance" is not a word in the socialist vocabulary. You've got to have one or the other, you've got to have rich versus poor, you've got to have police fighting minorities, you've got to have division in society, and we see the same thing now—

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**Mr Kimble Sutherland (Oxford):** Oh stop. That's the biggest crock.

**Mr Jim Wilson:** Well, you're laying off public sector workers and at the same you won't take the stranglehold off the private sector. So where are these people you're laying off going to apply for jobs? Mr Harris did a good job today of pointing that out during question period.

As well, the government's inclusion of a clause in Bill 101 that will limit capital funding to only not-for-profit nursing homes is further confirmation of the NDP's long-term care intentions for this industry. During clause-by-clause, I argued in favour of eliminating this discriminatory clause in the legislation.

In 1989 the Ontario Nursing Home Association successfully won a court battle launched to address the inequitable and discriminatory treatment of residents in nursing homes compared to residents of homes for the aged. The court found that the system of funding was illogical and unfair and urged the province to move swiftly to rectify the problem. That "move swiftly" edict from the court came in 1990. It's 1993 today.

The attempt to drive the private sector out of the

delivery of services in Bill 101 I think will attempt to undo one funding problem, as identified and agreed to by the court in 1990, while creating another. I think, on face value and upon further investigation, this simply doesn't make any sense.

In summary, we will continue to press the government for much-needed appeal opportunities and dispute resolution mechanisms, and we've been given the assurance that during the so-called phase 2 of long-term care reform we'll have another opportunity to do battle with the government with respect to those important concerns.

We remain concerned that a strategy has yet to be announced by this government to ensure the smooth transition towards a greater reliance on community-based services—again, a great concern out there that the government's been very hasty and actually very efficient, I say sarcastically, in downsizing hospital beds and in firing nurses. At the same time, they've not upsized the community-based sector.

We are mindful of the fact that the NDP has failed to produce a comprehensive, realistic funding blueprint to support its so-called redirection efforts. Again, all the technical jargon in the world doesn't help operators plan if they don't know what the funding levels are going to be. The bottom line is money and the delivery of services. Pious speeches that ignore the reality that funding is the bottom line simply do an injustice to the nursing home sector and the homes for the aged sector.

It's not good enough for this government to keep reannouncing \$647 million when the Senior Citizens' Consumer Alliance for Long-Term Care Reform told us just a few weeks ago, downstairs in the press room, that of the \$100 million that was supposed to flow last year only \$26 million ever got spent. Clearly, no wonder we're seeing layoffs in the VON, and you told us this was a priority. Instead, you spent the money on day care and trying to fiddle around with other parts of the health care system and you want to buy out operators and ambulance operators and all that sort of thing.

If this is a priority, buckle down and get those community-based services up and running or in two years there's going to be a health care crunch in this province. You won't have to deal with it; I think we'll have the pleasure of dealing with that, and there are going to be senior citizens left out on the street. There are going to be frail, elderly people with no place to go, and all the great placement coordination systems in the world, that this bill speaks to, won't be able to house these people and won't be able to look after their care needs. I tell you to buckle down and get your priorities straight and make sure that community-based services are beefed up.

We remain committed to fighting for the redirection of the long-term care system. The system must be capable of dealing fairly with the concerns of both



consumers and providers, and we tried to deal with that in this legislation. Most importantly, we remain, as a party, dedicated to ensuring that Ontario's long-term care system is accessible, of high quality and responsive to the needs of those who are served by it.

I see no value in holding up the passage of this legislation since the government, as I said late last year, tied future funding to its passage. Flagging the puck on this is not a good idea. I wouldn't have taken so long this afternoon if the Liberal critic hadn't told us her life history and the history of this legislation. My intention was to only speak 20 minutes. However, the Liberal critic did get into and took credit, I think, unfairly and unilaterally for a number of amendments that all three parties worked on. So I had to get up and give a little more credit to the government and to the staff and to the two ministers who were involved and a little more credit to my colleagues in the Ontario PC Party.

In fairness, we don't want to hold this up. I hope the minister can get some House time to bring this legislation back quickly. Let's encourage the government to get this legislation actually proclaimed so that the funding can flow, because at the end of the day, if phase 1 of long-term care isn't done as spelled out in Bill 101, it's going to be residents, it's going to be the elderly people who are going to suffer. If we had done anything to hold up this legislation, I as a politician would have a great problem looking an elderly person in the eye. So I think we should all buckle down and make sure this passes. With that, I give the government our commitment that in no way do we want to hold this up. Before I repeat that three times and sound like I'm holding it up, I will end my remarks.

**Mr Anthony Perruzza (Downsview):** Just to respond very briefly to some of the comments from the member for the Conservative Party, he talked about how this legislation is the first step in ending the medicare system that we know today. I can't help but disagree with the member 100%. He will know from basically everything that we've done with respect to medicare that everything is essentially intended to preserve the medicare system we currently have. The Conservatives are notorious for always going back to the heydays when they reigned for 40 years, but they also have to understand that they presided over a medicare system that was young, in its infancy, and no sooner had they implemented the system we have here in Ontario than they ran into trouble with it. We all know what Frank Miller tried to do with health care in Ontario.

So in order to preserve the system we've got, these are the kinds of measures and steps we need to proceed with so that we don't create a two-tier system, the kind of system our Conservative friends would like to see us create, one for the poor and one for the rich. They talk about user fees. That's precisely and exactly what they would do with user fees. It's also important to note that

during the 1980s, health care was allowed to rise by the then Liberal government at twice the rate of inflation: 10%, 11%, 12%, 13% a year. What have we done in order to preserve the health care system that we have? We have reduced the increases in health care to less than 1%. That is the kind of thing that's going to preserve the health care system that we have today.

**Mrs O'Neill:** I would like to make comments on the member for Simcoe West's final remarks, which were that our lead critic, the member for Halton Centre, is delaying the passage of this bill. The real delay in the passage of Bill 101 is the non-return of this Legislature, a recess that was the longest recess in the history of this Legislature, and we're now taking blame because we want to speak for 90 minutes on a bill that's going to change lives, that's reforming seven bills that have been long-standing in this province. Our critic is responsible, as are the other members of the committee.

I want to say that the funding guarantees of this government on Bill 101 are less than trustworthy, if history is any example. It came before us many times that the nursing home funds were to flow on January 1; they have not flowed. The community-based service funds were to flow on March 31; they have not flowed. We await a budget. The budget is going to be presented to us in May, or it may be June—we don't know—the latest this budget has been presented, and everything that's been presented in preparation for the budget is now being withdrawn and is on the table. How can anyone have any security in this province?

The chair of the senior citizens' consumer alliance says in a letter, "We are tired of government rhetoric, and the reality of their spending patterns do not match the rhetoric." The facts have to be placed: We are being responsible in making this bill the best we can. We did that in committee and we're doing it again today.

**Mr Tilson:** I would like to make a few comments as to the speech just given by the member for Simcoe West. I think he should be congratulated, of course, in persuading the members of his committee in making those 150 amendments—and I guess, to be fair to the government, they should be congratulated, for once, in listening to the comments made by the member for Simcoe West in persuading the government to make those amendments. I think you deserve congratulations in that respect.

**1800**

Having said that, and before people think I've lost my mind in congratulating you, I will say that the fear of the long-term care operators is the fear of that lack of even balance, the simple perspective that has been given. It is the image that you have been giving, that you're simply going to take over long-term care. You can't do that. You need the private operators to make the system work.

I think the one issue that has surfaced in these

debates is the fact that the funding has been tied to the passage of this bill, and that does concern me a great deal.

The other issue is particularly a matter that has surfaced, to be fair, since the committee has met, the fact that there is going to be more bureaucracy, more bureaucracy in the creation of this system, more people who are going to be required to operate this process. Having listened to the Treasurer and others, as I've indicated in the past, trying to cut back on the bureaucracy and the civil servants, it doesn't make sense that you're going to create yet another bureaucracy a week after saying that you're going to be cutting back on the civil servants.

So that, plus the fact that there isn't, as the member for Simcoe West commented, appeal; there is a lack of an appeal process. That matter needs to be resolved in due course. So the jury is still out as to whether this matter will be proclaimed, and of course the elaboration with the regulations.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Minister?

**Hon Mrs Grier:** I just want to set the record straight with respect to one aspect of the remarks by the member for Simcoe West. Let me say that I appreciate his support and the very constructive contribution he has made to this debate and to the development of this legislation. However, he did say in his remarks that in a legal challenge, a charter challenge, the private nursing home operators had in fact won their case. I would like to make the point, so the record may show, that that case is still under appeal. In fact, though in the Supreme Court there was no charter infringement, and the judge made it very clear that that was his opinion, he also said that the government should rationalize funding between the private and the publicly operated nursing homes and homes for the aged, and it was as a result of that comment that the study was done that led to the levels-of-care funding and the legislation that is before us today. So as a result of that case, we now have this legislation.

I, like the member for Simcoe West, profoundly regret that we were not able, in the space of an entire afternoon, to bring to conclusion the third reading debate on a piece of legislation that has had second

reading debate in this chamber, extensive public hearings, extensive debate in clause-by-clause, and we are now leaving the owners and operators of those private sector as well as the public sector homes waiting for their money yet again.

**The Deputy Speaker:** The member for Simcoe West, you have two minutes to reply.

**Mr Jim Wilson:** Thank you, Mr Speaker. I appreciate the input by other members. I want to thank the minister for clarifying that the matter I spoke of is now on appeal. I doubt as a backbencher in the opposition that I'll have much effect on the courts. It was my impression that the nursing home operators—I guess at one level they did win; it's on appeal.

I want to say to the member for Downsview, the NDP member, that in hindsight I guess Frank Miller was ahead of himself. He tried to bring some common sense into health care spending several years ago and all heck broke out in this province. This government's got away with closing 5,400 beds or thereabouts, we're told, and the number will rise as a result of the expenditure control plan announced on Friday. Poor Frank tried to close 20 beds and the unions were on the front steps going absolutely nutzoid at that time. Poor Frank was ahead of himself, as Mike Harris was ahead of himself in 1990, during the last campaign, when we talked about the fact that the increased taxation of the Liberals and the proliferation of increased taxes by this government would kill this economy. Today, and I think Friday's announcement with respect to the debts and deficits of this government, is an admission that Mike Harris was ahead of himself a couple of years ago. Fortunately, we're still around to fight the fight on taxes, and we're going to do that.

I do want to end on a positive note. I notice the minister is just leaving the chamber. I want to say that at least the NDP, with respect to long-term care, has gone beyond the years of rhetoric of the Liberal Party and actually taken some decisions and brought a bill before this House, and I congratulate the government for that.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Being 6 of the clock, this House stands adjourned until 1:30 of the clock tomorrow afternoon.

The House adjourned at 1806.

## ERRATUM

No.	Page	Column	Line	Should read:
7	199	1	3	POWER and FOAD and a number of the other organiz-



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ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE DE L'ONTARIO**

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Algoma-Manitoulin	Brown, Michael A.	L	
Beaches-Woodbine	<b>Lankin, Hon/L'hon Frances</b>	ND	Minister of Economic Development and Trade / ministre du Développement économique et du Commerce
Brampton North/-Nord	McClelland, Carman	L	
Brampton South/-Sud	Callahan, Robert V.	L	
Brant-Haldimand	Eddy, Ron	L	
Brantford	<b>Ward, Hon/L'hon Brad</b>	ND	Minister without Portfolio, Ministry of Finance / ministre sans portefeuille, ministère des Finances
Bruce	Elston, Murray J.	L	
Burlington South/-Sud	Jackson, Cameron	PC	
Cambridge	Farnan, Mike	ND	
Carleton	Sterling, Norman W.	PC	
Carleton East/-Est	Morin, Gilles E.	L	Deputy Speaker and Chair of the Committee of the Whole House / Vice-Président et Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Chatham-Kent	Hope, Randy R.	ND	
Cochrane North/-Nord	Wood, Len	ND	
Cochrane South/-Sud	Bisson, Gilles	ND	
Cornwall	Cleary, John C.	L	
Don Mills	Johnson, Dave	PC	
Dovercourt	<b>Silipo, Hon/L'hon Tony</b>	ND	Minister of Community and Social Services / ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires
Downsview	Perruzza, Anthony	ND	
Dufferin-Peel	Tilson, David	PC	
Durham Centre/-Centre	White, Drummond	ND	
Durham East/-Est	Mills, Gord	ND	
Durham West/-Ouest	Wiseman, Jim	ND	
Durham-York	O'Connor, Larry	ND	
Eglinton	Poole, Dianne	L	
Elgin	North, Peter	ND	
Essex-Kent	Hayes, Pat	ND	
Essex South/-Sud	Mancini, Remo	L	
Etobicoke-Humber	Henderson, D. James	L	
Etobicoke-Lakeshore	<b>Grier, Hon/L'hon Ruth A.</b>	ND	Minister of Health / ministre de la Santé
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Fort William	McLeod, Lyn	L	Leader of the Opposition / chef de l'opposition
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Guelph	Fletcher, Derek	ND	
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Halton North/-Nord	Duignan, Noel	ND	
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Huron	Klopp, Paul	ND	
Kenora	Miclash, Frank	L	
Kingston and The Islands / Kingston et Les Îles	Wilson, Gary	ND	
Kitchener	Ferguson, Will	ND	
Kitchener-Wilmot	Cooper, Mike	ND	
Lake Nipigon/Lac-Nipigon	<b>Pouliot, Hon/L'hon Gilles</b>	ND	Minister of Transportation, minister responsible for francophone affairs / ministre des Transports, ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
Lambton	MacKinnon, Ellen	ND	
Lanark-Renfrew	Jordan, W. Leo	PC	
Lawrence	Cordiano, Joseph	L	
Leeds-Grenville	Runciman, Robert W.	PC	
Lincoln	Hansen, Ron	ND	
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London North/-Nord	Cunningham, Dianne	PC	
London South/-Sud	Winniger, David	ND	
Markham	Cousens, W. Donald	PC	
Middlesex	Mathysen, Irene	ND	
Mississauga East/-Est	Sola, John	L	
Mississauga North/-Nord	Offer, Steven	L	
Mississauga South/-Sud	Marland, Margaret	PC	
Mississauga West/-Ouest	Mahoney, Steven W.	L	
Muskoka-Georgian Bay	Waters, Daniel	ND	
Nepean	Daigeler, Hans	L	
Niagara Falls	Harrington, Margaret H.	ND	
Niagara South/-Sud	<b>Coppen, Hon/L'hon Shirley</b>	ND	Minister without Portfolio, Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Recreation; chief government whip / ministre sans portefeuille, ministère de la Culture, du Tourisme et des Loisirs ; whip en chef du gouvernement
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Northumberland	Fawcett, Joan M.	L	
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Oakwood	Rizzo, Tony	ND	
Oriole	Caplan, Elinor	L	
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Ottawa-Rideau	O'Neill, Yvonne	L	
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Ottawa West/-Ouest	Chiarelli, Robert	L	
Oxford	Sutherland, Kimble	ND	
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Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings/Prince Edward-Lennox-Hastings-Sud	Johnson, Paul R.	ND	
Quinte	O'Neil, Hugh P.	L	
Rainy River	<b>Hampton, Hon/L'hon Howard</b>	ND	Minister of Natural Resources / ministre des Richesses naturelles
Renfrew North/-Nord	Conway, Sean G.	L	



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St Andrew-St Patrick	Akande, Zanana	ND	Speaker / Président
St Catharines	Bradley, James J.	L	
St Catharines-Brock	Haeck, Christel	ND	
St George-St David	Murphy, Tim	L	
Sarnia	Huget, Bob	ND	
Sault Ste Marie / Sault-Sainte-Marie	Martin, Tony	ND	
Scarborough-Agincourt	Phillips, Gerry	L	
Scarborough Centre/-Centre	Owens, Stephen	ND	
Scarborough East/-Est	Frankford, Robert	ND	
Scarborough-Ellesmere	<b>Warner, Hon/L'hon David</b>	ND	
Scarborough North/-Nord	Curling, Alvin	L	Minister of Culture, Tourism and Recreation / ministre de la Culture, du Tourisme et des Loisirs
Scarborough West/-Ouest	<b>Swarbrick, Hon/L'hon Anne</b>	ND	
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Simcoe West/-Ouest	Wilson, Jim	PC	
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Victoria-Haliburton	Drainville, Dennis	ND	
Waterloo North/-Nord	Witmer, Elizabeth	PC	
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Wellington	Arnott, Ted	PC	
Wentworth East/-Est	Morrow, Mark	ND	Minister of Education and Training, minister responsible for the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board / ministre de l'Éducation et de la Formation, ministre responsable du Conseil ontarien de formation et d'adaptation de la main- d'oeuvre
Wentworth North/-Nord	Abel, Donald	ND	
Willowdale	Harnick, Charles	PC	
Wilson Heights	Kwinter, Monte	L	
Windsor-Riverside	<b>Cooke, Hon/L'hon David</b>	ND	
Windsor-Sandwich	Dadamo, George	ND	
Windsor-Walkerville	Lessard, Wayne	ND	
York Centre/-Centre	Sorbara, Gregory S.	L	
York East/-Est	Malkowski, Gary	ND	
York Mills	Turnbull, David	PC	
York North/-Nord	Beer, Charles	L	Premier, President of the Executive Council, Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs / premier ministre, président du Conseil exécutif, ministre des Affaires gouvernementales
York South/-Sud	<b>Rae, Hon/L'hon Bob</b>	ND	
Yorkview	Mammoliti, George	ND	

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No. 9

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## Legislative Assembly of Ontario

Third Session, 35th Parliament

## Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Troisième session, 35<sup>e</sup> législature

# Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Tuesday 27 April 1993

# Journal des débats (Hansard)

Mardi 27 Avril 1993



Speaker  
Honourable David Warner

Clerk  
Claude L. DesRosiers

Président  
L'honorable David Warner

Greffier  
Claude L. DesRosiers



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Tuesday 27 April 1993

The House met at 1331.

Prayers.

#### MEMBERS' STATEMENTS

##### CENTRE D'EXCELLENCE ARTISTIQUE DE LA SALLE

**M. Bernard Grandmaître (Ottawa-Est) :** Le Centre d'excellence artistique de La Salle est la seule institution du genre qui a pour mandat de favoriser l'épanouissement de la jeunesse francophone de tout l'Ontario. Le gouvernement sait que ce centre est crucial pour la survie et l'épanouissement de la culture francophone en Ontario.

Le Centre d'excellence artistique de La Salle est menacé de fermeture dès septembre 1993 s'il n'obtient pas l'appui financier des gouvernements fédéral et provincial. Sommes-nous prêts à voir disparaître une institution si importante pour la communauté francophone ?

Je comprends que les temps sont difficiles et qu'à l'heure des compressions budgétaires, les fonds se font de plus en plus rares. Le gouvernement doit tenir compte du fait que ce centre est le seul et unique centre d'excellence artistique qui existe en Ontario pour la jeunesse francophone de l'Ontario. Il se doit de lui accorder une priorité.

Lors de la dernière campagne électorale, le gouvernement néo-démocrate s'est engagé à assurer le plein épanouissement de la culture francophone. Va-t-il encore une fois manquer à ses promesses ? Si jamais le gouvernement cherchait des moyens d'aider les francophones de l'Ontario, voilà une autre occasion en or que le gouvernement ne devrait pas laisser tomber. J'implore le ministre des Affaires municipales de s'impliquer dans la cause de La Salle.

##### CLOSURE OF STOCKYARDS

**Mr Bill Murdoch (Grey):** Last week, the member for Wellington, Ted Arnott, and I met with a group of Ontario sheep farmers who are very concerned that the stockyards in Toronto could be closed down. As the Minister of Agriculture and other members know, this could prove to be a fatal blow for sheep producers in our area of the province.

If this were to happen, sales would have to be carried out in yards in Kitchener and Brussels, but 80% to 90% of the lambs sold in Toronto are sold to local people, many of the city's ethnic community. These buyers represent restaurants, small butcher shops and stores located in Toronto. As well, they bring the tradition from their homelands of seeing the animal before buying it, something they will no longer be able to do. Now, they will be forced to travel long distances to get the produce, and many of them will not be able to afford to go. Instead, they will hire someone to bid in a block for them. That practice will result in less competitive prices.

Sheep producers know that the growing market is based in Toronto. If the stockyards are closed down, they will lose this market. They have written to the minister, but they don't feel they are being heard. They are very upset with the present uncertainty, and ask what the minister is prepared to do to assist them in their cause.

##### PICTON UNITED CHURCH

**Mr Paul R. Johnson (Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings):** I rise today to tell you about the Picton United Church. The actual building of the Picton United Church is this year 100 years old, not unlike our most august establishment of the Legislative Building.

I want to tell you that Picton United Church has been a very important building for many reasons in Prince Edward county. It has been the place where the Prince Edward food bank has been established for a number of years under the very good leadership of Marilyn Bradley and her very hardworking volunteers. Little Learners are located at the Picton United Church, a place where my children indeed went for some of their very early learning and social interactions with other children. The graduation exercises of the students of Prince Edward Collegiate Institute take place at the Picton United Church and Quinte Summer Music also holds many of its extravaganzas there.

So Picton United Church has been a venue for many important events in Picton and the Prince Edward community. It gives me pleasure to congratulate Reverend Lloyd Paul and the congregation of Picton United Church. I offer them congratulations on their considerable contribution to Picton and Prince Edward county.

##### TERMINATION AND SEVERANCE PAYMENTS

**Mr John C. Cleary (Cornwall):** I rise to bring to the attention of the members a very difficult situation of over 200 former employees of Cortaulds Films in Cornwall.

When the cellophane plant production shut down operations in October 1989, many thought that their termination and severance money would follow shortly. We are now in our fourth year, and the former employees are still waiting for their severance packages. As the plant was on strike, the company argued that it did not have to pay the workers their termination and severance.

The Ministry of Labour has assured former employees that adequate funds are being held in trust with the employment practices branch, but due to a great deal of legal wrangling, the money has not been released to the workers. In September of last year, the Ministry of Labour told me that the termination and severance package was in judicial review.

What is so disturbing is that two previous decisions have been made but have not been binding. I have also learned that once a judicial review takes place in June, there may be appeals to a higher court. While the legal arguing drags on, the former employees are becoming increasingly anxious to know when they may expect their due compensation. I call on the Minister of Labour to respond to my most recent letter asking for details on the appeal process and when the workers might expect to end this unfortunate delay.

#### COUNTY RESTRUCTURING

**Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East):** My statement is for the Minister of Municipal Affairs. Simcoe county council this morning voted 43 to 27 to proceed with the restructuring of county government. Simcoe county's elected officials have indicated their continued support for restructuring. They want you to immediately bring forward restructuring legislation for us to consider and provide an appropriate amount of time for public hearings, where individuals and elected municipal officials can freely express their views and concerns about this controversial issue.

I've had reservations about the process involved in the issue of restructuring since it was first proposed by the former Liberal government in 1988. I want to make it quite clear that I have never opposed the need for some restructuring. It is and always has been the process that is flawed.

Minister, you have continued to monkey around with the process by trying to get everyone to approve restructuring legislation that you have not even introduced here in the Legislature, and you're trying to do the same thing with Bill 7, An Act to amend certain Acts related to Municipalities concerning Waste Management. Your government wants us to give consideration to Bill 7 this Thursday, only two days after we received printed copies of this legislation at our offices.

Minister, introduce a County of Simcoe Act now and delay second reading of Bill 7 until all members can give it the appropriate consideration it deserves.

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#### SERVICES IN MIDDLESEX

**Mrs Irene Mathysen (Middlesex):** I owe a great debt of thanks to the people and service providers of Strathroy in the riding of Middlesex. On Monday, April 5, and again on Friday, April 16, I had the privilege to visit three facilities in Strathroy and area that serve members of our community.

On April 5 I visited MerCare, a residential facility for former psychiatric patients, and MerCare Industries. I would like to thank Robert Barkman, the staff, residents and workers of MerCare for their time and gracious tour of the facility.

On April 16 I met with Pat Walker and the board of Strathroy and Area Association for Community Living

and toured ACCESS, a training centre for developmentally challenged adults. In addition to learning and living skills and work training, ACCESS offers clients fitness and social interaction. Thanks to Myrtle, Cathy, Matthew and all the staff and clients who were so kind to receive me.

Last year the Ministry of Housing provided money to Strathroy Community Living so that those of their clients ready for independent living could have homes of their own. I'd like to thank Scottie Fletcher for welcoming me to his Strathroy residence.

The people of Strathroy know of the wonderful contribution to the community made by the independent residents of MerCare and Community Living, and in turn the people of Strathroy have been wonderful neighbours. We owe a great deal to those people, the care providers and the clients of MerCare and Community Living, for what they bring to the people of Ontario.

#### PROPERTY ASSESSMENT

**Mrs Elinor Caplan (Orillia):** I rise today to address a very serious problem created by the NDP government.

On December 8, 1992, the Minister of Municipal Affairs reversed the NDP government's policy on Bill 94, sending the issue of Metropolitan Toronto market value reassessment back to Metro council to be reworked. The result is that a vicious tax war is raging between the city of Toronto and the city of Scarborough.

The city of Toronto is appealing the property assessments of many properties in Scarborough, including Mr Enzo DiMauro's. He owns a house in Scarborough, and when he received his notice that his property was being appealed by the city of Toronto because the assessment was too low, Mr DiMauro couldn't believe his eyes. He was furious, because he knows and believes that his property tax, if anything, is too high, not too low.

Mr DiMauro is not the only person facing this problem. The city of Toronto has filed 5,600 assessment appeals, and the city of Scarborough has appealed 1,000 assessments. Each appeal must go before an Assessment Review Board and is costing taxpayers thousands of dollars.

I ask the Minister of Municipal Affairs to intervene, to call a truce. Hundreds of honest, law-abiding taxpayers like Enzo DiMauro are suffering because of NDP incompetence.

#### EDUCATION REFORM

**Mrs Elizabeth Witmer (Waterloo North):** This morning representatives from four groups representing about 10,000 concerned parents held a news conference to critique this government's common curriculum. Unfortunately, these parents were forced to use this medium to communicate their views because the Minister of Education and Training had refused to meet with them to discuss their concerns.



I applaud these parents for their active involvement in their children's education and their desire to work in partnership not only with the government but also with their communities, labour and business to meet the educational challenges facing us in this province.

The primary concern of these parents is the welfare of their children and the quality of the education which they receive. They want their children to receive a balanced education in which the teaching of literacy and numeracy skills are the cornerstones. They want a system with clear goals and measurable results. They also recognize the need for the teaching of social responsibility and good citizenship.

I would urge the Minister of Education and Training and the members of this government, who pretend to be consultative, to listen to these parents as well as the others throughout this province who have views that they wish to share with you concerning education.

I strongly urge the minister, who unfortunately is not here, to be much more responsive than he has been in the past and to take the time to listen, to consult and to meet with the parents of the children that his ministry is responsible for educating. It is important that he recognize—

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** The member's time has expired.

**Mrs Witmer:** —that parents and children have the greatest stake in the education system and they deserve—

**The Speaker:** The member's time has expired.

#### JOBS ONTARIO

**Mr Len Wood (Cochrane North):** As most of you know, the more remote areas of northern Ontario, composed of single-industry towns, have more difficulty surviving through the harsh realities of economic decline. To help combat community devastation, our government has made a commitment to invest in people through Jobs Ontario initiatives. Because of this, in Cochrane North a significant number of laid-off workers and people collecting social assistance have the opportunity to upgrade their skills and find new jobs.

In Cochrane North, many jobs have been created through Jobs Ontario Capital projects such as the Sno-Trac snowmobile trails project and the construction of water and sewer projects on the Highway 11 corridor.

Through Jobs Ontario Training, in Cochrane North alone there have been 39 jobs filled since the program started in October 1992; 46 more positions are yet to be filled. Presently, there are 186 participants and 45 employers now registered with the Jobs Ontario Training program. I am particularly pleased that a new Jobs Ontario Training broker is being designated to focus directly on training aboriginal people. This will help them acquire the skills needed to build their own economies.

The local people themselves have also made a notable

contribution to the economic growth of Ontario. For example, the town of Hearst suffered enormously when Levesque Lumber closed its doors in December 1991. Since then, former employees and local people have devised a strategic employee ownership plan to open a new planing mill. This will bring approximately 15 more jobs to Cochrane North. The recent opening of a Canadian Tire store in Hearst will bring 20 more.

I am proud that Jobs Ontario, with the participation of both the public and private sectors, has helped considerably in sustaining Ontario's communities. This important program has carried us through the deepest part of the recession and into the recovery period which we are now in.

#### COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP

**Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North):** Mr Speaker, I'd like to raise a point of order and to beg your indulgence and that of the House. I'll try not to be too long. I do think this is a serious matter and I understand that we will be dealing with part of this a little later this afternoon. But I just simply want to put the issue before the House because I think we do have an issue here that we are going to have to turn our minds to.

That concerns the activities yesterday in the resources committee. My point of order concerns standing orders 110 and 126, and it primarily concerns the role of members appointed by an order of the House to various of the standing committees.

I'd like to just paraphrase the two standing orders, 110 and 126, because I think it is clear what is intended. Standing order 110 has three parts.

"No standing or select committee shall consist of more than 11 members and the membership" of the committees shall reflect the membership of the House. I think that's well known to honourable members.

Standing order 110(b) states, "Any member appointed to a standing or a select committee may, at any time afterwards, be discharged by order of the House from attending the committee and another member appointed." I think that's very clear. I want to repeat that: 110(b) says that any member who had been appointed to a standing or a select committee by an order of the House may subsequently be discharged by another order of the House.

Standing order 110(c) states, "A temporary substitution in the membership of a standing or select committee may be made provided a notification thereof, signed by the member acting as the whip of a recognized party, is filed with the clerk of the committee either before or within 30 minutes of the committee meeting being called to order."

Essentially, what 110(c) provides, something I think known to all of us, is that someone properly appointed to a standing committee may be substituted for on that

committee if a representative of the party submits a substitution slip, and that's a practice that I think has worked rather well here in the last number of years and I don't believe was in effect when I was first elected. I don't believe there was the same provision for substitution. It's been, I think, a very useful one in recent years.

Standing order 126 then reads; "Any member of the House who is not a member of a standing or select committee may, unless the House or the committee concerned otherwise orders, take part in the public proceedings of the committee, but may not vote or move any motion, nor be part of any quorum."

1350

I think it is clear what the intentions of the orders are, and I want to then, simply against that backdrop, indicate what happened in the standing committee yesterday.

I should say before I do that that last Tuesday, April 20, as is quite proper, the government House leader stood in his place after question period and read a motion, a lengthy motion, which ordered the membership of all of the standing committees. Reading from page 128 of the Hansard of the Ontario Legislature dated April 20, 1993, the membership of the standing committee on resources development ordered and agreed to by the House on that date was as follows, "Mr Conway, Mr Cooper, Mrs Fawcett, Mr Huget, Mr Jordan, Mr Klopp, Mr Kormos, Ms Murdock (Sudbury), Mr Offer, Mr Turnbull, Mr Waters and Mr Wood." That was the membership advanced by government motion and concurred in by the House.

Yesterday, the standing committee on resources development met for its organizational meeting, and as the custom of this assembly provides, the clerk of the committee, in this case Ms Tannis Manikel, who I thought did a very good job in difficult circumstances, I want to say to the chief Clerk, called the meeting, the organizational meeting, to order at about 3:30 yesterday, and the first order of business of course is to elect a Chair of the committee.

As we began that task, my colleague the member for York Mills nominated Mr Kormos, the New Democratic member for Welland-Thorold, to that position, and Mr Kormos of course is a member of that committee. Very, very shortly thereafter, a member of the New Democratic Party, and I can't recall which member, put forward the name of Mr Huget, the member for Sarnia and the parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Environment and Energy, as a second nominee for the position as Chair.

Then it became clear that Mr Kormos, who was at the committee, was being substituted for on that occasion yesterday, because the clerk of the committee indicated, I believe, that Mr Wilson of Kingston and The Islands was being substituted for Mr Kormos.

Mr Kormos then told the committee that he was prepared to accept the nomination and that he was prepared, of course, to be there and to discharge the duties imposed on him as a member of the Legislature ordered a week earlier by the government House leader to be a member of that committee.

The first part of my question, sir, is this: It concerns the situation, which I can't remember occurring before, but that is the rights of an honourable member, any honourable member, ordered by the House to be a member of the standing committee, an honourable member so ordered going to work consistent with that order, showing up to the committee, agreeing to participate in the work of the committee and, quite unusually, I would say, and I would say furthermore quite inappropriately, being there and being substituted for in a way that is clearly not intended in standing order 110(c).

I would submit, Mr Speaker, that the intention of the standing order is that any honourable member who is appointed to the committee who shows up to the committee to do his or her duty is entitled to be seated at that committee, consistent with the order. The standing order is written in a way that I would submit assumes good faith. It assumes that substitution is only going to occur when the honourable member so ordered by the House to be a member of the committee, for a variety of reasons that we can all imagine and that most of us have experienced, can't be there, and with the whip of the party agrees to a substitution.

I would say to my friends in the House that if I were a committee Chair and two honourable members showed up, one of whom was properly a member of the committee and another one who bore a substitution slip, there would be no doubt in my mind what I would do as a Chair. I would recognize the person who was there by order of the House and I would assume that there had been some confusion. I might even assume that there had been some disagreement in the particular caucus or between the two members, but I would submit that the clear intent of standing order 110 is that the committee must recognize members of the committee who are ordered to be members of that committee by the House. As 110(b) clearly indicates, only an order of the House can remove a member of the committee for whatever reasons the House or the government might have.

Yesterday, and I want to be clear, we had a situation where an honourable member so ordered to a committee by the House on April 20, a member who, quite frankly, had been a member of that committee and who had in the previous session of this Parliament served as Chair of the committee, Mr Kormos, went to the committee, stated clearly his willingness to participate in the proceedings of the committee and stated on the record his willingness to accept the nomination of Mr Turnbull to his old job as Chair of the committee. The committee,



as you know, was dispersed because there was no consensus and I think that many in the committee did not want to put Ms Manikel in the very difficult position in which she found herself.

I want to say again that my point of order is, firstly, the first-order right of honourable members who are designated by an order of the House to freely take their place in the committee to which they were assigned. I would submit, furthermore, that the only way we can remove someone from that membership, assuming it is not voluntary—because standing order 110(b) makes it plain that there is a provision for substitution, but the assumption and the traditions there are clearly that it is a voluntary withdrawal for a variety of reasons and a substitution is allowed for consistent with 110(b).

There is, in my view, no precedent, and there's probably nothing in our rules, to specifically contemplate the situation where an honourable member voluntarily goes to do his or her duty and then finds out that there is an effort, of which he or she is not a part, to remove that person from an assignment that the House has ordered. That is my first point of order and I do think we are going to have to give some thought to that.

I have had the opportunity to speak to the chief Clerk about these matters and he has been very helpful in providing me with some advice. I look at the standing orders. It is very clear what the intention is. It is also very clear what the spirit is. It's also very clear what the reasonable person would assume. It's also clear to me what the past practices in this place have been.

Secondly, this point, in my view, Mr Speaker, touches on a central question, and that is the role of honourable members elected to this assembly and, furthermore, the role of the legislative committees and their independence. You and your predecessors have rightly observed over the years that committees will order their own business, but they must order their own business within the framework of the House order that establishes them or gives them a special reference.

I would submit to you, sir, that yesterday the committee was trying to do its business and the operative House order was the government House leader's motion, concurred in unanimously on April 20, 1993, which order clearly indicated that Mr Kormos would be a member of the standing committee on resources development.

1400

A second question touches on the issue of the chairmanship. I want to just deal quickly with this. Let me say parenthetically I can understand how in a government caucus or how in another caucus there might be a difference of opinion, there might be some personal or there might be some political tension as between a committee member and the caucus. So I can imagine circumstances where a caucus may feel that certain action might be taken with respect to an honourable

member. Our standing orders provide for that, and they provide for a motion to be put to the House to establish and to alter the committee membership.

Now, on the second issue, we had yesterday a nomination from the government, which is entirely its right, for a person to sit as the Chair of the standing committee on resources development. But the government chose to nominate a very fine fellow, and I think a very good member of this assembly, the member for Sarnia, with whom I've worked on a number of projects and for whom I hold the highest regard.

My difficulty with that particular nomination, and this is a second point in terms of yesterday's proceedings, is simply that Mr Huget, good and estimable fellow that he is, happens to be the parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Environment and Energy, two departmental mandates which are clearly going to come before the standing committee on resources development. I would submit to you and to the House that we have here, perhaps unintended, a clear conflict of interest.

I want to make the point that Mr Huget, as I say, is a very fine fellow and does good work, but he happens to represent the Minister of Environment and Energy, both of which departmental issues are going to occupy a considerable amount of time before that committee. There's no question in my mind that it is inappropriate for a member representing the executive council, particularly in areas of policy that are going to come before a standing committee dealing with those issues, to serve at one and the same time as Chair of the standing committee and as parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Environment and Energy.

I believe it is inappropriate because it is a conflict of interest and I think it violates the tradition and the spirit of the independence of committees. Those are my concerns. I submit them to you and to the House for some consideration and adjudication.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** The member for Etobicoke West on the same point.

**Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West):** What I'd like to point out to you, Mr Speaker, is that the crucial issue, I think, that needs to be discussed here or at least discussed by yourself on this point of order is whether or not, when this Legislature appoints people to committees, which just took place a few days ago, and it appointed the member for Welland-Thorold to the resources committee, whether or not that decision is in fact final, supreme, cannot be changed without the consent of the member who has been appointed.

The only way I think that you could go about removing someone from a committee, as stated very clearly in 110, "Any member appointed to a standing or select committee may, at any time afterwards, be discharged by order of the House from attending the committee and another member appointed." So clearly it's very clear,

in 110 section (b), that if Mr Kormos were to be removed from this committee, it would have to be done in this House.

Having said that, the member was in fact at the committee meeting at the time that the committee meeting took place. But the crucial question and the point that's put to you as Speaker on a ruling for this is whether or not a member can be subbed out on a committee he has been properly appointed to without his agreement. Clearly, there wasn't any agreement to being subbed out upon.

So I think what it turns on is whether or not, when this Legislature makes a decision about who shall sit on what committees, a subcommittee or a whip or a party can arbitrarily decide whether or not that person can then sit on the committee, because clearly the question is not today whether Mr Kormos is on the committee—we know he's on the committee. He should not have been subbed in for, according to Mr Kormos.

The question we then put to you is, if this government did not want this member to sit on this committee, why did it appoint him? That's the question they must ask themselves. The question that is put to you is, this Legislature, being supreme, has made a decision that Mr Kormos is in fact on this committee. If he is, is it the right of the government to then sub out any member, whether or he not agrees, against that member's personal opinion, personal agreement, and whether or not that member in fact wants to be subbed out?

Mr Kormos did not want to be subbed out. The question then is totally up to you as to whether or not this whip of this government can arbitrarily change decisions made by this Legislature against the will of that member who is appointed to that committee.

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Government House Leader):** On the point of order, Mr Speaker: I'll deal with the first issue that has been raised last by the member for Etobicoke West and was one of the issues raised by the member for Renfrew North first. If in fact, as the two members have alleged and as I think they have been led to believe, the circumstances had been as they've suggested, the government would be as upset as they are. Unfortunately, the circumstances of the substitution don't happen to be as they have been described.

On Tuesday afternoon of last week the government whip, along with the House leader, met with the member for Welland-Thorold. Again on Thursday afternoon the whip met with the member for Welland-Thorold. As a consequence of that meeting, this letter was sent to the member for Welland-Thorold, because in both of those sessions the member for Welland-Thorold indicated, and indicated clearly, that if he were not going to be the Chair of that committee, he did not want to participate in that committee or in any other committee.

As is the case with every whip, whether it's a government whip or an opposition whip, his obligation is to man the committees, to have members in those committees so the committees can proceed to do their business. As a result, the government whip sent a letter to Mr Kormos, said it in writing, to confirm the discussion they had had about substituting for him on that committee because he wanted to ensure that there would be government members available in that committee.

The member for Renfrew North has suggested that when somebody arrives with a substitution and eventually the real member also arrives, the real member, the member assigned to the committee, takes precedence. It is also very clear in the procedures and practices of this House that when a member has been substituted, even if the member assigned to that committee should arrive, the substitution is the only thing that stands at that point. That's been the practice in this House ever since I arrived here or at least ever since we started substitutions.

Lastly, the member for Renfrew North also mentioned the issue of parliamentary assistants being the Chairs of committee. That precedent has already been set in this House as well, in the last session and again yesterday afternoon, with the support of members of both of the opposition caucuses, in the Chair of, I believe, the standing committee on social development. In any event, there have been parliamentary assistants as Chairs of committees. There is nothing in our standing orders that precludes that.

Mr Speaker, I would suggest to you that in fact the substitution that happened yesterday at the resources development committee happened in the normal fashion, that any whip would proceed with any substitution based on the fact that the member in question had clearly indicated that he did not intend to participate in that committee.

1410

**Mr Peter Kormos (Welland-Thorold):** Mr Speaker, I'm afraid we've transcended the puffery that people often expect from politicians, transcended that and descended into a level of debate that unfortunately has to be addressed in the most subtle terms because of the rules of the House.

Let me tell you this, Speaker—and, firstly, I join with the point of order raised by the member for Renfrew North, raised in the most precise and clearest terms, identifying standing orders and requesting an interpretation of those orders. I would have restricted my comments to the member for Renfrew North's standing order and to the very precise way in which he addressed the standing orders, but I go now to a point where I have to address some of the allegations made.

Yes, I received a letter from the government whip on Thursday. That letter flowed as a result of the government whip sitting himself beside me and attempting to



speaking with me, wherein he told me that I was going to be substituted. I then replied to the whip that I didn't want to speak with them, that anything he was to address to me should be in writing, because my trust level had diminished where I would prefer that it be in writing. He then sent a letter to me, advising me that I would be substituted on the resources development committee.

Tuesday of that same week, last week, the same day this House passed the government motion which placed me on the resources development committee—and I was here in the Legislature when that motion was agreed to—subsequent to that motion, I met with the whip, the chair of caucus and, for a brief period of time, because he didn't attend the whole meeting, the government House leader. It was after the government House leader left the meeting that the government whip told me I would not be Chair of the resources development committee.

Now I found that a particularly troubling thing for the government whip to say because I know as well as anybody that Chairs, as is the Speaker, are elected. It struck me as peculiar that I would be in the government motion of the day, passed but an hour before this discussion, and then be told by the whip, as if somehow he had control over this, that I wouldn't be the Chair of the committee.

I recall, of course, back in October 1990, when the Premier apologized for having created the appearance of endorsing a candidate for the position of Speaker. The Premier made it quite clear that these sorts of things were free votes, that there wouldn't be on his part an attempt to influence the outcome of the vote. I accepted the Premier's explanation then and he indeed made it clear that if he appeared to have endorsed anybody, that was not his intention, because he believed that these were free votes and it was up to the persons who were eligible to participate in that vote to elect the Speaker.

My understanding of the standing order which permits the election of Chairs in committee—and I understand that there are certain committees which are designated for opposition Chairs; there are certain committees which are described as being capable only of having government Chairs. That, of course, restricts who can be nominated, but surely it can't restrict who can be elected once that nomination is made.

So I tell you, sir—and I appreciate that this isn't particularly germane to the point of order raised by the member for Renfrew North, but it having been raised as the only defence to the point of order by the member for Renfrew North, the only defence by the government House leader, I believe it has to be explained—that of course I never acquiesced to any suggestion that I be removed from the resources development committee. I was told that I would not be Chair. I, in more generous moments, understood that to be a mere error on the part

of the government whip and, in less generous moments of course, saw that as a somewhat more malicious sort of comment.

The bottom line is, sir, that I attended the—and the fact remains that subsequent to Tuesday, there was Wednesday, Thursday and indeed available to the government yesterday opportunities for the government to bring a motion in this House to remove me from the committee.

Now, I want to speak to standing order 110, subsection or paragraph (b), because that's the provision which provides for discharge from the committee. That seems to me to be the balance, the counterpart, of the motion which permits the creation of the committee. We're talking about an order of the House here. We're not talking about something that occurs by fiat. We're talking about an order of the House. We're talking about a motion that is debatable, appreciating that they're not usually debated, but that doesn't change the fact that they are very debatable.

Going to subsection (c) and talking about the temporary substitute, there's no question, I'm sure, in anybody's mind here about the intent or the purpose of that subsection, of paragraph (c) of standing order 110. Clearly there has to be provision, and you well know, sir, that there probably are far too many substitutions taking place, which certainly impacts and in some respects even discredits the committee process.

But we're talking here about a temporary substitute, and we're talking about a temporary substitute at the most crucial time in the life of a committee. If a committee is to be independent, if a committee is to have an independent Chair and if the purpose of permitting elected Chairs is to have any significance, any validity, then surely the people who are members of that committee have to be the people entitled to elect that Chair. It's a special circumstance when we have a so-called temporary substitution wherein the sole purpose is to basically stack the deck or rig the jury. I tell you, that's gerrymandering, again at its most generous, and I tell you, Speaker, that the point of order raised by the member for Renfrew is one which could have significant impact on the independence and the legitimacy of committees not just now but down the road.

**The Speaker:** I wish to thank the honourable member for Renfrew North, for Etobicoke West, the government House leader and the honourable member for Welland-Thorold. You have indeed brought a serious matter to my attention. I believe the memory of the member for Renfrew North is accurate. I certainly don't recall a similar situation having been brought to the attention of the House, and I trust that the members will appreciate that this is a complex item. I wish to reserve on it. I do not wish to unduly restrict the activities of the committees because the committees are extremely important to the work of the Parliament, so I will

endeavour to come back to the House as quickly as possible. I cannot give a guarantee for tomorrow, but I will certainly work on it as quickly as possible and try to resolve this so that the committee can get on with its work. Again, I appreciate the fact that the members have brought this to my attention and done so in such a good way. I appreciate it.

VISITOR

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Before oral questions, I would like to invite all members of the House to welcome to our chamber, and indeed to our country, a special visitor who is seated at the table, Mrs Rabi Audu, who is a principal legislative officer from the National Assembly of Nigeria. Please welcome her to our country.

1420

#### ORAL QUESTIONS LABOUR RELATIONS

**Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition):** My question is for the Premier. Premier, after refusing to answer our questions in the House, it seems that you were much more forthcoming with the media outside the House about your backup plan if the social contract talks should fail. You said, apparently, "This train is leaving the station." We assume that this means that the process is already under way whether the participants like it or not. So, Premier, again I ask you, what is it that you intend to do if your social contract train leaves the station and you are the only one on board?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** I just would say to the honourable member, in terms of the preface to her question, that I always make a point of trying to answer questions in scrums as well as questions in the House, and I would say to her very directly that she would know full well that in answering the question I was referring—

**Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines):** Wait till Robin Sears comes back. He'll be in trouble then.

**Hon Mr Rae:** —that's a thought—to the overall train, the big train, the big picture, the expenditure control reductions, which has already left the station. I was referring to the social contract discussions and to the preparation for the budget.

But I can assure the honourable member that when we look at the need for us, having made one round of expenditure reductions which had been very substantial, I think, in discussing this matter with observers and with deputies and others, no one can recall an experience in which governmental budgets have been put through such a process of scrutiny. We still find that that's not enough. We need to take more out and we've indicated that very clearly to our partners in the public sector, that the \$2.5 billion which is contained in the expenditure reduction targets set out by the Minister of Finance on Friday is not enough, that there's another \$2

billion yet to go for this year, annualizing out on an even higher rate.

That, we feel, we can only take out—

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Would the Premier conclude his response.

**Hon Mr Rae:** —in full discussion with our social contract partners. We intend to continue to discuss that matter with them but, as I've said before, there should be no mistaking the government's determination to meet the targets which we feel are reasonable and fair and just in the circumstances, and to carry on a serious set of discussions with our social contract partners about how we can effect the kinds of changes which we've set about.

**Mrs McLeod:** Premier, we know well what you are saying you want to do and need to do. Our questions are about how you plan to do it. Premier, what we're trying to do is figure out exactly what you plan to do if the participants in your social contract talks decide they're not going to take part in your talks or if in fact they say they are unable to take part in your talks.

You will know, I'm sure, that the Association of Municipalities of Ontario has already said that it has no authority to negotiate a social contract on behalf of 831 municipal governments. That is not the mandate of the Association of Municipalities of Ontario, which you've asked to participate in the social contract talks.

So, Premier, again we're simply trying to find out how you plan to have this process work. So I ask, what is your reply to groups, such as the Association of Municipalities of Ontario, that say to you that they have no authority to represent their members at your bargaining table?

**Hon Mr Rae:** The Association of Municipalities of Ontario had no difficulty sitting down and discussing disentanglement with us, and that's involved many hundreds of millions of dollars of transfers going one way and the other. I think the people in the province who understand that there is too much duplication, who understand that there's a need for governments working together, will find it a little difficult to understand that there would be some governments that would not be interested or not be prepared to come forward, and I suspect that people will come forward.

I would say to the honourable member, with respect to all the other hypotheticals that she's raising, what I've said to people in the scrums, and that simply is that I much prefer to look on life in a positive way, that we are always approaching these negotiations in a positive spirit, and I'm not going to get into all kinds of hypothetical "what ifs." We think what we're proposing is sensible, we think it's sound and we think it's in the best interests of all the people in the province, including the membership of the social partners, who we think will benefit directly by participating in these kinds of discussions.



**Mrs McLeod:** Premier, if you really believe that there is a direct relationship between the provincial government sitting down with municipal government representatives to talk about issues of cost sharing and disentanglement, that there is any relationship between that very legitimate and very necessary process and this government calling in people like the Association of Municipalities of Ontario to talk about renegotiating collective bargaining agreements, then you really are dealing in a hypothetical world and you clearly have no understanding of how this whole social contract process is supposed to take place.

Premier, let me draw your attention to the documents that you released last Friday, because those documents show that there are no less than 9,000 collective agreements that are going to be affected by your social contract talks. Premier, quite frankly, none of us can yet understand how you are planning to deal with 9,000 separate agreements even if you can get everyone to participate in the discussions.

What happens if you do get a deal and any one of those 9,000 independent bargaining units decides not to go along with it? You have less than a month to go before the budget, Premier. Time is running out. This is not rhetorical talk. We are asking you to put real, solid plans on the table, and I ask you again, how can a social contract deal be imposed on 9,000 separate collective agreements across this province?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I would say to the honourable member that she may not like what's taking place. I haven't heard one sensible suggestion from the Leader of the Opposition indicating how she would deal with a very significant public policy problem. I think that the people who work in the public sector and the people who work in the broader public sector are entitled to be able to sit down with the government of the day and discuss what is clearly a major challenge for all of us.

Maybe she would simply wave a wand and say, "Poof, you're \$2.5 billion or \$2 billion poorer, and that's the way it's going to be." That's not the way this government is going to proceed. We are going to sit down seriously with our social contract partners and address what is a major challenge for the people of the province. That's the step that we're talking. We think it's a responsible step. I haven't heard a peep from the Liberal opposition indicating one constructive alternative to the very difficult challenge that we face; not one.

**Mrs McLeod:** I assure the Premier that we are not trying to undermine his social contract talks. He's doing a fine job of doing that all by himself.

#### JOBS ONTARIO TRAINING

**Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition):** I will ask a second question of the Premier and I will, having totally failed to get a response on that issue, turn to another issue.

Premier, during the month of March, Ontarians found these very large advertisements in their newspapers. They may be familiar to you. They are ads that publicize your failing job training scheme. The ads that are used most often show a picture of an individual in a mechanical job or in a drafting job. I wonder, Premier, if you might be able to explain to us why these occupations were chosen to illustrate your failing job training scheme.

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** I think I'll refer that question to the Minister of Education and Training.

**Hon David S. Cooke (Minister of Education and Training):** I can certainly indicate to the Leader of the Opposition that the whole intention of the advertising campaign was to let more companies, more businesses and more individuals know about the Jobs Ontario Training program, a program that is creating about 1,000 jobs a week now for the people of this province, a program that is placing between 600 and 1,000 welfare recipients in the workplace per week now, and if she wants to continue to stand up in this House and downgrade this program and criticize this program when it's getting people on welfare back to work, then I don't know where she's coming from.

**Mrs McLeod:** Let me tell the minister where we're coming from. We want to get the facts out about what this program is doing and is not doing, because we would like to have a real job training program. We would like to see people get back to work into jobs that they can be trained for.

Minister, I would like to take a minute and share with you some information that you may or may not have, information that we've collected about the potential jobs your training program has identified through this presumably \$1.5-million advertising program.

Our research shows that two thirds, no less than 62%, of the jobs that are available in this job training program are in the lowest-skilled job categories. The fact is that only a very few of the potential jobs that you have listed are in the categories that are used to illustrate the program. I would suggest that your advertisements are misleading people by suggesting that these are the kinds of jobs they will be training for.

So, Minister, I would ask if you would not admit that your scheme gives employers up to \$10,000 to train people for jobs that require very little training at all.

**Hon Mr Cooke:** The fact of the matter is, very seldom when the Leader of the Opposition asks questions about this program does she have the facts right at all. In fact, when she asked a question a couple of weeks ago, she referred to a particular person who had 49 sheets of paper with regard to the Jobs Ontario Training program. When we checked, she wasn't even referring to the Jobs Ontario Training program; it was a completely different program.

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What I would suggest is that the member might want to come over to the ministry and get a briefing so that she understands the program, the benefits of this program, which is producing work for—the last time you asked the question, there were 19,000 jobs that had been created; since the last question you asked, there are now 21,112 jobs created. If that's not a successful program, then I want to know what it is. The average wage for the person who is going into this is \$22,000 a year. People who are on welfare get training, get to work for \$22,000-a-year jobs, and an additional \$5,000 is available to the companies to provide training for their existing workforce. That will make Ontario more competitive and create more work for people in this province.

**Mrs McLeod:** The information we are using in our questions has come very directly from your ministry in written form. You are surely not suggesting that they are giving us different information than they are providing to you in your briefing notes.

Let me try and take it out of the statistical world for a moment and tell you about something which I acknowledge is pure anecdote; not based on numbers, not based on statistics, but just happened to happen. It was a student who approached me, a sociology graduate from McMaster University, out of work since last spring, very much involved in writing, on a volunteer basis, a literacy program for a charitable organization. She had been approached by Jobs Ontario Training and asked if she would take a position as a bartender because she'd had bartending experience when she was in university.

I'm not going to claim that this is statistical evidence, but it's that kind of anecdote we hear that gives us real concerns about whether or not you are just filling this program out with numbers to try and defend what we see as being a program that has an 87% failure rate. We keep trying to give you examples, Minister, of the ways in which your program is not working for people, and we question spending \$1.5 million on advertising a program that isn't working, we question you misleading people into believing that they are going to be trained for highly skilled jobs, because the highly skilled jobs just aren't there.

Again I would ask, as I will keep asking this government, when are you going to come back with a real plan that will attract business, that will create the jobs people need so they can get back to work?

**Hon Mr Cooke:** No one has suggested that this is the beginning and the end and the only program to create jobs in this province, but I'd ask the member that maybe she should go out to some of the places where people are getting training and have got jobs. I've met with some of these folks, people who have been unemployed for a long period of time in this province and

who this government is trying to help: get them off welfare, get them into the workforce and make them feel good about themselves again. If you want to run down that program, then you go right ahead, but this is one of the most successful programs for welfare recipients in the history of this province. Welfare recipients who are recipients of this program will tell you, what you're telling us today is that you'd rather have people on welfare than at work, and we don't agree with that.

#### FISCAL AND ECONOMIC POLICY

**Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing):** My question is to the Premier. For the last few weeks, in fact the last month or so, you will know that I have applauded and supported the direction of cutting government spending that you have talked about being in and what I believe to have been cost-cutting efforts on your part. The Liberals, you will know, complained about cutting spending, but you will agree, Premier, I did not.

Now, as we analyse Friday's mini-budget, many questions have come forward, and we discovered that a significant portion of the \$2.4 billion that your Treasurer on Friday touted as program cuts are not really cuts at all, but are in fact bogus savings.

For example, rescheduling of school payments to the next fiscal year: Under questioning on Friday, the Treasurer said it won't save a cent; the Treasury officials said it simply will be deferred for another budget year. Can you explain to me, Premier, how deferring \$130 million in payments to the school boards out of one budget year into the next, in essence saying that the next Treasurer can deal with it or, ultimately, the next government—would you not agree with me that this is not a saving at all, but simply a deferral of \$130 million of payments?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** I will endeavour to answer it, except to say to the honourable member that when I look at the number of things we're doing, the offices that are being closed, the closure, for example, of all of Ontario's international offices, the decision to cut back in a number of areas, including direct decisions to deal with our transfer partners, I think he will find that when you look at the package overall, there is a very, very substantial reduction in actual expenditures, in operating expenditures, in offices, colleges are being closed, and it's issues which are being dealt with in that way.

Obviously, I'll look into the particular issue he raises, but I can assure him that when we sit down with our social contract partners, for example the boards of education and others, I would say to him very directly that we obviously recognize the need for some of these things to be dealt with in a very direct fashion.

**Mr Harris:** Premier, you're throwing around this \$2.4-billion figure and you're touting them as cuts. You know that we've said: "Hey, cuts have to be made. We understand that." Some may argue about your priority



setting, and I think that's fair game, but not the direction that you're going in. But the \$130 million that you've counted in the \$2.4 billion is simply a deferral to the next tax year.

At the same time, in the announcement on Friday, when we get into the detail, deferment of planned expenditures to universities and colleges was \$30 million. The shift of the delivery timetable for non-profit housing units was \$12.5 million. The extension of the sector partnership fund from three years to five years is simply a deferral of \$25 million.

Obviously, we applaud the direction, but now as we look at the detail, Premier, would you not agree with me that we have identified in a short period of time over half a billion dollars that are simply deferrals designed to help you meet the deficit du jour, that in fact they are not cuts at all? The spending is going ahead, the programs are going ahead. You simply are deferring the cost of those into the next year, as is the case with the \$130 million through the school boards.

**Hon Mr Rae:** There are some cash-flow savings, there's no question about that, with respect to school boards and with respect to others. But I think it would be a mistake for the honourable member to say that these are not going to become real in-year expenditure reductions in 1994-95. They are expected to be. That message is very clearly being delivered by the Ministry of Education and Training in that instance, as in others.

I can assure the honourable member, if he's questioning whether or not there are going to be real reductions in cash flows this year and in transfers generally to boards of education, to hospitals, to municipalities and to others, they know full well that the message from this government is that they will in fact be receiving less. That's why we're having the social contract discussions, so that we can work through with them to maintain and guarantee as many jobs as possible as we look at a world in which there is less money to go around and in which there will be less money for transfers.

I don't want there to be any illusions about what we are doing. We are actually reducing the amount of money that is going to boards, to hospitals, to our major transfer partners, and in order to cope with that impact, we are of course extending that into the second year. The savings will have to be found in the second year, and I can tell him that's exactly why we're having the social contract discussions, in order to deal with the full impact of that.

**Mr Harris:** Premier, we know there are some real cuts and there are some meaningful cuts, and we understand that. But also rolled into that were deferrals. When the Treasury officials were asked, they said: "Yes, it is simply a deferral into the next year." So next January, February, March, we're not going to pay that extra \$130 million. We will have to pick it up and pay it in the next year, with assurance to the school boards

that, "You're still going to get the same amount of money"—

**Hon Floyd Laughren (Minister of Finance):** No.

**Mr Harris:** Well, I'm sorry, but that is not what your officials told us, that is not what school boards understand, and that is not their understanding of a lot of the deferrals.

Premier, let me as well bring to your attention one that we brought up last year, and this was the deferral of over half a billion dollars in payments to the teachers' pension plan, because we now understand that the Treasurer—last year it was 11% interest, and it allowed the Treasurer to, so-called, diddle the books for one year and put off that payment. This is now planning to be a rolling deferral for a whole bunch of years. The only thing to be decided now is the interest rate.

That, coupled with these deferrals we've identified, is now over \$1 billion, Premier, that you plan to call cuts that really are not cuts; they're deferrals. So I am concerned that a significant portion of the announcement was not penny-pinching at all; it was simply penny-procrastinating.

I say to you, Premier, can you respond? Is it the Treasurer's and your intention to defer again the payments into the teachers' pension plan for another "fix the books," the \$500 million, \$600 million? Can you respond to that? I say to you in general, why, when you had a climate to cut significantly, when the public was ready, when the union members were ready—even though their leaders don't think they are yet, you and I know the members are—why didn't you provide us with real, meaningful cutbacks instead of a whole bunch of these bogus deferrals?

**Hon Mr Rae:** Since the honourable member wasn't there on Friday, I'm sure our people in the Ministry of Education and Training and people will be prepared to sit down and discuss with him, as will the officials—I can tell the honourable member, we were locked with the officials for days in preparations of this announcement. If he wants to get the same briefing as I have had, I'd be willing to give it to him; as well as with the minister.

I'm just telling him that the impression he's leaving with people is wrong when he says that they are not real cuts, when he talks about—

**Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West):** What about the teachers' pension?

**Hon Mr Rae:** No, in all the verbiage that surrounded the question—Mr Speaker, I have to be able to deal with the verbiage as well as the question—he said that, and I want to say to him he's wrong: These cuts are real, these cuts are there, there is less, and these cuts are in place.

With respect to the pension plan, I would say to the honourable member that obviously the actuarial assess-

ments that are involved are part of overall discussions ongoing with the teachers, as they are part of the social contract discussions.

**Mr Harris:** "Actuarial assessments, revenue enhancers." You've got all these words. All we're asking for is, be straight with us on whether you're cutting or whether you're deferring.

#### ARBITRATION AWARDS

**Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing):** My second question is to the Premier as well. We have just established that some of the program cuts the Premier says he's making are not; they are deferrals. They are about as permanent as quicksand, which leads me to question how serious you are about making the tough decisions on the wage side of the restraint measures.

Premier, you've given direction to your transfer partners, to your social contract partners, both employers and employees. But there are, even as we are here speaking and even as these negotiations are going on, many arbitration decisions across the province which may impact significantly on costs for municipalities, for school boards, for hospitals, for all of these social partners.

Premier, in light of your negotiations with the transfer agencies and the directions you have given to both employers and employees that you want to have these all-encompassing talks, can you tell me what directions you have given to arbitrators, so that our hospitals, our municipalities, our education system and our social partners are not saddled with wage commitments that they simply cannot meet?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** We're not in the business of giving instructions to arbitrators.

**Mr Harris:** Thank you very much, Premier. Sudbury General Hospital, as of a recent decision, since you announced suspension of negotiations and social contract talks to replace them, are now saying they must cut jobs as a result of an arbitration award of 17.4% over two years for lab workers. That's 17.4% in wage hikes at a time when hospitals are being asked to cut \$600 million, at a time when they in good faith have said: "Hey, we'll sit down with you. We'll try and do this. You talk with the employees and us at the same time." But these arbitration awards are out of their control—physiotherapists, hospital technicians, dietitians in 52 hospitals, since you announced suspension of negotiations, awarded 10% over two years.

Premier, if you are truly serious about wage restraints in the broader public sector, then arbitrators have to be in the loop, because most of these employees know that if they just don't go to the table or if they sit back or they don't settle, ultimately it will end up in arbitration. So if you don't give direction to arbitrators, would you agree with me that your social contract talks mean nothing to the transfer partners?

**Hon Mr Rae:** Perhaps I can shorten the discussion by just saying absolutely not.

**Mr Harris:** Listen, the last time when transfer and wage restraint was brought into the province, inflation was out of control. You will recall the six-and-five program. At that time, it could only have been made effective—inflation was running—what?—15%, 16%; interest rates, 20%—it was only effective because direction was also given, by way of a bill, to arbitrators that they must respect the six and five as well. At that time, in 1983, Premier, the actual bill wording was this: "Arbitrators, in making their decisions, must consider the employer's ability to pay in light of existing provincial fiscal policy"; ie, the policy was six and five, and arbitrators had to respect that.

I would ask you this, Premier: So far it has been verbal direction to the employers, and the employees of all your transfer partners, but you have left out of the loop arbitrators. Are you prepared to give the same, at this point, verbal direction to arbitrators, and if you come to an assessment or agreement—it's zero, it's 2%, it's 1%—arbitrators must be part of the loop? If you're going to legislate, which we all know you may have to do, are you prepared too to bring arbitrators in by way of legislation? Otherwise, Premier, these discussions are meaningless for school boards, for municipalities, for hospitals, as long as arbitrators can go on their merry way without paying attention to the guidelines.

**Hon Mr Rae:** I don't share that perspective at all. I think that certainly as we envision the social contract discussions, obviously they will touch on all the relationships between the partners and their employees. Obviously, that's the case. It will obviously also deal with the question of the impact and the potential impact of arbitration decisions. Obviously, that's true.

But when he's saying now, "Have we made any verbal statements or made any speeches about what arbitrators should or should not do?" obviously not to the point of saying—we expect arbitrators to wake up and smell the coffee like everybody else, but above and beyond that, we want to wait for the outcome of the social contract negotiations before making any other general comments to the arbitration.

#### COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP

**Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines):** I have a question for the Premier. In October 1991, the Premier arranged for Mr Hansen, the member for Lincoln, to be turfed from the finance and economic affairs committee because he dared to vote against a tax the government proposed that would be detrimental to his riding. In the same year, the Premier arranged to have Mr Kormos, the member for Welland-Thorold, deposed from the justice committee because he happened to espouse the viewpoint that the NDP had espoused on the Sunday shopping issue during the 1990 campaign. The member for Victoria-Haliburton, Mr Drainville, was mugged by



the former government House leader simply because he rendered a decision in the House which was fairminded to the opposition.

In light of this, I ask the Premier, is it your intention to continue to persecute all members of your own caucus whose only sin is to either defend traditional NDP policies or to defend those promises which were made during the last election campaign?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** I would just say, obviously, no, not, to the honourable member. I intend, and the whip does and the House leader does, to be certainly as fair in the administration of our caucus as I'm sure the person who's in charge of official opposition questions is to the various members of his caucus with respect to who gets on the question period list. Certainly, that fairness will be exercised on our side just as keenly as it's exercised by him. I note with interest that he has the first question after the question being posed by the Leader of the Opposition.

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**Mr Bradley:** I know that my own members consider me to be fairminded with them at all times.

To the Premier: In view of your past views when you were leader of the official opposition and when you were a member of the federal House of Commons, your views that the individual members of Parliament should be able to express their own views without penalty, such as the almost \$10,000 penalty you're imposing on the member for Welland-Thorold by deposing him from the committee, and in view of your many speeches about parliamentary reform and enhancing the position of individual members of this House, will you today undertake to inform the House that you are prepared to have the member for Welland-Thorold restored to his former position as Chair of the resources development committee, a position which has the support of both opposition parties with his fairminded handling of those affairs, or are you going to simply turf him out of this position and demonstrate clearly to the people of Ontario, and certainly to members of this House, that you will brook no dissent and that you will be satisfied only with compliant members?

**Hon Mr Rae:** There's a real contradiction in the question, which I'm delighted is being put to me. I just would say to him that he's asking the first minister to go out and select each one of the names of the people who are going to serve as Chairs of committees. What a ludicrous proposition. These are decisions which the Premier does not make; these are not decisions that the Premier makes; these are decisions that are made as part of a process within our caucus just as you make them within your caucus.

I would expect more commitment from the Liberal Party to democracy than to ask the first minister of the crown to select every single person who's the chairman of a committee. I would have expected you to show

more respect for the independence of committees than you're showing in your very question.

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order. The member for Leeds-Grenville with his question.

ACCESS TO POLICE REPORT

**Mr Robert W. Runciman (Leeds-Grenville):** Thank you, Mr Speaker. My question is to the Premier as well and it's related to the Piper-Ferguson scandal. I have today sent an open letter to Commissioner Thomas O'Grady of the Ontario Provincial Police, asking the commissioner for access to a précis of the police report related to the Piper-Ferguson matter and that opposition members not only have access to some sort of a précis but also have the opportunity to meet investigating officers.

The Premier will recall that there is a precedent, in 1989, when one of his own members, Mr Kormos, met with an OPP officer related to the matter of Joan Smith, the then Liberal Solicitor General. At that time also, the Premier called upon then-Premier Peterson for a release of the police report related to Ms Smith.

I have prepared a letter for the Premier, which I will send over to him, that is addressed to Mr Tom Wright, the Information and Privacy Commissioner, worded:

"In the interests of public accountability and the need for credibility in the Premier's office, I consent for the Ontario Provincial Police to release my name and any references to me in the 'John Piper report' that was released by the OPP in March.

"Sincerely, Premier Bob Rae, Mr Mike Mendelson, Ms Melody Morrison, Mr Ross McClellan, Mr David Agnew."

These are FOI waivers, which I'm going to send over to the Premier and ask him, will you sign these today and put all the facts on the table?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** I think I'll obviously take a look at what the member is suggesting and have a look at the precedents as they've been put forward and will take his question as notice.

**Mr Runciman:** There's certainly a feeling on this side of the House that the Premier, at best, has engaged in something of a passive coverup—and I'm being polite in that respect, I believe—since day one in this matter. We know that the Premier met with Mr Murray Segal, the director of the crown law office, criminal division, of the Ministry of the Attorney General, and he's admitted publicly that this particular report was discussed and reviewed with the Premier—there are certainly reports in the media to that effect—discussed the report, which may in fact name the Premier, may name senior members of his staff; a clear conflict.

Now I think the Premier should be prepared today to stand up, indicate that he's going to sign a waiver, and instruct his staff and others impacted upon by this under

his control to sign these similar waivers to put all of this on the table. If there's nothing to hide, sign it right now; if not, explain why not.

**Hon Mr Rae:** I would only say to the honourable member that there is an innuendo contained in his question which I don't think could be substantiated by any fact that I am aware of in any way, shape or form, but I will not dignify it further by making any other further comment except to say, as I said, that I take his question as notice.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** A new question, the member for Simcoe Centre.

**Mr Paul Wessinger (Simcoe Centre):** I have a question for the Attorney General.

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** He's not here.

**Mr Wessinger:** If I might stand my question down.

#### JOBS ONTARIO

**Ms Dianne Poole (Eglinton):** My question is for the Premier. Mr Premier, it has become increasingly clear that while you were doing your budget cuts last week, you neglected to make one important cut to your government's senseless spending. You should have cut your giant public relations scam, Jobs Ontario.

Now, you're aware, Mr Premier, that although 55,000 people signed up for the Jobs Ontario Training, in the past year your government only produced 7,600 short-term jobs. Not only that, they were low-skill jobs and well below the target you promised for this past year.

But Mr Premier, at the same time as you have been claiming a new-found sense of fiscal responsibility, let me tell you where your government has been spending its money on Jobs Ontario Training. Mr Premier, if you take a look at this little button, this little button cost the taxpayers of Ontario \$21,000.

**Interjection:** One button?

**Ms Poole:** No, actually for many buttons. Bumper stickers, thousands more on bumper stickers; \$65,000 on designing graphics for all these neat little buttons and these pretty bumper stickers; \$33,000 for display easels, and a further \$10,000 for folders. The list goes on and on. Mr Premier, I have page after page, 45 categories of wasteful promotion. Rather than spending the money on jobs, \$700,000 was spent on promoting your own government. And you know what the kicker is, Mr Premier? These neat little buttons which your government needed to promote itself have succeeded in creating more jobs than we had previously suspected, jobs in Taiwan—in Taiwan, Mr Premier. Ontario taxpayers may find this hard to believe—

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Would the member place a question, please.

**Ms Poole:** —but the Jobs Ontario buttons were made in Taiwan. Will the Premier tell us how he can justify his Jobs Taiwan program?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** I'm going to refer that to the minister.

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**Hon David S. Cooke (Minister of Education and Training):** I will certainly find out for the member where the buttons were made, why they were made in Taiwan and find out whether the facts she's presenting are accurate at all. But what I can tell the member—

**Mrs Elinor Caplan (Oriole):** Thousands of dollars of waste.

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Hon Mr Cooke:** —if the member for Oriole would just cool it for a second—is that every time we spend \$5,000 in training funds to get somebody off welfare in this province, we save thousands of dollars in welfare costs and we get people back to work feeling good about themselves and contributing to the province of Ontario. So while she may have a complaint about where the buttons were produced, her other criticisms about the program and the Jobs Ontario program are completely out to lunch.

**Ms Poole:** We not only have a problem about where these buttons were produced, we have a problem with spending \$700,000 on promotion. We have a problem with you cutting training programs and training literacy programs in this province, programs that are working, while at the same time you waste taxpayers' money on this garbage.

Let me ask the minister about a program, a very viable and successful program, that just last week his government axed. This is the Metro Toronto literacy program, which last year trained 400 laid-off workers. This program had been successful in helping 80% of its graduates move on to jobs or further skills training. But what this government has done is axe programs like this all across the province; instead they're pouring their money into Jobs Ontario Training, which isn't working.

When the minister says 21,000 jobs created, he doesn't even understand how his own program is working, because those are just the jobs registered. The latest statistics we have received from your ministry, Minister, show 7,600 jobs created, and many of those are in low-skill categories.

**The Speaker:** Would the member place a question, please.

**Ms Poole:** Why don't you just admit that your program's a failure and you're wasting hard-earned taxpayers' dollars on garbage like this?

**Hon Mr Cooke:** I say this in all seriousness. I would offer the member a briefing at the ministry on some of the programs that we're involved in. The program that she refers to, the Metro literacy program, the funding of that program was extended by my ministry. The program has not been cut off the funding, and in fact, in the ministries and through treasury board, we're looking at how that program can be perpetuated



for a longer period of time. The program is funded till the end of August, so your figures on that are wrong.

The figures in terms of people placed into jobs are wrong. It's not 7,600. There are 8,348, and it's growing by 800 or 900 a week. I can understand how difficult it is for the Liberals to keep up on these figures, because they're going up by 800, 900 placements per week, people off welfare and into jobs, and if that's what the member calls a failure, she's just as wrong as her leader is.

**The Speaker:** New question.

**Mr David Turnbull (York Mills):** I'm compelled to comment that if they didn't close sheltered workshops—

**The Speaker:** Does the member have a question?

**Mr Turnbull:** —they wouldn't have to send jobs to Taiwan.

**The Speaker:** Would the member take his seat. Could the member identify to whom he wishes to address a question?

#### TRUCKING INDUSTRY

**Mr David Turnbull (York Mills):** Transportation, Mr Speaker. Will the minister introduce legislation allowing longer truck lengths and, if so, when?

**Hon Gilles Pouliot (Minister of Transportation):** The member is right in expressing anxiety, concern, about what he terms the need for urgent passage of legislation vis-à-vis longer vehicle configuration. The member will be aware that the item that he's referring to is approximately \$100 million a year. The member will be cognizant that people in the industry are not buying trucks by virtue of waiting whether we will or will not, by virtue of waiting for a decision regarding longer trucks.

The member has mentioned to me on previous occasions that only four states in the United States of America do not allow longer trucks. The member has also mentioned in the same vein that axle weight, that overall capacity payload, will not be impacted. Because of all those mentions by the member, we have taken a very close look. We're cognizant of the responsibility of time, whether we will or will not deliver, but we're also cognizant of the safety factor, being fully aware that the environment has to benefit and, of course, first and foremost, the economic condition.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Would the minister conclude his response, please.

**Hon Mr Pouliot:** We will make a decision and the member will be the first one to know.

**Mr Turnbull:** It is a shame that the Minister of Transportation is so eloquent and yet does not seem to understand what the question is. I asked you, when will you introduce legislation?

We are an island in Ontario. Quebec and all of the

western provinces and all of the US interstate allow this. We are at a competitive disadvantage. Eighty per cent of all of the imports into Ontario come by truck. Seventy-five per cent of all of the exports go by truck.

As you did correctly point out, the truckers are holding off buying equipment. We could stimulate the economy without any cost of taxpayers' dollars if you would get off your duff and get on and do what you should be doing, instead of spouting.

**Hon Mr Pouliot:** Always with the highest of respect, I always consider the source, so I will not get involved in an exchange of compliments, for it is very, very difficult obviously for the member to pay a compliment to others, least of all to—

**Mr Turnbull:** Will you introduce legislation?

**Hon Mr Pouliot:** He's interrupting. Would you please cap the bottle, Mr Speaker?

The member is right. We have no intention of not respecting uniformity. We know, because of deregulation, that when you transport commodities from point A to point B, on the backhaul when you come back, if the contract is given to a competitor that has the most modern of equipment, with 10% less capacity, it places you at a disadvantage.

We're cognizant of all those facts, but we will not make a hasty decision, for that person there, with the highest of respect, would be back on his feet yet one more time, disagreeing with the progressive legislation that the government is contemplating. I wish to thank you, Mr Speaker.

#### SUPPLY MANAGEMENT OF FARM COMMODITIES

**Mr Kimble Sutherland (Oxford):** My question is for the Minister of Agriculture and Food. Minister, recently I met with farmers in my riding of Oxford at an agricultural day sponsored by the Oxford Federation of Agriculture.

Some producers I spoke with are concerned about the existing supply management system in place for some farm commodities such as poultry and dairy. They feel the current national quota system is not flexible enough. They suggest a quota be based on more current data about consumption in each province, which would allow producers to respond more quickly to demand in their marketplace. Would you support these changes, Minister?

**Hon Elmer Buchanan (Minister of Agriculture and Food):** First of all, let me say that the Ontario government strongly supports the concept of national supply management systems that are currently in place. We've done so consistently at the GATT negotiation. We maintain we need a balanced position which will reduce export subsidies and also support supply management.

The second thing I would say is that the quotas that were allocated to different provinces were set on a historic basis a number of years ago when the systems

were set up. We've now come to realize that there's not much flexibility in the exchange of quota between provinces. There have been some discussions at the dairy industry. They recognize in the dairy industry and, a year ago, in the poultry industry, there are some problems, because there's more demand for poultry products, for example, in Ontario than we have quota.

The people who administer the quota system are indeed looking at the problem and trying to address it and put a little more flexibility into the system.

**Mr Sutherland:** Minister, given that you support these changes, what action are you taking to encourage these changes so that the farmers of Ontario can get their fair share of the national quota?

**Hon Mr Buchanan:** One of the things we've been doing is the deputies of the different provinces have a committee that's looking into how we can address this. At the last ministers' meeting, there was agreement that we would proceed in looking at quota exchanges, looking at allocation of new quota, not necessarily on the old system but on a new system.

We have been consulting with farmers to see if we can't put in place a system that reflects the needs and where the consumption is as opposed to just simply going on a historic share. The producers, especially the dairy producers, have moved on this issue and we expect to be able to address the concerns of the producers, probably at the next ministers' meeting this summer.

1510

#### CLOSURE OF TRADE OFFICES

**Mr Monte Kwinter (Wilson Heights):** My question is to the Minister of Economic Development and Trade. During the current recession, which we are told is technically over, the really bright spot in our economy has been our foreign trade. Without that trade the recession would have been even more severe. I'm sure the minister will know that for every dollar that an Ontarian has in his pocket, one third is there because of trade. When you compare that to our American neighbours, only 10% of their gross domestic product is a result of trade.

With trade making up 30% of our economy, everyone agrees that Ontario's fragile recovery is predicated upon how much the province can sell and how much investment it can attract from abroad. Yet you have chosen to close all the trade offices and plan to run our external operations from Toronto.

I'm sure the minister will know that there are offices in Boston; New York; Chicago; Atlanta; Dallas; Los Angeles; London, England; Paris, France; Frankfurt, Germany; Milan, Italy; New Delhi, India; Hong Kong; Seoul, Korea; Singapore; Nanjing, China; Taipei, Taiwan; Tokyo. All of this is being closed.

Madam Minister, I have no problem with eliminating

duplication of effort and rationalization of services and the use of Canadian embassies to promote Ontario's trade in foreign lands, but there doesn't seem to be a comprehensive foreign trade and investment strategy. These office closings appear to have nothing to do with effective trade and investment goals and everything to do with how much money can be cut from the government's bottom line, a case of penny wise and pound foolish.

Minister, do you really believe Ontario's trade effort will be as strong using the Toronto office and Canadian embassy staff as it would have been using Ontario's own representatives in our major foreign markets?

**Hon Frances Lankin (Minister of Economic Development and Trade):** I appreciate the member's concern with this issue and obviously his direct knowledge of the operation of the international offices from the time in which he was minister responsible for these operations.

I can also understand the nature of the concern. Ontario is an exporting province. Our economy is based on trade and it is a very important part of our economy. I assure the member that our review of this kept that foremost in our minds, and our commitment to try to both maintain and improve our efforts with respect to international trade will be at the centre of the reorganization of our offices and of our way of doing business.

I think it's important to inform the member that we were undertaking a review of the role and the effectiveness of the international offices before we began to take a second look at budgetary considerations. At that point in time we were looking at a major revamping of how we do business.

I will say to him that he is very, very correct that in a review of bottom-line budgetary considerations and fiscal considerations we came at it again and in fact in a way that forced us to look at how could we completely reorganize how we do business and take away from the money we're spending on the brick and mortar in terms of the offices and the investment there.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Would the minister conclude her response, please.

**Hon Ms Lankin:** Yes, I'll try to do it briefly.

May I say to the member that, in consultation with many people in international communities, international networks of consultants and bankers and industry and exporters, we believe we can reorganize services. In using their assistance, we can be as effective as we were through an actual physical network of offices.

I understand that the concern he raises is an important one and would be willing to work with him, with his ideas, to maximize our efforts in terms of the international trade and our initiatives there. I can assure him that we're not just looking at walking away from that responsibility.



**Mr Kwinter:** I thank the minister for her remarks, but I just want to emphasize that I think it's important, and there's a great deal of value in having Ontario's own representatives in major markets promoting and attracting Ontario's trade and investment interest on a full-time basis. Let me make a suggestion. I know the Premier is always saying, "All you do is criticize, but you don't make any kind of suggestions." Let me make one to you: I think there's a way to reduce costs and promote Ontario's interests. I'm sure that we can negotiate to put a provincial trade and investment representative in the key Canadian embassies with a mandate to promote Ontario's trade relations. This would be cost-effective, you could send a provincial trade person from Toronto to these posts at very little cost, and Ontario would get a maximum bang for its trade promotion dollars.

**The Speaker:** Could the member place a question, please.

**Mr Kwinter:** Madam Minister, instead of just closing Ontario's foreign offices and leaving us without an effective trade and investment presence, would you consider the alternative, or are you ready to sacrifice Ontario's trade benefits in order to reduce the deficit?

**Hon Ms Lankin:** Again, I assure the member we don't see that we are sacrificing our trade benefits. In fact, we think we can organize services to maximize our exposure in the international market and to be more effective.

The alternative he suggests is one that in fact we have reviewed. In fact, as I was indicating to him, we'd undertaken quite a major review. We were involved in discussions with the federal government about co-location with other provinces as well, and it remains an option for us to pursue with respect to some key posts. For example, we have yet to work through with the Ministry of Agriculture and Food about some of its international representatives who are actually involved in selling directly on-market, and we're looking at co-location to try and take care of some of their location needs.

So the alternative he suggested is one that we have looked at. It is also one that potentially, with the remaining budget we have, we may pursue in some very select areas. But I can tell him that we believe we can use the international networks of consultants and banks and others to very effectively represent us and to work with us in terms of contacts, to send in expert teams in terms of areas where we identify markets and to be much more strategic.

Could I also, hopefully, reassure him and let him know that in our discussions with the Canadian Exporters' Association, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association—

**The Speaker:** Would the member conclude her

response, please.

**Hon Ms Lankin:** —the Toronto board of trade, for example, all of them support 100% the initiatives we have taken with respect to closing the network of international offices.

#### ONTARIO FILM REVIEW BOARD

**Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South):** My question is to the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations. Madam Minister, these slasher films were the subject of an all-party agreement last Thursday, as I know you are aware. Since the previous questioner has used up all my time, I'm going to combine my first and second question for you.

You are aware of the fact that everybody in this House thinks the Ontario Film Review Board is doing its job reviewing this kind of material. You may also be aware of the fact that the newly appointed chair of the Ontario Film Review Board, Dorothy Christian, said at a public meeting in Mississauga that the Ontario Film Review Board fast-forwards this material and all of the material as it's reviewing it, and that it uses a search-and-scan method, which in fact, from her description, was double the speed, with the sound turned off.

I read to you very briefly, Madam Minister, a memo that was sent to the members of the Ontario film board from the chair, Dorothy Christian, in which she says: "I am officially on public record stating the board's use of the search-and-scan feature for the viewing of adult sex product. In my public statement"—and this is what is so important for you, Minister—"I stated that this feature enabled the board to view at double speed versus seven or eight times the speed of home VCRs, but we all know the reality is that panels do use a much faster speed than double speed when viewing, a seemingly acceptable practice which operated satisfactorily because an unstated honour system was in force. However, it appears there is a breakdown in the process of this honour system."

Madam Minister, do you feel that for the chair of the Ontario Film Review Board to say publicly in a public meeting that they review this kind of material at double speed when in fact she admits that what they do at the board is in reality, in her own words, "a much faster speed than double speed"—Madam Minister, I ask you whether you accept a chair of the Ontario Film Review Board who says one thing in a public meeting and another thing is actually going on under her chairmanship at that film review board.

1520

**Hon Marilyn Churley (Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations):** I'll attempt to answer. There were two questions given to me here. First of all, I'd like to thank the member for Mississauga South and the member for Eglinton for bringing up this issue and bringing it before the House, because I think it's quite

important that everybody be aware of the issue of violence against women, and I think everybody here knows that I have spoken out on this issue and very much share your concern.

The member for Mississauga South is well aware that many of the videos and I think that the videos that she pointed out to me today and the slasher films that she's talking about predate the provincial government authority over the video releases, and that has been clarified. It's unfortunate but it is a fact that the slasher films that she is talking about predate the film review board, and the videos which are—

**Mrs Elinor Caplan (Oriole):** That is not the question.

**Mrs Marland:** That is not the question. Why don't you answer the question?

**Mrs Caplan:** You can't get away with it.

**Hon Ms Churley:** If the member would like to hear the answer, I will continue.

Videos which were in distribution prior to 1988 are not subject to review by the OFRB. The fact is that—

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** The member for York Centre, come to order.

**Hon Ms Churley:** —the new board is very sensitive to the issue of violence.

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Will the minister take her seat, please.

**Mrs Marland:** I cannot believe you are reading your answer. You are an insult to the women in this province, Madam Minister.

**The Speaker:** The member for Mississauga South, please come to order.

**Mrs Marland:** You're reading your answer. My goodness, it's a very—

**The Speaker:** Would the member for Mississauga South please come to order.

Had the minister completed her response? If not, could she do so quickly.

**Hon Ms Churley:** I wanted to say that this is a complex issue and she's asked a couple of questions and I was attempting to speak to both of them. I want to say, in closing, that we are also talking to some of her colleagues in Ottawa about this very issue. We operate under the Theatres Act, and in fact—

**Mrs Marland:** Ottawa has nothing to do with Dorothy Christian.

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Hon Ms Churley:** —the Criminal Code at this point needs to be amended to include violence as one of the issues that need to be dealt with. Right now the Criminal Code does not include violence, and it is a real problem for the film review board, and it is in fact classifying, with the

new members that I have appointed, to the best of their ability under the Theatres Act, but we need some help from the federal government, and need to open up the Criminal Code and make our job a little easier here, and she might be able to in fact—

**The Speaker:** Would the minister conclude her response, please.

**Hon Ms Churley:** —help us in that endeavour.

**The Speaker:** Time for oral questions has expired.

#### MOTIONS

#### COMMITTEE SUBSTITUTIONS

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Government House Leader):** I move that the following substitutions be made to the membership of the following standing committees:

On the standing committee on estimates, Mr Wiseman for Mr Rizzo; on the standing committee on resources development, Mr Wilson (Kingston and The Islands) for Mr Kormos; on the standing committee on social development, Mr Rizzo for Mr Wilson (Kingston and The Islands).

**Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North):** Speaking to the motion, which as everyone knows is a debatable motion, and I promise I will not go on unduly, but this is a—

**Mr Drummond White (Durham Centre):** Oh, come on, Sean.

**Mr Conway:** Well, it is an important motion, and let me just indicate that I know honourable members, particularly relatively new members, find certain of these parliamentary issues troubling. I even heard one of the honourable members opposite yesterday say it was "so much dicking around about nothing." That's not my view, though I can understand the frustration.

I want to at a certain level say to the government House leader, I understand what he's doing and he's now doing what he ought to have done a couple of days ago. I may—

**Hon Mr Charlton:** That was Sunday.

**Mr Conway:** I just simply want to make this point: My concern earlier in this day when I raised the point of order had to do with the role of members who were ordered by the House to sit on standing committees. I felt then—I feel equally so now—that it is a clear infringement on the rights of all members when they are ordered by the House to attend a committee, when they follow that order, they show up and voluntarily agree to do their duty and without their agreement they are superseded by a substitution order that does not come from the House.

We have a mechanism in our standing orders that the government House leader has quite properly invoked this afternoon, and I have no quarrel on a technical level with what he has done today. The Minister of Labour,



in flushed tones, shrugs in disagreement. He may wish to engage the debate. I want to make this point again: The rules of this House are designed over time to protect the interests of government, to protect the interests of the opposition as corporate entities and also to address the concerns of all of us as members. It is absolutely obnoxious to me that we would have a situation on the part of any government—I'm not just saying it of this government; I would say it of any Liberal government or of any Tory government—that we would seek to infringe upon the rights of members by ordering, through the whip, a substitution that was not agreed to by the member being substituted for and that had not been ordered by the House itself.

So let me say simply this: The government House leader has acted quite within the rules today and I have no quarrel on a technical ground with what he's done. I would submit that if the government wished Mr Kormos removed from the resources committee, that is entirely its right to wish and it has an instrument by means of which it can properly achieve that objective. Today the government House leader has invoked the proper instrument. What was attempted yesterday in the resources committee in my view is wholly inappropriate, and I don't make that as a partisan observation, because it would be equally inappropriate for a Liberal government and equally inappropriate for a Tory government.

I ask honourable members, each and every one, to think about this, yes, at one level which is political, and I will deal with that momentarily, but at another level which is parliamentary. We have traditions and we have rules which speak to the integrity and the importance of members as elected members, who have a right to take their seat in this Legislature and to take their seat in standing committees.

What was attempted yesterday was, in my view, a clear infringement on the rights of members to be seated in standing or select committees. There is no doubt that what happened yesterday contravenes the spirit and, I believe, the intention and the letter of our standing orders.

1530

The government House leader will shake his head and he will say, "Point to the specific language," and he has a point. I can't do that, because nowhere is it written, simply because it would be unthinkable. You wouldn't write a rule, because you would not have previously imagined the need for a rule to contemplate what happened yesterday, because what happened yesterday was a breach of good faith. What the government House leader has done today is back, in my view, within the rules.

So much of my concern around the future deliberations of the resources committee I think has been alleviated. Now the honourable member has been

withdrawn from the committee and the government will presumably have seven members in the committee to do its bidding. When the nominations are put and the votes are taken, we will see what we will see.

But we will not have what we had yesterday, which is a member of the committee there properly—and I want to take issue with something the government House leader said earlier today. The government House leader, who was not at the proceedings yesterday—I understand why he wasn't there, but I happen to have been there from the beginning, and I will say this. Mr Kormos was there from the beginning. Mr Wilson arrived with colleagues well after 3:30, and after one of the government representatives quite properly—well, I shouldn't say "quite properly"; let me withdraw that—when a motion to recess for 20 minutes had been offered and accepted.

But I was a little struck by what the government House leader said earlier this afternoon. He left the impression—I'll have to check Hansard, but he certainly gave the impression that Mr Wilson was there, properly substituted for, and Mr Kormos wasn't there or arrived later. I was there at 3:30, and I can tell you, Mr Kormos was there at the beginning of the proceedings. Mr Turnbull, the Conservative member for York Mills, put his name in nomination as a candidate for the Chair. Mr Kormos indicated shortly thereafter that he was willing to accept that nomination, and it was some time later that we heard that—Mr Wilson, Kingston and The Islands, arrived, and it was some time after that that we found out that Mr Wilson was in fact being substituted for Mr Kormos, who was there, who was properly there, and who had already indicated at that point that he was willing to accept the direction of the House to do his duty, including standing for the chairmanship of the committee.

That's the point I ask members to think about. My point of order has to do with the rights of members to be seated in standing or select committees where they have been dispatched by order of the House. That's the issue I want people to think about.

For members who are so ordered, it's quite clear to me what the rules and the traditions of this place intend: If you're so ordered, you go to the committee, you accept your responsibility, and if you can't be there, standing order 110(b) or (c)—I haven't got it right in front of me—allows for substitution. But the substitution assumes good faith and it assumes that you can't be there, and together with your colleagues and your whip, you will arrange an appropriate substitution.

The rules and the traditions of this place have not had to and have not dealt with a situation where the member, so ordered by the House to be a member of the committee, arrives at the committee, indicates a willingness to do his or her duty and then is told, "You're being substituted for," apparently against your will, wish

or judgement.

I said earlier and I will repeat that I have, I think, been involved in a situation. We've all had committees where people are busy. Often, members will be working perhaps two committees during the same week and they have to move back and forth. I would say as a—dare I say it?—now relatively senior member of this House, that if I were a Chair and my colleagues Caplan and Offer came to a committee where I was the Chair, Mrs Caplan was ordinarily a member of the committee and Mr Offer showed up with a substitution slip, as Chair, there would be no question in my mind of what I would do.

I would accept Mrs Caplan as the member of the committee because she is the member ordered by the House and I would assume that she and Offer or the Liberals just had a busy day, they had had a fight, they were not getting along. All I can ultimately go by is the order of the House, and the order under those conditions is that Mrs Caplan was ordered to be the member and yes, Mr Offer has come as a substitute on other occasions, but I'm only allowed to make a judgement consistent with the rules, and the rules say the House order is transcendent.

I just want to make it clear to my friends opposite and to my friends over here what my concern is. It is a parliamentary point that I speak to, and it has to do with the importance, the independence and the integrity of members. I would be furious if I thought I was there as a member and my leader or my whip tried to undermine me in a way that was discourteous at one level and unparliamentary at the other, because the people of Renfrew have sent me here and they have sent me with a mandate, and I come to a place that protects my electors in their right to have their views, through their member, heard.

It is one of the learned British parliamentary authorities who talks about what has happened in Westminster, how through what I think he called the tyranny of the House leaders and whips' panel we've now got to the politics of the foregone conclusion. We often think—and I did as well; I sometimes do still, as a former government House leader—that as long as the House leaders or the whips make a deal, that's all that is required. Well, we do make deals, and it helps expedite the business of this place, but our deals, such as they are, must accord with the standing orders and the traditions of Parliament.

I want to come back again to this motion. What we now have today, one week after the motion put by my friend the government House leader a week ago, which motion said and was concurred in unanimously, is that for purposes of this session, on the standing committee of resources development, one of the 11 members so nominated, so designated, was Mr Kormos, the member for Welland-Thorold. It appears that the government did

not really wish to have Mr Kormos on that committee. Quite frankly, that is the government's business. I have a view, but that is just my view. The government has a right to nominate seven of its own to these committees, and we can all comment, but that's their view. But they put a motion and sought the support of the House, which they got unanimously, that for purposes of this committee, in this session of the 35th Parliament, Mr Kormos would be one of the members of that committee.

It is, as I say, clear that the government didn't really want Mr Kormos on that committee. That is their right, and I would simply submit to the House that any party or any group that so feels that it does not want a person who has been nominated to and has been a member of a standing committee—any of us has the right to change his or her mind, and the standing orders anticipate that.

My point to the government House leader is, he ought to have done what he did today before he tried to do what he tried to do yesterday. Now, I know the government, and I have a lot of sympathy for government House leaders. They are busy, sometimes frazzled people, trying to run the House and trying to run important departments like treasury board and Education and Financial Institutions. But there is a right way and a wrong way, and what was attempted yesterday was the wrong way.

I still take the view—and this is another issue, and I know the government House leader doesn't agree with me. I want to be clear about my friend the member for Sarnia. I think he's a very capable fellow. I can't believe I am the only person here who honestly thinks—because I would like to think, if I were the parliamentary assistant for justice or the parliamentary assistant for Natural Resources or the parliamentary assistant for Comsoc, by accepting that additional responsibility, I am part of the outer circle of the executive council. I am, by any political science standard. You don't have to agree with me, but I think independent advice will clearly indicate that.

It just seems to me inconceivable that people don't see the conflict. I don't mean to question the motives of my friend from Sarnia, because I think his motives are very good, but it is clear to me, if you accept the notion of independent committees—

**Mr White:** We are saving the government \$10,000.

**Mr Conway:** That's another one of my questions. The member for Durham Centre has helpfully relieved me of a concern I might have had, which is, is it possible for a parliamentary assistant and the Chairman of the committee to accept the two emoluments? I just assume the answer is no, and my friends opposite tell me so, and I am relieved, because that's what I would have expected.

**Mr Paul Klopp (Huron):** We're not the Liberal



government; we're the NDP government.

**Mr Conway:** You are not the Liberal government. That is manifestly the case, I say to the member for Huron.

But my point on the second issue—I speak only for myself, but I think many people would agree with me. There is a conflict of interest between a parliamentary assistant for government ministries in the resource field being Chairman of the standing committee on resources development. That is a point, I submit, and I've got to—because I know what will happen. My friend is a good parliamentary assistant, and the day that his departmental estimates come before that committee, he's going to have to choose. I suspect that he will leave the chair. He can't be in both.

**Mrs Elinor Caplan (Oriole):** He can't be impartial.

**Mr Conway:** Well, I don't think he can be impartial, but he can't be in both places. I guess it just troubles me a bit that some people don't see the conflict between those.

You know, there was a time in this place when honourable members, when they were elected to the Legislature—there was a long time in this place and in the British system generally—when an honourable member like my friend from Beaches, having won a good election from the electoral district of Beaches-Woodbine, came to Parliament as the member for Beaches-Woodbine, and if the first minister then asked Ms Lankin to join the executive council, the first thing she had to do was resign her seat and go back to the electors of Beaches-Woodbine to get a second sanction. There was clearly a recognition, and there is today, that there is a conflict between serving the King and serving the King's subjects in Parliament. That's what that whole ministerial by-election process was all about.

That's why today, for example, members of the cabinet are held to a higher standard of accountability and conduct than are honourable members. Your conflict-of-interest sanctions are tougher in cabinet and at the parliamentary assistant level than mine are as a private member, for a variety of reasons. Most people find this just to be ethereal, irrelevant political science, but I don't happen to believe it's entirely that.

We've got ourselves, on all sides in this place in recent years, into some real difficulty around conflict of interest. Some of them have been some of my best friends. Let me use a good friend of mine, Ms Joan Smith from London. When she went to that police station, she felt she was going as a private member in support of a constituent.

**Interjection:** What does that have to do with it?

**Mr Conway:** Well, I'm talking about conflict of interest. I was struck this afternoon by the number of people who just thought there was no possibility of a

conflict between a parliamentary assistant for one of the resource area ministries being, at one and the same time as parliamentary assistant there, Chair of the standing committee on resources development. To me it is just so transparent that if I were government House leader I would certainly try to eliminate those possibilities. There's less of a concern, quite frankly, if the parliamentary assistant for justice is the Chair of the resources committee, for obvious reasons.

But back to my point. The government House leader this afternoon did what he ought to have done before yesterday, and what was attempted yesterday was inappropriate and wrong, and I just think we should observe that. I hope we don't see, any one of us—I don't expect that after this case—I was interested in what the Speaker had to say. I didn't have a chance to check the precedents, but I can't remember a situation quite like this before.

It is true, to be ecumenical in this, that governments of all kinds have moved to deal with difficult colleagues. The Tories did it, the Liberals did it and the New Democrats have done it. We used to say in the bad old days of endless Tory government around here that if you really wanted to shut up an obstreperous and recalcitrant Tory backbencher, you put them in the cabinet. That's the way it used to be done.

**Mr Robert W. Runciman (Leeds-Grenville):** That didn't always work.

**Mr Conway:** My friend for Leeds points out it didn't always work, but I make this point seriously because I think what was attempted yesterday was a serious breach.

I'll make one final comment about the politics, having regard to the fact that the political woodshed has been used by all political parties since this place started to do business over 100-and-some years ago.

The thing that struck me is that I actually came here a week ago fully expecting—I was here when the government House leader read the list—Mr Kormos not to be a member of the committee, because I was hearing through the place that the Ron Hansen woodshed was going to be warmed up by a couple of government members and that Mr Kormos, having had the effrontery of going down to that Queen's Landing with the brown paper bag lunch, had pushed the power in the New Democratic government over the line, beyond the brink.

**Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines):** Graceland.

**Hon Mr Charlton:** And that's the natural story.

**Mr Conway:** And my friend the government House leader, says, "And that's the story." I will say to my friends opposite, I heard the Premier's response to the member for St Catharines today and it was laughable. I say to my friend Ross McClellan, who is not here but I am sure marionetteer extraordinaire in these matters, "By your deeds ye shall be judged." I don't care what

Bob Rae says, I am interested primarily in what Bob Rae does, and I see today the deed: Peter Kormos is being dumped from the resources development committee.

I simply say this in conclusion: The New Democrats under Bob Rae are incompetent in all things, including their vindictiveness.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve):** Thank you. Further debate on the government House leader's motion. The honourable member for York Mills.

**Mr David Turnbull (York Mills):** I'll be extremely brief, but I would just like to put a few points forward.

I was, in fact, as most members know, the person who suggested that Mr Kormos would be appropriate as the Chair of this committee, and for the sake of anybody who is following this debate who does not know the rules, each party is given a certain number of committees that they chair. We freely accept that. That is the way this House works and it is not unreasonable.

Mr Kormos was the Chair of this committee, the resources committee, during the last year or so. He has been a very able Chair of that committee. I have not always agreed with his rulings, but on balance I would say that he has been as fair as any committee Chair any of the parties have had. I have got no affection for his brand of politics and I make no apology for that. However, he has been fair and he has been a capable member.

The government started out by making the fatal mistake by putting him back on to this committee. It was their own choice that they made the motion last week to put him on this committee. The concept is that there is supposed to be a free election of the Chair of these committees by the members of the committees, albeit that it is understood that certain committees will be chaired by various parties. I have no problem with that. The fact is that yesterday made a myth out of that.

1550

I would suggest that if we are going to have these practices, let's be up front, because the electorate are fed up with all of this trickery that is vested on us, where we tell people that people will be freely elected and they are not, they are not, and yesterday made that very clear. We also saw that with Mr Hansen when he was bumped as an NDP committee Chair because he got a little bit out of line because he happened to want to do the right things for his constituents and disagree with the government. Well, I've got news for this government: A lot of people disagree with a lot of things that you're doing.

What happened yesterday was that we had a duly nominated person to sit on this committee, Mr Kormos, the member for Welland-Thorold, who arrived at that committee meeting, which was an organizational committee meeting, and the job was to elect a Chair. I

nominated him in full knowledge that there would be an NDP Chair of that committee, and he had demonstrated that he was capable. He acknowledged that he was there and that he was prepared to serve, if elected, as Chair of that committee.

Another name was put forward, and that name was of somebody, Mr Huget, the member for Sarnia, who is the parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Environment and Energy. I would put it to you, that very clearly there is a clear conflict of interest in having a parliamentary assistant for a ministry that in fact will be coming before that committee for review.

Having done that, we went to a vote, but the government asked for a recess because it didn't have enough people there. In fact, even if they had all of their people there, if Mr Kormos voted for himself, as we had every indication he would, we would have had a split decision which would have been referred back to this assembly for a decision.

During the recess, which the government asked for and eventually received, another member arrived with a sub slip to sub Mr Kormos out of his position. This goes to the whole heart of this question. If a party has appointed somebody to a committee, he is a legitimate member of that committee. The whole concept of the House rules, as evidenced in standing order 110(c), the intent, is to be able to substitute people where the properly constituted member is not available to sit on that committee, not to pull the rug out from under his feet. In fact, the substitute arrived some 20 minutes later, Mr Speaker.

So what you have to consider in this decision is, is it fair that properly elected people who have been properly put on a committee should be told that they should shut up and that they are not allowed to speak on the committee which they have been appointed to? I would suggest that the answer clearly is no.

What is happening now is that the government is taking its lumps and is removing Mr Kormos, and it will indeed be able to do that. This is the proper procedure. Had they not put him on that committee in the first place, they would not have had these problems, but they failed to even think through their machiavellian schemes sufficiently to be able to do it properly, and once again the government has fallen on its own spears.

*Interjections.*

**The Acting Speaker:** Order, please. Order. Many conversations and interjections are happening. Order.

**Mr Turnbull:** There's no doubt about it, there is great agitation among the government because it realizes how foolish it looks.

*Interjections.*

**The Acting Speaker:** We have many conversations and we have interjections, all of which are out of order. The member for York Mills does have the floor. Please



allow him to continue.

**Interjection:** Let's create some jobs in this province.

**Mr Turnbull:** I hear one of the NDP shouting across the floor, "Let's create some jobs in this province." I could not think of a better thing to say. Let's create some jobs in this province instead of wasting your time tying up the Legislature with this stupidity that you brought forward, where a very able committee Chair is not able to take the seat. Instead, you want to have one of your other people in, who will do the bidding of the government.

It seems that we have hit a few notes here. I will just mention that the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board is not finished in this committee, and it would seem reasonable that the person who was chairing that committee, for the continuity, should continue. However, that is not to be, because we know that once the government moves this motion, it will succeed. However, we are still left with the rather troubling proposition that a member who is put on to a committee is removed unceremoniously by somebody else, even though that member wishes to vote, and this is called the New Democratic Party. That is a laugh, Mr Speaker. Thank you very much.

*Interjections.*

**The Acting Speaker:** Order, please. Order. I want to remind all members who want to participate that they will have the opportunity. Further debate.

**Mr Peter Kormos (Welland-Thorold):** I rise to speak on this, knowing that there are any number of other people who may well address it. There are any number of people here today and perhaps watching or listening who are going to disagree with me. There are any number of people who aren't going to like a bit what I've got to say, anything more than they've liked a bit what I've had to say over the last couple of years about what's been happening here in the province of Ontario, what's been happening in my government.

I come today saddened, not looking forward to the type of conflict this will inevitably generate, recognizing that I know full well that the Premier could put people in or out of cabinet. That's the Premier's prerogative. I know that as well as anybody in this Legislature ever has and ever will.

I know full well that being appointed a parliamentary assistant—and I don't envy parliamentary assistants; I don't aspire to that—again is at the pleasure of the Premier, and know full well that by virtue of how committees are formed under the standing orders, in effect there's control thereby as to whether or not one can be Chair of a committee. For instance, if a government member is appointed by government motion to a committee that has, by the rules, an opposition Chair, it's inevitable that this person won't become a Chair of that committee, notwithstanding that she or he might

have support from any number of members in the committee.

Although I'm in or out of cabinet at the pleasure of the Premier, although I'm in or out of a parliamentary assistantship or a committee position by virtue of the Premier, the Premier's office or the people who work under his direction, I'll tell you this: I'm here in this Parliament by virtue of the people who voted for me in Welland-Thorold.

I tell you I'm as partisan as anybody could be here, and I haven't been here a whole long time. This is my second term, and I was proud to have served in the opposition. Reflecting upon some of the things that have transpired over the last couple of years, I've similarly reflected on some of the things that I've done in opposition. So be it.

There have been times when I have sat here during question period and expressed, sometimes amazement, other times mere pleasure at some of the questions that have been asked, and my amazement and my pleasure have been misinterpreted as some sort of gesture of treason on my part by my seatmates, many of whom did not have the pleasure of sitting with me in opposition.

I come here as a person who's been a New Democrat for almost a quarter of a century now and a person who continues to be one and a person who continues very much to believe in what New Democrats have always believed in, and I hope continue to believe in, not just in terms of substance and in terms of policies and particular issues but in terms of how things are supposed to happen and how things work.

1600

I'm pleased to announce that I come here as a representative of a riding that has the largest New Democratic Party membership of any riding in the province of Ontario as of April 1, 1993. I come here as a proud successor to Mel Swart, who sat in this Legislative Assembly for 13 years. Unlike some of the other people in this assembly who have at times purported to speak for Mel, I wouldn't purport to speak for Mel. He's quite capable of doing that himself. But I can tell you this: The concern that I have about what's been happening in the last couple of years is reinforced by the fact that Mel expresses the very same sorts of concerns.

But of course Mel's an old man. He's a retired MPP. As recently as this morning, on a radio interview show here in Toronto, Mel was castigated by a prominent New Democrat for basically not knowing what he was talking about, you see, because it was pointed out that Mel had never sat with government. He doesn't know what it's really like.

Hogwash. In his 30-some years of political life, Mel was the leader of his community, the leader of the township of Thorold for over a decade. He knows full

well what it means to be in government. Mel Swart was a member of regional council for a number of years—in government. He knows full well what it means to lead government and to be in power and have to make decisions and to have to stand by your convictions and to have to be as inclusive as possible.

Were it not for the principle involved here, and knowing full well that this motion is going to pass because the government has sufficient members to make it happen, I might, under other circumstances, be inclined to vote for this motion. That's the will of the Premier's office. One way or another they're going to remove me from the standing committee on resources development, and that's fine. But let's talk for a minute about what's really at stake here and let's talk about what some of the problems may be.

I've been under a whole lot of fire from a whole lot of caucus colleagues, and indeed some people in the New Democratic Party, who don't like what I say. Please, don't shoot the messenger. I'm not making these things up. I'm just telling you what people are telling me when I go back to Welland-Thorold or when I go to other communities in Ontario. People are concerned. People like Howard Pawley are concerned, because in an April 3, 1993, Windsor Star article he expresses real concern about what this government is doing and the role of the New Democratic Party. I share Howard Pawley's concern.

But then again he's an old man too and he's retired, and there are people around who would prefer not to listen to the old men, or women, the ones who built the New Democratic Party, the ones who built the base in this province, like Mel Swart, for this government to ever be elected as it was in September 1990. Like the people, the members of my riding association, the largest number of members in a New Democratic Party riding association in any riding in all of Ontario, I'm horribly proud of those people.

Now I've got to acknowledge that I haven't been a very good caucus member. I haven't been. I don't know how to bowl. I'm not going to join the five-pin bowling league that the memo from Fred Wilson tried to promote last week. I'm not going to bowl in the five-pin bowling league. I'm not going to don pom-poms and go into a cheerleading routine. But I tell you, I'm going to do what I can to make sure that the integrity of this House, this Legislature, is (1) restored and (2) maintained.

**Mr Kimble Sutherland (Oxford):** How about debate the hard issues at caucus?

**Mr Kormos:** Don't talk to me about caucus. A sham. Consultation? Give me a break. As often as not—more often than not—it's a matter of cabinet reporting to the caucus what's going to happen.

**Mr Sutherland:** How would you know? You're not there.

**Mr Kormos:** Indeed, when I show up at a caucus retreat, after having boycotted one, I generate more ire than I did by being absent.

I tell you, there's clearly an effort now, after yesterday's scenario, a fracas some might call it, in the resources development committee—there are going to be people who are going to stand, as was said earlier in the House, they're going to suggest that somehow I had acquiesced to that.

Let me tell you, there was a meeting. Yes, there was a meeting last Tuesday, the day the House passed the motion creating the standing committees and appointing the membership to them. There was a meeting with the caucus chair, the House leader, the government whip and myself. I was invited to attend this meeting. Indeed, there were a series of meetings. If I remember correctly, they didn't exceed three.

Of course, the meeting was very cordial and it took place with people, some of whom I had worked with while in opposition and admired. The meeting opened on a cordial tone and one that was frank and candid. Then the House leader had to leave and indeed the whip after, as I indicated earlier today when the point of order of the member for Renfrew North was being spoken to—the whip indicated that he wasn't going to have me as Chair of his resources development committee any more, a most interesting proposition in view of the fact that only moments earlier the government House leader had moved a motion appointing me to the standing committee on resources development. And I got to tell you, I've enjoyed being a Chair of that committee.

**Mr Bradley:** And you've done a good job.

**Mr Kormos:** Well, whether I've done a good job or not is at this point in time not particularly relevant. I would like to think I've done a good job. I'd like to think I've defended the objectivity and the role of a Chair as a detached, impartial person overseeing the conduct of meetings. And, you see, I was assured by the whip that this wasn't punishment, this wasn't discipline. I was assured by the whip. Now you wonder where cynicism about politicians comes from? I was assured by the whip that this wasn't discipline or punishment.

See, the problem with that whole concept—and this government didn't create that attitude. It's an attitude that's been inherited through a succession of governments and, I tell you, that's unfortunate. People expect this government to change some of the traditional attitudes around here. People have a high expectation of us to do things differently than they were done before.

What concerns me is that in so many respects we're more alike previous governments than we are different from them. That bothers me a great deal because I think that in September 1990 people made choices about a whole lot of things, but also about what they expected



of their government in terms of style and attitude.

What was twice as remarkable was when I telephoned the House leader after that meeting to tell him of this remarkable information which was only revealed to me at the close of the meeting by the whip—assured by the whip that it wasn't punishment or discipline—the House leader explained to me that of course it was punishment or discipline; it couldn't be seen as anything otherwise.

Well, punishment or discipline to what end? If push came to shove—well, long before push came to shove—I got to tell you, I do what I do because I enjoy doing it and, if it's a matter of earning a living, just like most of the other people here in this legislative chamber, there are a lot of other ways to earn a living and some of us will be obliged to investigate those before others.

But I tell you, I very much like being a member of this Legislative Assembly. I very much like speaking on behalf of the people of Welland-Thorold and, because parochialism isn't the sole function of a member of the Legislature, one also has to address issues. I think one of the issues that has to be addressed and should be being addressed by members of this Legislative Assembly—because you can talk about, well, let's deal with the jobs and the economy, but if Parliament doesn't work and if its committees don't work, you're not going to start to address the problems like jobs and the economy. You're not going to start to utilize the talent that sits not only here in the government caucus but in the opposition caucuses as well.

If we don't overcome some of the partisanship, we're not going to start addressing jobs and the economy meaningfully. If we don't start being more candid about how we conduct business, jobs and the economy are going to continue to suffer. The economy will continue to burn while we proverbially fiddle. I'll tell you, if people aren't concerned about what happens in the Legislature and what happens in committees, they'd better start getting concerned.

**1610**

Pierre Trudeau some time ago said that a backbencher, once she or he was 15 minutes away from Parliament Hill, was a nobody. But I'll tell you, what's happened is that a backbencher here at Queen's Park, as time has passed and increasingly so, is a nobody even when sitting in her or his seat here in the Legislative Assembly, because debates become and continue to become meaningless.

Debates are not a matter of persuasiveness, they're not a matter of presenting facts, they're not a matter of exchanging views, but they're a matter of reading scripted, spin-doctored, \$1,000-a-day consultant speeches. As often as not, they're not very good, and sadly they tend to be—I suppose there's one place where the 3Rs or 4Rs are being utilized, and as often as not they tend to be recycled. That's the magic of PCs

and word processors. Just change the dates and change some of the names.

Am I happy about the committee process? Not at all. Am I sad for the people and organizations that invest a whole lot of energy, oftentimes money, into preparing to make presentations to these committees? You bet your boots I am. Am I concerned about it? All the more so. Do I see it as something significant? Yes. Because if only we'd get out of our limousines—well, I don't have one—and talk to the people who put us here, we'd be a heck of a lot closer to solving the problems that we face as a province and as a country.

If we'd listen to the people who came to committees and respond to them, we'd be a lot closer to developing legislation that addresses in a far more accurate way than it has and that it does presently, because the bottom line is that committee votes are whipped. Committee votes are whipped ferociously and sometimes embarrassingly.

Why, when Mel Swart, the former member for Welland-Thorold and, I tell you, one of the people who constitute the foundation of the New Democratic Party and the social democratic movement in this province and in this country and a person who has more experience in this Legislature than almost anybody here now and certainly more than the vast majority of people here now, appeared before the standing committee on finance and economic affairs—and again we're not talking about somebody who had ever appeared before the committee before. We're talking about somebody who developed a very thoughtful and provocative brief and somebody who was more experienced with the issue than any member in this Legislature or any member who has ever been in this Legislature, and it took an opposition member to seek consent from the committee for Mel to answer but one more round of questions; just one more round of questions.

It was an opposition member who proposed that—the Chair, and the Chair was the member for Lincoln. It was an opposition member who proposed that, and when it was put to a recorded vote—I'm not sure that was entirely appropriate, but far be it from me to criticize another Chair—as it was, there were four opposition members present, all of whom voted in support of Mel continuing, and Mel was talking about things like public auto insurance, anathema to most of the opposition members, and making a very effective argument for public auto and prepared to take on any one of you on the issue of public versus private.

Now that betting is okay in Ontario, I'd have put my money on Mel. But it was the six government members in unison who said nay but who then purported, when the TV cameras were outside filming Mel leaving the committee room, to be oh such intimates with him, not literally but quite figuratively grabbing him by the ankles, looking up, making sure that the camera cap-

tured them in the presence of Mel Swart.

What does the public see when they see that type of committee process? What do the people see and understand when they go to a committee and make intelligent and constructive and meaningful contributions and when they find the door shut in their faces? And what do they say when they see votes whipped in committee?

Look, I understand why votes have to be whipped here in the assembly. Governments stand or fall and there are times when there's legislation that's part of a legislative initiative that's so publicized that the government is compelled to whip its members to support it. But surely if committees are going to be meaningful and surely if there's so little freedom—because there is so little freedom because of time allocation and its increasingly frequent use in the Legislature, because of the restriction on speeches to 30 minutes, something that I personally decry. The process in the Legislature is not particularly effective. There's simply no dispute about that. There can be no real debate about that. It's not particularly effective.

These are show hearings that would make Pravda proud, and we know it. We know what goes on in the Legislative Assembly. There are whipped votes and there are scripted speeches. People show up when they're told to show up, and if they don't show up, there are going to be sanctions, and once again that gets back to the issue of discipline.

I can think of some things that would be discipline. I'm thinking of horrible consequences, most of which I've never had to face in my lifetime, the way I read about in some of the John Grisham novels that I'm inclined to read. But what's the message here? The message is, "Okay, I won't earn the extra stipend of a Chair." Once again, I understand that. If that was the issue, I tell you now, I'd prepare to chair and waive the stipend. I tell you that, and perhaps there should be some consideration to eliminating the stipends for Chairs. But I tell you now, I'd be prepared to chair and waive the stipend. But can I be a member of a committee and can I be expected to vote in accordance with the instructions of a committee whip? No.

You see, I did tell the party whip, in my conversation with him, that if I wasn't Chair of resources development, don't bother putting me on any other committee, because you can't trust me to vote in accordance with what I'm told to vote. I'm going to vote in accordance with what I hear and with what my judgement tells me to do in response to submissions that are being made, which means that a whole lot of times I'll vote with the government, but more than the occasional time I'll be voting with the opposition, because the opposition are as capable of presenting meaningful amendments to a bill as anybody else is. The opposition are capable of representing the interests of any number of constituencies as well as anybody else is.

To suggest, as the House was told earlier, that I had somehow manoeuvred myself into a position where I had acquiesced, is, I tell you once again—and I use this word cautiously—nothing than mere pettifoggery.

I received a letter April 22 from the whip that said—thank goodness it didn't say "Dear Pete"; I would have gotten nervous. It said, "Dear Peter." I would have been even less nervous if it had said "Dear Mr Kormos," but:

"Dear Peter:

"As per our conversations Tuesday and today, for at least the next two weeks I will be substituting another member in your place on the standing committee on resources development."

**Hon Mr Charlton:** It says "few weeks."

**Mr Kormos:** I've been corrected.

**Interjection:** You need glasses, Peter.

**Mr Kormos:** I do need my glasses.

"For at least the next few weeks, I will be substituting another member...and invite you to meet with me again in a few weeks to discuss committee work for the remainder of the session."

I was given that because I told the whip, when he tried to talk to me, that my trust level had really declined, that if people were going to communicate with me, do it in writing. Maybe relationships would be a lot more amicable over here if that had been done more often in the past.

1620

But, I tell you, at no point did I ever suggest—indeed, to the contrary—that I did not want to be the Chair of that committee. I made it quite clear that I very much wanted to be the Chair of the committee and that the Chair was unwise to put me on a committee as a non-Chair because I would only embarrass him and the government because I could not be counted upon to vote consistently with the government just because it was the government being whipped to vote that particular way, because I think that's—Look, I appreciate there's a sense of betrayal among my colleagues. They somehow think that makes me a bad New Democrat, and they're entitled to their opinion. But you know, the bottom line is, once again, I'm here not because of my colleagues. I'm not here because of any one of the 74 people, 73 other than myself, who ran as New Democrats successfully back in 1990. I'm here because the people of Welland-Thorold, and again, for as many reasons as one could imagine, elected me to represent them at Queen's Park.

Oh, and I intend to run in the next election, when there is one, and I hope I get re-elected. I hope I do, and I hope I get re-elected on the basis of my performance in the Legislature and in the community, and I can only say I've done my best.



Have I been less than co-operative with some of my colleagues? Yes. Of course I have. That's my job and I'm paid reasonably well for it and I intend to keep on doing it. That's my job.

Do I have concern about the quality of what takes place around here? You bet your boots. Once again, you bet your boots I do. And will I do what I can to change it? Of course I will. Will I be successful? Maybe not. Probably not. Until there are some real changes in attitude, this place is going to become less and less capable of responding to the problems we face as a community, as a province and indeed as a country.

You know, I'm bothered by the fact that committees become less and less effective. I mean, they're not designed to elicit information. The fact that we've fallen into the trap of creating 30-minute time slots—15 minutes for your presentation, a mere 15 minutes for questioning, perhaps once, perhaps twice around the table—illustrates that. They're not designed to elicit commentary. They're designed once again to constitute show trials, performances for the public, and I tell you, the public don't buy it. They don't buy it.

I tell you, the public is even less enthusiastic about the fact that most of those committees don't start until 1:30 in the afternoon on Monday and then end on Thursday, and people wonder: What happened to Monday morning? What happened to Friday? What happened to the evenings?

**Mr Wayne Lessard (Windsor-Walkerville):** Maybe seven days a week we should sit.

**Mr Kormos:** What happened to those things, because we're not talking about anybody here who is particularly ill-paid.

**Interjection:** What about Friday?

**Mr Jim Wiseman (Durham West):** Twenty-four hours a day.

**Mr Lessard:** You've got to meet with those people who voted for you.

**Mr Kormos:** I accept the fact that that's an uncomfortable proposition to a whole lot of people. But I tell you, I am adamant—adamant—that people in the community aren't pleased about how Parliament works, about how the committee works.

I'm not going to be a member of the resources development committee. I'm not going to be the Chair of the resources development committee. And again, I serve notice now, as I did personally to the whip, don't put me on any other committee, for risk of having a member, as I will, who will vote according to what I believe is right and who will vote according to what the people present to that committee and will try to give effect to the committee process.

Discipline? You know, there was an appreciative nod to the press who highlighted the effort on the part of caucus, and again the rumours were rampant, to

either throw me and some of my colleagues out of caucus or at the very least to muzzle us, and, as I say, the press scrutiny of that had no small part in ensuring that I remained in caucus. I've been able to joke since then that there were unsuccessful efforts to muzzle me but I have had to show up for my distemper shots.

One of the problems is that maybe the pomposity that permeates the Legislative Assembly and the people who purport to serve here is our most dangerous enemy. I'm lucky because I get to go home every weekend to Welland-Thorold and I get to talk to the people in Welland-Thorold who stop me in the supermarket or stop me at the farmers' market or come up to my front porch or in the back yard, what have you, and who don't hesitate to tell me what they think, and who know that they can be critical of what had happened here the last week without me becoming overly defensive and engaging in argument with them and spouting pre-scripted lines with a view only to try to impress them.

There is very much the attitude that "everybody's wrong but us." Mel Swart, Howard Pawley: wrong because they don't understand, they don't get it. Well, I tell you, the Mel Swarts of Ontario and the Howard Pawleys of Canada have a far better handle than probably any of us on either side of this Legislature ever will have.

I know there's going to be an attempt to discredit me as a result of the fracas yesterday. I understand that. You don't take shots without getting shots back and I've taken a few body blows in my lifetime and proverbially here, but I haven't been knocked out yet. I look forward to the next two and a half years because, as a New Democrat who was very proud to get elected in 1990—I was a New Democrat who worked in a few other ridings during the course of that election to help others get elected—I was enthusiastic about the prospects for this government, and I'm as enthusiastic now knowing the quality and the potential that exists in this Legislature, not only in this caucus but in the two opposition caucuses, and I look forward to a day when they can work together meaningfully and cooperatively.

**Mr Dennis Drainville (Victoria-Haliburton):** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: Unfortunately, the Lieutenant Governor is coming to my riding and I have to go and meet him. Otherwise I would stay here and vote against the government motion, but I just want to make that indication.

**The Acting Speaker:** Thank you. Further debate on the government House leader's motion: the honourable member for St Catharines.

**Mr Bradley:** I appreciate the opportunity to engage in this extremely important debate this afternoon on the structure of committees and I appreciate that the member for Victoria-Haliburton, who has shown a degree of independence in this House which is quite to be noted and certainly to be envied by many and to be applauded

by many, has indicated clearly that he would have been voting in opposition to this particular motion were he able to be present. One understands, when the Lieutenant Governor is in one's constituency, that it is appropriate to welcome the Lieutenant Governor. But I certainly appreciate his letting us know how he intended to vote on this particular motion.

It is interesting that this could have been avoided from a strictly government point of view, managerial point of view, had the government in the first place not made what it would consider to be a mistake by making this change last week when the committees were originally struck. As a result they have had to try to manoeuvre in a way which has been duly noted by members of the opposition as being less than desirable in trying to manoeuvre the member for Welland-Thorold out of his position as a member of the resources development committee and specifically as the Chair of that committee.

One might wonder why members of the opposition would be prepared to move that Mr Kormos, the member for Welland-Thorold, be in fact a member of that committee and the Chair of that committee. The reason is the record of the member as the Chair of the committee. While one may disagree from time to time with the pronouncements and policies of the member for Welland-Thorold, as members of the committee did, he was nevertheless well respected as a person who is prepared to be fair and impartial to all members of the opposition and the government and, at the same time, to bring that sense of fairness to the committee deliberations as they relate to people making presentations who are not members of that committee. For that reason, the member for York Mills was prepared to nominate him and the member for Mississauga North was prepared to second that nomination. Certainly the opposition members were prepared to see Mr Kormos retained as the Chair of that committee.

1630

Now, it's quite obvious that the Premier—and I indicated this, I think, in my question to the Premier this afternoon—is prepared to brook no dissent within his own caucus over any item. The Premier got up in the supplementary question with his bravado and his shouting because he was following the old dictum, "When in doubt, shout," and tried to indicate that somehow I was instructing him to put Mr Kormos back in the committee.

You have been here long enough, Mr Speaker, to know that virtually all of the decisions that come from this government emanate from the corner office—that is, the Office of the Premier—and you can be certain that the orders to dismiss Mr Kormos from the committee, to deduct \$10,000 off his pay as a result of dismissing him as Chair of the committee, in fact came from the Office of the Premier and his chief advisers and that the

chief government whip and the House leader are simply doing the bidding of the Premier of this province.

That's most unfortunate, because what it does is it follows a pattern. My friend and colleague the member for Lincoln, Mr Hansen, dared to vote in 1991 against a tax which he felt would be detrimental to the people he represented. In other words, he was going to represent in the Legislature, through his vote, the people who had put him there instead of simply following the instructions of the chief government whip of the day. His punishment was similar to the punishment that is being meted out to the member for Welland-Thorold by the Premier. That punishment was to have him removed from the committee, to lose close to \$10,000 in pay and to lose the kind of influence that a committee Chair has. That was most unfortunate on that occasion.

I note that the member for Welland-Thorold previously was removed from the justice committee, I think in 1991. What was the reason? What did he do wrong? He espoused the point of view that the New Democratic Party has espoused over the years and that he promised his constituents, and that was that he would be opposed to Sunday shopping. Then, when the Premier completely abandoned that position and left everything wide open, the member for Welland-Thorold was prepared to indicate to the public his disappointment with the decision of the government to do that. For this, he was turfed from that committee and someone who was more compliant was placed on the committee to vote as the Premier wished to see the vote.

The member for Victoria-Haliburton, who I believe is an independent-minded individual who isn't simply prepared to accept the dictates of the chief government whip, those dictates coming from the Office of the Premier, on issues such as casino gambling, which he feels very strong about, in this particular situation was sitting in the Chair, and made a decision to allow Mr Sterling, the member for Carleton, to continue on speaking the next day just a little while longer to be fair to the opposition, and was subsequently mugged by the then House leader, the member for Windsor-Riverside, Mr Cooke, who decided that this was not to be. He was forced to go back on his word as a result; that is, Mr Drainville was forced to go back on his word at the dictate of the House leader. Again, the House leader gets his orders from the Premier's office.

We see a pattern being established in this government, a pattern which suggests that there shall be no dissent among members of the government caucus. If they are compliant, they will be suitably rewarded with parliamentary secretaryships and with the special positions in the cabinet—"You're not a cabinet minister; you are a cabinet minister"; I haven't figured out what those positions are—and you are also allowed to go on certain trips. I remember that being stated. So I express concern, when I see a motion of this kind coming



forward, that a member who has bucked the trend has been the person who has been turfed from a committee.

I know his predecessor. I know him well. I respected him. I attended his retirement dinner and spoke well of him on that evening. He is also concerned, and he had to say on the weekend—it was in yesterday's *St Catharines Standard*—"Those of us who have been in the NDP for many, many years thought our party would do things differently." He was referring to rank-and-file New Democrats "who are disillusioned with Premier Rae's decision to axe \$4 billion in government spending to fight the deficit."

Now this is what Mel Swart has to say, and Mel Swart is a very independent-minded individual as well, but one who has fought for the NDP causes over the years. That's why he is so respected.

Another person had something to say about this, and this was Rob Martin. He's a law professor at the University of Western Ontario and was a candidate for the federal NDP in 1979-80. I don't want to read the whole article—no need to read the whole article, because I'm trying to be brief this afternoon—but I'll read certain excerpts that I think are relevant to this debate. He said the following:

"The Rae government has betrayed its party and its party principles and the people who have supported that party. He and his government have abandoned all pretence of acting on behalf of ordinary men and women."

He goes on to say, and this is a New Democrat saying this: "No government has so rigorously and so effectively politicized the province's public service. Ontario once had a public service we could be proud of, but today loyalty to Rae and his party and its ideology is more important than competence. People of questionable ability have been recruited and promoted. Morale is said to be low."

He goes on to say one more thing, this member of the New Democratic Party, this former candidate for the New Democratic Party: "The real culprit has been arrogance. Rae and his government simply do not believe the rules or traditions of our political system apply to them, and in manifesting this arrogance, Rae and his ministers have done enormous damage to the legitimacy of our institutions.

"The survival of democratic institutions is not automatic. We have no special historical guarantee as Canadians that we will always enjoy democratic government. Democratic government demands politicians who respect the institutions temporarily placed in their care. It demands politicians who realize that these institutions are more important than they and their egos, but Robert K. Rae, throughout his political career, has been guided solely by his ego."

Now, I didn't say this; I'm not the person saying this.

This is Rob Martin, University of Western Ontario professor and NDP candidate in 1979 and 1980, who has become disillusioned.

I mentioned I did not want to take a great deal of the House's time on this particular debate. I simply want to say that I think it's ill-advised that simply because Mr Kormos, the member for Welland-Thorold, is so independent-minded, is prepared to espouse NDP traditional policies and is prepared to stand up for those things that he thought for during the election campaign, that the price he should pay is the \$10,000 in pay and being turfed from the position of Chair of the resources development committee. I would hope that fairminded and independent-minded members of the government caucus would in fact vote against this motion and would stand up for the traditions of this Parliament and for the independence of individual members who have been elected by their constituents to respond to the viewpoints and the desires of their constituents and not to the mandarins who occupy the Premier's office.

**Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West):** Mr Speaker, this particular debate centres around membership on committee. Obviously, the debate itself has taken on greater proportions. The proportions were enunciated, I think rather clearly, by the member for Welland-Thorold.

It's not just a question of who can sit on which committee any more. It becomes a question of government and how governments work. Not having been in government, I can't offer any insight as to how the specific workings of the government would be different than in opposition, but I know full well they are.

The workings of a government are not much different from an opposition, I would think, because governments are controlled by a group of people who are at the top, and those people at the top keep people in line by parcelling off money in short terms, money being chairmanships and Deputy Chairs and so on and so forth.

1640

**Mr Randy R. Hope (Chatham-Kent):** It's amazing your soul can be bought for that.

**Mr Stockwell:** The suggestion across the floor is, "It's amazing your soul can be bought for that." Well, I'll tell you frankly right now that I've never had a Chairman's job, a Vice-Chairman's job. In fact, other than my base salary, I've never taken a nickel out of this place more than a base salary as an MPP, so I can honestly say that I haven't been bought.

That is how the process works, and then that control comes from the top, and if you toe the party line and you vote the way you're supposed to vote and there's discipline, you're rewarded. But that's how it works everywhere, I guess. That's how it works in business, that's how it works in the union shops around this

province and that's how it works in the Legislature.

The difficulty you have here is that Mr Kormos, the member for Welland-Thorold, is a symptom. He's a symptom of not just this Legislature; he's a symptom of the people today. On Peter Kormos's speech that he made today, there would be a majority of people out there who would support that sentiment, a majority of people in all our ridings who would support that sentiment. Why? Because that's what the people think. The people think that we're ineffective, that this is a charade, that committees are stacked, that votes are whipped and that what they say doesn't matter.

I'm not going to suggest that any government—

*Interjection.*

**Mr Stockwell:** —and I look to the member for Oxford and say very clearly that I'm not saying it's just your government or it was just the previous government; it was governments before that and before that and before that. The only difficulty is that what this symptom, Mr Kormos, is saying that the people of this province have changed in the last number of decades. They've changed the way they think, they've changed the way they believe in their elected officials and they've changed the way they like to see the process work. The only difficulty is that this place hasn't changed, this process hasn't changed and the doling out of the perks of this job hasn't changed.

Today, it reaches a pinnacle for this government. Why it reaches a pinnacle for this government is that this was the government of change. This was the government that was going to make a difference. This was the government that had the ideas in opposition that could be implemented in power that would change the process and put faith back in the people about the democracy they live in. The sad commentary is that they're no worse than previous governments when it comes to doling these things out. I say to you, you're no worse.

**Mrs Caplan:** They're worse.

*Interjections.*

**Mr Stockwell:** The member for Oriole says you're worse. I don't believe you are. I don't believe you're any worse. The difference is that you were supposed to be better.

Mr Kormos, standing here today, proves that you've got a family fight that's now public, a family fight that's public for everyone to view. What's clear is that it's not just Mr Kormos.

The member for Victoria-Haliburton took great lengths now to say: "I'm a problem child as well. I've got problems with my family." I'm certain the member from Hamilton, Mr Morrow, would obviously stand up too and say: "I also have problems with my family. I don't agree with what you're doing."

What happens today with this problem child they

have in this family is, "We're going to whip you into line, and if you don't get into line, you're out." What do you take from these people? You're no different as socialists than Liberals or Conservatives. What do they take from people to get them back into line? Money. That's what they take. Money, because that's the motivation. So they pull back in the \$9,800 you get as a Chair. The only way you can't control people is when you find out that somebody can't be controlled by money. That story that was read by the member from St Catharines was a story that I read and I thought exactly the same. That's exactly what this government has become.

**Mr Sutherland:** Which one was that?

**Mr Stockwell:** I don't a copy of it, but I'm certain it will be forwarded over to you.

But the question's still asked, how do they control the members who aren't going to toe the party line? That's by controlling their remuneration. I see the story is up here right now. I just will quote it, "Robert K. Rae, QC, should resign," by Rob Martin, who ran for the federal NDP in the 1979-80 election.

What the problem is here—and I want to get back to the first point—and what I want to get to here is that this whole province has changed; the people have changed; their attitudes have changed; the debates that are out there have changed. We haven't changed. If anyone can stand here and honestly argue with the member for Welland-Thorold that the committees are legitimate, working parts of this government, you should have a brain scan, because it is nothing more than partisan, parochial points scored by each party that sits at these committees.

The joke of it all is that we sit there as opposition members, we know what the vote is before the vote is taken, and we sit there through this charade. If I had my way, we would boycott them all, for heaven's sake, because nothing is gained in these committee hearings, nothing at all.

I sat through a committee meeting when I first got here. I first got here, I sat on a committee, government agencies, and the job of this committee was to vet and interview government appointments to certain boards and commissions.

**Mr Paul R. Johnson (Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings):** I remember your question. It was the same one over and over again.

**Mr Stockwell:** Well, at least I'll be remembered for something here. I remember that committee, and that committee was supposed to vet government appointments. The newness was incredible, the newness from the members from the government party. They were oozing purity and oozing the sense of fairness and, "We're going to vet these appointments," and everybody said at the time, "It's a charade."



**Mr Sutherland:** But it isn't.

**Mr Stockwell:** "It isn't." See, there are still some who are so new who are still saying it's not a charade. Not a single appointment has ever been turned down. But again, I don't want to blame this government. It's not just your fault. It's our fault collectively, and governments before us. It's all our faults for letting this get to such a state of disrepair that committees meet, deputations are made by citizens and not one government member is willing to vote in favour of the most sensible and reasonable request from the general public.

Well, why the hell wouldn't they be cynical if they can't even get heard at a committee hearing? Why wouldn't they be cynical? Of course they're cynical when governments come forward and put forward recommendations and bills that have a multiplicity of changes to them, that have amendments upon amendments numbering in the hundreds—hundreds—but they won't hear what is being asked of them at committee.

The sad commentary is that this government then goes in and whips a vote at committee. Well, if you can't have a free vote at committee, if you can't let the people who are sitting there hearing the concerns make up their own minds, why did you strike the committee? What's the point?

**Mr Len Wood (Cochrane North):** At least it's better than 42 years of Tories.

**Mr Stockwell:** The comment comes from the member for Cochrane North, "At least it's better than 42 years of Tories." I guess this argument is obviously a little deep for this member. I'm not trying to point out that any government did it any differently. I'm saying we all did it the same way. We are all guilty of this system.

**Mr Sutherland:** I don't think it's as bad.

**Mr Stockwell:** Well, the member from Oxford says they don't think it's—

**Interjection:** It's worse.

**Mr Stockwell:** Look, there are obviously some who I won't convince. There may not be one soul on the opposite benches that I can convince, not one. Maybe this is a waste of time as well, but if the members opposite truly want me to believe that they think for themselves, that they honestly believe what they're doing is reasoned and logical, you'd have to think that at some point in two and a half years, for 73 members, somebody, somewhere, would have said, "I don't think that's a good idea," and somebody, somewhere, in two and a half years, out of 74 people, would have stood up and said: "That's not a good idea. I'm voting against this government."

1650

**Mr Charles Harnick (Willowdale):** Ron Hansen did it and look what happened to him.

**Mr Stockwell:** Ron Hansen did it and he was

whipsawed. Somebody, some time, must have had that thought.

It reminds me of the discussion. They said, "There's 74 of us or there's two, and the two of us always agree on everything." If you show me two people who absolutely agree on everything, I'll show you one person doing all the thinking and that's what we have over here. We've got one person doing all the thinking.

Today we had the member for Welland-Thorold. Let's be frank about this. Let's be frank and upfront about this. Why was this motion brought forward today?

**Mr Wood:** I don't know why.

**Mr Stockwell:** I might explain it to you. Ask the whip, ask the House leader. Why was this brought forward today? Because you couldn't get Mr Kormos off the committee. You couldn't get him not to stand for Chair. You can give me all this pap. Everybody could see through that; it's plate glass. You want him off the committee because he's causing you problems.

*Interjections.*

**The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin):** Order. The member for Etobicoke West has the floor.

**Mr Stockwell:** Sometimes I think—no, I won't say it. The obvious reason is to get Mr Kormos off the committee—that's the simple fact—because he's embarrassing the government. He's embarrassing the government because he doesn't believe in auto insurance, the program that you've brought in; he believes in government-run auto insurance. He also believes there shouldn't be Sunday shopping. He also believes there shouldn't be casino gambling. He also believes in a whole bunch of things that I thought you people believed in.

The difficulty this government is faced with is the person who stood up and made that speech is your conscience; it's your conscience. It's standing before you, making a speech that you could have made 150 times on this side of the House. That's the problem you have. The problem is your conscience won't go away. The problem is you can't buy your conscience off with a \$10,000 committee chairmanship. The other problem is that you said you were different. Those are the problems that you face and those are the problems that confront you today.

So if all these members across the floor vote with the government, just remember: there but for the grace of God—because one of these days, maybe in two years, when this whole government may be going down the drain, one of you members may decide: "Maybe Ron Hansen was right; maybe he should have voted that way. Maybe Mr Wiseman was right; maybe he shouldn't have had a garbage dump put in his backyard. Maybe some of these members were correct; maybe I should have voted against the government when I had an opportunity." And then it's gone. The opportunity

has left you. You have no opportunity to change it.

The Environment minister's here. It's a lovely coat. It's very nice. What did you do with the rest of the curtains?

When that time comes, it's going to be too late, because you're bought in. You're bought into the process, you're bought into your chairmanships, you're bought into your deputy chairmanships, you're bought into your parliamentary assistants. You're bought in. You're part of the problem. You're all part of the problem.

**Mr Mike Cooper (Kitchener-Wilmot):** Part of the process.

**Mr Stockwell:** No, no. Now they say they're part of the process. You never liked the process. You didn't like the process. You were going to be different. You were going to change the process. You haven't changed the process at all. Your party discipline is maybe even more extreme than previous governments'. Your party discipline is more public, that's for sure.

You haven't changed the process at all. We still go to committee, you guys get the party line, they whip the vote, they count the heads and the opposition loses. You haven't changed the process at all; you've institutionalized the process. You've taken the process to an art form when it comes to publicly humiliating members of your caucus who dare step out of line. You've taken this process—

*Interjection.*

**Mr Stockwell:** And don't tell me if I want to be the government I've got to do the same thing. Wrong. That's wrong. You don't have to do the same thing. Maybe the next election the people will finally get the message through that the way this thing works today doesn't work; the way they see it going forward today means changes should be made and the changes are that when a local member wants to stand up and say, "I don't agree with government policy," he won't be punished. They won't be jettisoned out of this inner circle. They won't go from cabinet minister to Chairman of a committee to backbencher in the corner, because nobody is served. The people aren't served.

Lastly, the one point I'd like to reiterate that Mr Kormos made: No matter what happens in this place, no matter what changes are made, you were elected by the people in your riding. You were elected by the people in all your ridings. You answer to nobody but the people who elected you and when it comes to the end of the day, if a decision is going to be made and you've got to make a decision, you must remember the people who put you here are the people who can take you out and they'll take you out if you don't listen to the people. I believe this member for Welland-Thorold listens to the New Democratic Party and the people who elected him. I don't know if I can say the same for the

rest of them.

**Mr Gregory S. Sorbara (York Centre):** Mr Speaker, I begin by saying to you, sir, that I think this debate, which has almost accidentally arisen today in Parliament in a funny, crazy, unexpected way, is in some respects one of the most important debates that we have had in this Legislature for quite some time because, as the member for Welland-Thorold suggested during his remarks and as the member for Etobicoke West suggested during his remarks, for once at least we are talking about something that goes beyond the various scripts and the various words that are placed in the mouths particularly of the government members.

But, Mr Speaker, as well, I want to say to you that I do not believe that this debate is really about whether or not the member for Welland-Thorold, Peter Kormos, should or should not be the member of the resources development committee of this Parliament. I want to say to you, Mr Speaker—

**Mr Derek Fletcher (Guelph):** It's none of your business.

**Mr Sorbara:** The member for Guelph says that it's none of my business. I say to him that it is the business of every member of this Legislature what has been happening not over the past week, not over the past month, but over the past two and a half years in respect of the member for Welland-Thorold. I want to say to you, Mr Speaker, that this debate is really about turning the screws on Peter Kormos.

This debate is really about the intolerance of power on behalf of or on the part of Bob Rae, the members of his cabinet and the compliant members of his caucus. This debate is really about the incredible arrogance of power that this government has been seized of over its very short term in office.

I want to say to you, Mr Speaker, that this debate is really about another major step on the part of this government, another major step in getting rid of this irritant, of getting rid of this menace, of getting rid of this parliamentarian, of getting rid of this democrat whose only sin is to stand up in this Legislature and to stand up in his caucus and to stand up in a whole variety of settings around the province and speak to the people about what he believes in.

It's surprising that a government caucus of some 73 members finds this intolerable. One voice of dissent cannot be tolerated by Bob Rae. I admit that it is, on occasion, a rather loud and often a rather eloquent voice of dissent and often an effective voice of dissent. But this debate, I say to you, is a public demonstration about what the New Democratic Party and the New Democratic government and the New Democratic caucus think of dissent.

I ask you, what sins has Peter Kormos committed to be treated like this? What wrongs has he done?



**Mr George Mammoliti (Yorkview):** You've got it all wrong.

**Mr Sorbara:** I don't agree.

1700

**The Deputy Speaker:** The member for York Centre, I would ask you to address the Chair.

**Mr Sorbara:** I am addressing the Chair, Mr Speaker. I am doing precisely that, sir.

I want to say to my friends in this Legislature, through you, that the only sin Peter Kormos has committed is to live by the principles he believes in. That's it in a nutshell.

I've sat in this House with Peter Kormos for almost four years and I've seen him eloquently challenge my own government's views on automobile insurance. I disagreed with him and I thought he was wrong in principle, but I respected his right to stand in his place and debate for as long as the rules of this Legislature would allow him to do that.

I disagreed with Peter Kormos on his and his government and his leader's view on Sunday shopping, of all things, but I respected his right to stand in Parliament and participate in committees and express those views, even though they were somewhat different from those expressed now by the dictator of this province, the Premier of this province, Bob Rae.

If you look at the history of government in this province over the past two and a half years, you have seen one thing and one theme only, and that is a retreat from what Bob Rae promised to do for the people of Ontario during the last election campaign. And only one New Democratic Party member has stuck to the principles which were supported and proposed by New Democratic Party members in August and September of 1990, and that member happens to be Peter Kormos. Because he has done that, he has suffered every indignity short of being thrown out of his caucus, and I expect pretty soon that the people who make up that caucus are going to do the ultimate deed and expel him for his political views and his ability to stand up and speak on those views.

I say to you, Mr Speaker, that the fact that this is now happening and being proposed by the government House leader and really by the Premier through the government House leader, really is one of the great indignities that this Parliament, in its two and a half years, has suffered.

We saw what the government did when it was faced with significant opposition from the Conservative Party and the Liberal Party during the debate on Bill 40. What did they do? Pretty simple: They changed the rules. They turned their backs on every principle of parliamentary freedom to speak and changed the rules and violated every principle they had espoused during the many years that they had representatives in this Parlia-

ment, so as to effect the will of the leader and his cabinet. And now one member, one member in that caucus decides that he is going to take a slightly different view, one of your members, one of their members, I say to you, Mr Speaker, decides that his mission in life as an elected representative of the people is to disagree with the view being published daily by the cabinet and supported daily by the caucus of New Democratic sheep. I'm sorry to pay disrespect to one of the great agricultural species of the province.

Everyone else follows. Everyone else in that caucus says, "If Bob Rae thinks that a social contract is a great idea, then we like a social contract."

Well, I've got news for you. The latest news is that the trade union movement has said, "Screw it, we're not coming on Thursday." But every member of the New Democratic caucus, those members who for years lived hand in hand with the trade union movement, say: "Oh, no, a social contract is a great idea. These are tough times."

Bob Rae yesterday stood in his place, and it looked like Bob Rae and it had the voice inflections of Bob Rae, but for all the world, my God, I swear it was Don Mazankowski. It doesn't matter whom the people vote for in Ontario any more; we always get a Conservative government.

But the trade unions are saying: "Well, we're not coming. We won't be there. If Bob Rae wants to take our pay and take our jobs, he's going to have to bring a bill in this Legislature," and I suspect that Peter Kormos is going to say, "More power to them."

One member objects and the New Democratic Party caucus says: "Well, we'll just take away his role in this Parliament. We'll just keep him off committees. We cannot tolerate the fact that he might express a different view in a committee."

That's what this debate is about: the disempowerment, the cleansing, the castration of a member who wants to say his piece.

**Mr Sutherland:** Oh, please.

**Mr Sorbara:** My language is strong because I am appalled—

**Mr Wiseman:** You're shocked.

**Mr Sorbara:** I am appalled by the fact that New Democratic Party members who in opposition used to champion the cause of the minority, champion the little guy or the little person whose voice couldn't get heard because of the powerful interests—he doesn't filibuster any more. The rules have been changed, and so he says, "Okay, the rules have changed. I will play by the rules. I will speak for 30 minutes," says Peter Kormos, and yet that one voice that pleads to present a different view from within the government caucus, that one voice is now being silenced.

Why are they doing this? What is it about power and the desire to govern and the desire to be the ruler of all Ontario? What is it that happened to you when you got in power that you can now not tolerate one dissenting voice, that you need to throw him off committees, that you need to ridicule him when he stands up and tries to present a different viewpoint? What is it?

Is it so important that every week the Premier takes you and pats you on the back and says, "You're doing a great job; some day you'll be in cabinet"? Pay no attention to that. It's all lies. You'll never be in cabinet. You're not doing a good job. You were elected to express a view, and your commitment to your party and your Premier and your caucus is secondary to your moral commitment to do what is right and represent the people who elected you to this place.

**Interjection:** Well, we are.

**Mr Sorbara:** One member interjects over there, "Well, we are." That couldn't possibly be. On every single occasion you rise in unison to support what Bob Rae says shall be done and you rise in unison to reject what Bob Rae tells you shall not be done, and even your colleagues in the trade union movement now feel a sense of betrayal that has never taken place before in the history of Ontario.

1710

I don't agree with you on Bill 40, I don't agree with you on the social contract, I don't agree with you on automobile insurance, but I understand and I plead with you to go beyond the Gestetnered papers that are placed on your desks as parliamentary assistants and caucus members and all the others that tell you what to say. You look for all the world like parrots, and in these times, when such serious problems are facing the province of Ontario, I think the people of Ontario are asking for more.

I want to tell you that what they understand from this debate, and what they understand from this exercise of the silencing of the member for Welland-Thorold, is one thing and one thing only, and that is that in Bob Rae's Ontario there is no more room for dissent, there is no more room for a minority opinion, there is no more room for free expression. There is only room for lockstep compliance with the orders that come down from on high.

I think the passage of this motion, which surely will be supported by government members, represents a sad day in the province of Ontario.

**Mr Harnick:** I've listened intently to the remarks made by my colleagues, and it's interesting to note that, other than Mr Kormos, none of the leaders of this government who are present and sitting here today stand up to discuss the way their government operates.

**Mr Bradley:** Mark Morrow wanted to.

**Mr Harnick:** Mark Morrow, the member from

Hamilton, came over to me and asked me how long I was going to be speaking because he wished to speak next. I noticed that after a few words with the government House leader, Mark Morrow is no longer in the chamber. Mark Morrow, the member from Hamilton, wishes to voice dissent. In this government, there is no room for any dissent. There is no room for any dissent, and if dissent goes too far on the side of the opposition, what do we get? We get the police. That's the kind of attitude this government has towards dissent. Investigating leaks: This government leaks like a sieve, but that's the attitude this government has towards dissent.

It's very interesting when we're talking about Mr Kormos, who in many respects is the subject of this debate. I remember well when the Minister of Northern Development told some lies and took a lie detector test to prove that she had told the lies. I remember going to the committee that was struck to examine into the source of those lies and the admission of those lies. I remember the government members of that committee who sat there like bumps on a log because they didn't know what to say. And whom did the government send in to protect the Minister of Northern Development? The government sent in Peter Kormos to protect their minister.

I remember the hotly contested debate surrounding Bill 40. I remember Bill 40 as being probably the most controversial piece of legislation we've seen in this Legislature, and one of the most difficult aspects of that legislation for the government was getting it through the committee. To whom did they give that bill to shepherd it through the committee? It seems to me that the Chairman of that committee was Peter Kormos.

It's funny. When the government's in trouble and needs someone to help bail it out, Peter Kormos is the person it calls on, but when Peter Kormos stands up and tries to defend the positions he took in front of the people he represents, when Peter Kormos stands and defends his position on auto insurance and says, "My constituents voted for me to come here to support innocent accident victims," what does the government do? They pretend they don't know Peter Kormos any more. They pretend that's a part of their history that doesn't exist: "We're going to forget our past. We don't need to worry about that. We're elected now. Those promises that we made, those promises that wouldn't cost the government money, such as auto insurance, we can now abandon."

**Mr Steven Offer (Mississauga North):** He hugged him.

**Mr Harnick:** My friend from Mississauga reminds me of that long debate in which Peter Kormos spoke for many hours, and as soon as that debate was over—I remember seeing it on television, on all the newscasts, in all of the newspapers—who was standing there hugging Peter Kormos for the stand he took on behalf



of innocent accident victims? Bob Rae. Bob Rae was front and centre in the pictures. I don't know now if it's because he was worried that Mr Kormos was getting more of the media attention or if it was because he really believed in the issue, because he sure has abandoned it. He's abandoned that issue, as he's abandoned so many other issues.

It's interesting as well that from the time this government was elected in September 1990, all we heard from this government were speeches about integrity in government. We don't hear those speeches about integrity in government any more. We had a throne speech recently, about three weeks ago, where integrity in government wasn't even mentioned, not a single mention about the highest standards that this government was going to have, because this government has hit rock bottom when it comes to standards. They are worse than their predecessors ever were. They are worse than they ever accused their predecessors of being. They have hit rock bottom.

Yesterday was just another in a litany of bungles and procedures that showed a complete lack of integrity. Yesterday the government attempted to do something by sneaking around the rules that operate this place. They decided to hold a lynch mob in a committee meeting. They decided that after the Legislature duly nominated someone to be on a committee—and I remember it was the government House leader who stood up and read that nomination less than a week ago—they then decided to appoint a temporary substitute to a committee that Mr Kormos had already been elected for. They sent in a temporary substitute to try and eliminate Mr Kormos from the committee.

Nowhere in the rules is there a procedure for that. When the committee member arrived—and he was duly nominated to that committee by the government. He arrived, and a temporary substitute came in his place. I can't believe that anything as inappropriate as that could happen.

I'll tell you why it's inappropriate, because what this government did was try to make the clerk of that committee be responsible for doing its dirty work. No servant of this Legislature should ever be put in the position of doing the dirty work of the government House leader. If the government House leader didn't have the guts to bring it before the Legislature—as he's done today because he was caught with his hand in the cookie jar yesterday—they should never have expected a servant of this Legislature to do their dirty work.

We have had more difficulty in this Legislature, we have spent more time on procedural matters in this Legislature, because of the abuse that this government has perpetrated on the standing orders of this place. I thought that was all behind us, when the government, which couldn't operate this place under the rules that existed for years and years and years, went ahead and

changed all those rules to facilitate the kind of government they wanted. I thought all these procedural wrangles were finished with, but we went ahead and we continue, even after the rules were changed, even after a gun was put to the heads of the opposition that said, "Accept these rules or we'll make them even worse." Even now, with the new rules, the government still can't get it right. They are a model of incompetence in everything that they do, the simple procedures.

1720

They would do a lot better if they were honest with themselves in terms of the things they wish to do and they wish to accomplish. They would be better off coming here with clean hands and trying to do their dirty work in public than they would trying to do their dirty work in committee rooms, using the servants of this place who are here to serve us all and serve us all very well, rather than having those people try and do the dirty work for them.

You know, it's interesting. My friend the member for St Catharines provided me with an article from a newspaper. The article is written by Rob Martin, a law professor at the University of Western Ontario. I tell you that he wasn't a Tory and he wasn't a Liberal, but he was an NDP candidate in the federal elections in 1979 and 1980, so he's not politically biased against this government. But let me tell you a few of the things that he says.

He says: "The Rae government has betrayed its party and its party's principles and the people who have supported that party. He and his government have abandoned all pretence of acting on behalf of ordinary men and women."

Mr Kormos and other members of this government caucus attempt to continue to espouse those principles, the principles that they used to get themselves elected. I don't think there's anything heinous about a government changing its mind about certain programs, maybe even certain philosophies, as a government progresses through its term. I don't think that's so totally outrageous. What is outrageous is that when people within that caucus continue to espouse the beliefs that got them elected, look where it gets them. Look where it's got Mr Kormos. Look where it's got Mr Drainville. Look where it's got Mr Morrow, who couldn't even come here to speak today because he dissents from the party line. One would have a hard time believing that we're talking about the province of Ontario in this great country of Canada when we use expressions like "the party line."

This article by Professor Martin goes on to state:

"No government has so rigorously and so effectively politicized the province's public service. Ontario once had a public service we could be proud of. But today loyalty to Rae and his party and its ideology is more important than competence. People of questionable

ability have been recruited and promoted. Morale is said to be low."

Well, the reason morale is low is because people no longer know what to believe in. People no longer can believe in what they told their constituents when they got elected, and for that, people like Mr Kormos are no longer people who have a voice and a role to play in this government.

As my colleague the member for Etobicoke West stated earlier, it's very hard for this government to live with a living and breathing conscience sitting in its own caucus. He reminds them daily of what they used to say about Sunday shopping. He reminds them daily of what they used to say about auto insurance. He reminds them daily about what they used to say about casino gambling. The members of this caucus and this government cabinet can't stand having their conscience sitting among them and reminding them of the way they've betrayed the people of the province of Ontario.

That doesn't even deal with the incompetence of how they've handled the fiscal situation, of how they've jacked up the deficit, of how they're now chasing their tail to lower the deficit that they jacked up, of how today we learned in question period that many of the cuts in spending are deferrals to next year and the year after, that there's padding there to make the budget that's coming down, probably in the next month, look more palatable.

People say, "How did this happen?" Well, it happened because the government set out on a course that it's now admitting was the wrong course. It was the wrong course, and all those people who they profess to be protecting by taking the wrong course are now being hurt again because of the change that the government has taken.

I applaud the government for trying to cut expenses, but its incompetence got us to where we are right now. A year ago the Minister of Finance in Ottawa—

**Hon Bud Wildman (Minister of Environment and Energy and Minister Responsible for Native Affairs):** Who has a bigger deficit? Who pays more on the debt?

**Mr Harnick:** We'll talk about that. The member across the way says, "Who paid more on the debt?"

Let me tell you, a year ago when Mr Mazankowski, the Finance minister, told the Treasurer of Ontario, "Don't jack up the deficit, that's the wrong way to go," and every other province in this country tried to get the deficit down, what did the Treasurer and the Premier say to the Minister of Finance? They said: "You're wrong. We're going to jack up our deficit, we have to protect the people of this province." So they went ahead and they jacked up the deficit and now they forget what they said a year ago. They forget what they told the Minister of Finance in Ottawa. They told him he was wrong. Now they're doing exactly what he says.

I tell the member across the way that the federal government has at least, over the term of office, eliminated \$12 billion from the federal debt; \$12 billion when they inherited a \$45-billion deficit. What you have done is raised our deficit almost to the levels of the deficit that they've been fighting. You've done exactly what they've been fighting against.

You know what, Mr Speaker? It's this incompetence, it's this level of incompetence that the people of Ontario see every day. They see it in terms of integrity of government. They see it in terms of the way the debt is handled. They see it in terms of the way this Legislature operates. They see it in the deceitful way the rules of this building operate. They see it in the way the government fights the people in its own party, members of its own caucus, who continue to stand for the things they believe in.

**Mr Bradley:** Mel Swart.

**Mr Harnick:** It's interesting, Mel Swart—my friend from St Catharines reminds me—came here to talk about auto insurance and it was just amazing. He came here and he reminded the government of what it had stood for for all those years. You've never seen a corridor clear of New Democrat members so quickly as the corridor Mr Swart was standing in. They could not look him in the eye. They couldn't look him in the eye for the flip-flop on auto insurance, the same way they can't look Mr Kormos in the eye on because Mr Kormos has committed himself to a fight on behalf of innocent accident victims. He's committed himself to that fight and he's committed himself to making sure innocent accident victims are protected. I don't even know where that auto insurance bill is any more.

**Mr Bradley:** It disappeared.

**Mr Harnick:** I think that bill may have disappeared from the face of the earth, that bill that the government was so proud of, that bill that probably won't see the light of day. I hope, on behalf of Mr Kormos, that the bill does see the light of day and that the government reconsiders the very, very hard positions it has taken in terms of how that bill will affect innocent accident victims. I hope that government could look Mr Kormos in the eye and make the right amendments, but right now I don't know if that bill is ever going to see the light of day. I don't know if it will.

1730

This article by Professor Martin goes on to say—and I think this is a very pointed part and I hope the government members and cabinet ministers who are here are listening to this. Professor Martin is one of their own party members, a well-respected professor of law at the University of Western Ontario, who is a former NDP candidate. So he's not partisan against you. You don't have to be paranoid about what Mr Martin says; he's one of you. What he says is:



"The real culprit has been arrogance. Rae and his government simply do not believe the rules or traditions of our political system apply to them.

"And in maintaining this arrogance, Rae and his ministers have done enormous damage to the legitimacy of our institutions. The survival of democratic institutions is not automatic. We have no special historical guarantee as Canadians that we will always enjoy democratic government.

"Democratic government demands politicians respect the institutions temporarily placed in their care. It demands politicians who realize these institutions are more important than they and their egos. But Robert K. Rae through his political career has been guided solely by his ego."

One of the very, very disturbing aspects of this whole debate is the fact that Mr Kormos came in yesterday and recited a series of facts as to whether he would or wouldn't be on that committee. He recited facts and it became perfectly clear that the facts of this scenario were very much manipulated by the government whip. The government whip decided that what we are doing here is going ahead and manipulating the committee process. So we really don't have real elections for the chairmen of committees and we really don't have real elections, I suppose, for the election of the Speaker of this place, because he has indicated that all of this is a foregone conclusion.

That leads me to what I want to conclude with, and that's very simply that the committee process in this place is not legitimate, the committee process does not work. The committee process means that people come and make deputations but nobody listens, because the whip, the House leader, the Premier all give the marching orders to the government members of the committee and whatever the public says doesn't really matter. It's a foregone conclusion.

I regret very much that the public comes to this place and places faith in the politicians to listen to them. We invite them to come to this place, but we don't heed what they tell us. That's because the system has become manipulative, the system has become dishonest and the government is not prepared to listen to those in its benches who have become the conscience of that government.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Any further debate?

**Interjections:** No.

**Mr Bill Murdoch (Grey):** It's nice to see that the other side asked for me to get up.

I think this has probably been one of the best debates this House has had since I've been here. I want to tell you I agree 100% with what Peter Kormos was saying over there and also with what Chris, in front of me, mentioned; a lot of the things. I think where, today, the governing party is missing this whole point is that not

everyone's blaming it for all the problems. It's the whole House; it's all three parties. At least I can speak for this party and what's happening over there. I don't know about the Liberals, but I'm sure they have the same problems.

The committee structure is made up so it doesn't work. It only works for the governing party, there's no doubt about that, and unless we change something, as far as I'm concerned, the democracy is taken out of this place.

I got elected to represent the people from Grey and Owen Sound. When you come here, what happens is that it's taken away from you. You've got to follow party discipline. You don't get a chance, a lot of times, to bring up your own problems.

What happens in committee? Let's look at the committee. It was brought up about the standing committee on government agencies. I sat on one of those committees and I left the committee in disgust. What happens is that one day we'll interview somebody for a job, and won't vote on that person till the next day. The next day it could be different people from all three parties, yet they will vote on that person and give him the job. There's never been one turned down yet. It's not just their fault over on that side. They're whipped into this, as somebody has said. They've been forced into this vote.

There is no one else on that side to speak on this right now, and we talked about it. Where's Mark Morrow? Mark was in here, came over here, wanted to know how much time we were going to take. What happened to Mark? Is he going to come back? I don't know. I saw the whip smile; it's one of the few times he's smiled in the House. But I don't know what he did with Mark. You just threw Mark out. You said: "No way. We're not going to let him speak out against this." That's what's wrong with this place. You don't get a chance.

*Interjections.*

**Mr Murdoch:** Obviously somebody got excited over there. I hope you're speaking the way you want to and nobody told you to say that.

*Interjections.*

**Mr Murdoch:** It's nice to see that they are alive over there, and well. Yes, I know, Mr Speaker: I'll speak through you. I just thought we should listen to some of these wise words that are coming from over there. Maybe they're opening up. Maybe we're going to see them all vote against this motion. I certainly hope some of you people over there will have the guts to stand up and speak against this motion and vote against this motion.

I will remember how the member from Kitchener will vote on this and see if he has the guts to stand up and say: "This is not a proper motion. Mr Kormos has every

right to be Chairman there."

There comes Mark Morrow. I'm glad to see you're back, Mark. I hope they will give you a chance to speak.

This is what happens in all three parties, and until this corrected in this House, I don't think democracy is going to last. That's why I mentioned at the start that I think this is one of the best debates we've had in this House. It's just unfortunate that the government of the day will not listen. We're trying to tell you that it's not all your fault. It's been here for a long time, and it's still that. We've got to look.

I think Mr Kormos tried to change that, tried to say: "Maybe I should be Chairman. I was there." Now, what you do to Mr Kormos is that you bring a motion in to kick him off the committee. If you don't do what you're told, you're kicked off. We've seen that happen with other things, and I'm sure it happened in our government and I'm sure it happened with the Liberals, and it's not right.

**Mr Bradley:** Maybe it didn't happen.

**Mr Murdoch:** Maybe, Mr Bradley says, it didn't happen.

*Interjections.*

**Mr Murdoch:** It certainly is nice. Maybe the government members get a chance to say what they want to say when they heckle all the time. It's too bad, when they stand up and vote, that they wouldn't turn around and vote the way their people want them to vote, not the way they've been told to vote by two or three people who run the party. That's really unfortunate. Again, I'm not blaming it all on the them. The rest of the parties are just as bad.

I just wanted to bring up, in the short time we have—and I see it's getting close to 6 o'clock and we will want to vote on this. I just want to say that I agree 100% with what Mr Kormos said and what Mr Stockwell said, and the rest of the people who spoke were pretty well right on. Until we get some democracy in this place, I don't think it means a damn.

**Mr Mark Morrow (Wentworth East):** I just basically wanted to stand up and say—

[Applause]

**Mr Morrow:** —thank you for the applause—that I will be voting against the government motion. I very strongly agree with what Mr Kormos has done as Chair. I see the actions that have happened as possibly being maybe a little bit unruly, and I'm going to close my comments there, and let's move on to the vote.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Mr Charlton moves that the following substitutions be made to the membership of the following standing committees: on the standing

committee on estimates, Mr Wiseman for Mr Rizzo; on the standing committee on resources development, Mr Wilson (Kingston and The Islands) for Mr Kormos; on the standing committee on social development, Mr Rizzo for Mr Wilson (Kingston and The Islands).

Shall the motion carry?

All those in favour will please say "aye."

All those opposed will please say "nay."

In my opinion, the ayes have it.

Call in the members. This will be a 30-minute bell.

The division bells rang from 1742 to 1813.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Mr Charlton moves that the following substitutions be made to the membership of the following standing committees: on the standing committee on estimates, Mr Wiseman for Mr Rizzo; on the standing committee on resources development, Mr Wilson (Kingston and The Islands) for Mr Kormos; on the standing committee on social development, Mr Rizzo for Mr Wilson (Kingston and The Islands).

All those in favour of the motion will please rise one at a time.

**Ayes**

Abel, Bisson, Buchanan, Carter, Charlton, Christopher, Churley, Cooke, Cooper, Coppen, Dadamo, Duignan, Farnan, Ferguson, Fletcher, Frankford, Gigantes, Grier, Haeck, Hampton, Hansen, Harrington, Haslam, Hayes, Hope, Huget, Johnson (Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings), Klopp, Lankin, Laughren, Lessard;

Mackenzie, MacKinnon, Malkowski, Mammoliti, Marchese, Martel, Martin, Mathysen, Mills, O'Connor, Owens, Perruzza, Philip (Etobicoke-Rexdale), Pilkey, Pouliot, Rizzo, Silipo, Sutherland, Tilson, Wark-Martyn, Waters, Wessinger, White, Wildman, Wilson (Frontenac-Addington), Wilson (Kingston and The Islands), Winninger, Wiseman, Wood, Ziembra.

**The Deputy Speaker:** All those opposed to the motion will please rise one at a time.

**Nays**

Beer, Bradley, Brown, Caplan, Chiarelli, Cleary, Conway, Cordiano, Curling, Eddy, Elston, Grandmaitre, Kormos, Kwinter, Mahoney, McClelland, McGuinty, Miclash, Morrow, Murdoch (Grey), O'Neil (Quinte), O'Neill (Ottawa-Rideau), Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt), Ramsay, Runciman, Sorbara, Stockwell, Sullivan, Turnbull.

**Clerk of the House (Mr Claude L. DesRosiers):** The ayes are 61; the nays 29.

**The Deputy Speaker:** I declare the motion carried. Being past six of the clock, this House stands adjourned until 1:30 of the clock tomorrow afternoon.

The House adjourned at 1818.











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## Legislative Assembly of Ontario

Third Session, 35th Parliament

## Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Wednesday 28 April 1993

## Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Troisième session, 35<sup>e</sup> législature

## Journal des débats (Hansard)

Mercredi 28 avril 1993

Speaker  
Honourable David Warner

Clerk  
Claude L. DesRosiers

Président  
L'honorable David Warner

Greffier  
Claude L. DesRosiers



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Wednesday 28 April 1993

The House met at 1332.

Prayers.

#### MEMBERS' STATEMENTS

##### CANADIAN FORCES OVERSEAS

**Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North):** As members may know, the electoral district of Renfrew North contains Canadian Forces Base Petawawa. I rise today to make a statement of support for the good work that the Canadian Armed Forces are providing in many of the world's hot spots in Africa, in Europe and in Asia.

I was in a business place the other day and I met a soldier's wife who said to me that she was increasingly concerned about the fact that more and more Canadians did not seem to appreciate the very difficult situation in which Canadian Armed Forces personnel were finding themselves in the Horn of Africa, in the former Yugoslavia and in Asia, and quite frankly, as a soldier's wife she said she was beginning to despair as to whether or not there was much support for the very difficult situations in which these soldiers found themselves, and equally, the very difficult and stressful times in which the soldiers' families were finding themselves.

I felt very moved by that constituent's observations and I just wanted today to stand here and say on my behalf, and I believe on behalf of all of my colleagues in the assembly, that we do appreciate the very important work that the Canadian armed services are doing in very difficult environments. Notwithstanding some of the troubles that may have arisen in the Horn of Africa, I want my constituents at Canadian Forces Base Petawawa to know that we very much appreciate and support the good work the Canadian military is doing and that we appreciate the stressful situation in which their families find themselves.

##### NATIVE HUNTING AND FISHING

**Mr Leo Jordan (Lanark-Renfrew):** My statement is for the Premier. In 1923, seven central Ontario native bands signed the Williams Treaty, which guaranteed that natives would fish and hunt according to provincial and federal conservation laws, the same laws that apply to everyone else in this country. The bands were paid the 1993 equivalent of \$20 million. That treaty was upheld by Ontario's highest court last year.

Premier, in recent months your government has negotiated a secret backroom deal with seven central Ontario bands which seeks to ignore the Williams Treaty and give these natives the right to fish and hunt out of season. This will have a serious impact on an already pressured part of Ontario's natural environment. The Premier is now asking the federal fisheries minister to sign regulations that would complete this secret backroom deal.

It is a deal that will result in an ecological disaster. It is a deal that will benefit no one, not even the natives it is supposed to help. The people of Ontario want their government to honour the principles of fish and wildlife conservation. They want their government to respect our ancestors, native and non-native, and respect the Williams Treaty. They don't want a government that is prepared to sacrifice Ontario's fish and wildlife on the altar of political ideology.

#### OPPOSITION MEMBERS

**Mr Derek Fletcher (Guelph):** Mr Speaker, please bear with me; I have a bit of a cold today.

Much has been said by many members, especially the opposition, about integrity, whether it be the integrity of a government or the integrity of members. In fact, on April 4, 1993, the Leader of the Opposition questioned the Premier about integrity.

When I went to the dictionary to look up the meaning of "integrity," I certainly didn't see her picture sitting in there, nor did I see a picture of the Conservatives, and it's not a Liberal, Conservative or New Democratic trait. The only comment there was, "Remember Patti Starr."

I'm wondering why the Leader of the Opposition doesn't really come clean about her integrity. Why doesn't she tell us all about how she sold out her integrity when she was approached by the member for Mississauga East at the Liberal convention, and why not tell about the deal she made with that member for votes promised if she didn't do any disciplinary action for this member, derogatory comments that were made?

At least the member for Bruce maintained his integrity, because he said no. He said no to the member for Mississauga East.

Why doesn't she come clean with the people of Ontario about how she's going to protect the rights of ethnic people and of ethnic groups when members of her own caucus are not going to be held responsible for their comments by a leader who sold out her integrity just for the chance of winning a leadership race?

#### SMALL BUSINESS

**Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South):** I rise today to bring to the attention of the Treasurer either an error or a complete mistake made by his officials in terms of phasing out the small business development corporation.

A company by the name of Panther Systems of Canada was planning on moving to my riding. It would be occupying some 30,000 square feet in an electronics manufacturing facility. It would be employing some 35 to 40 personnel by February 1994.

Unfortunately, because of the changes in the Small Business Development Corporations Act whereby these

matters must be completed by July 1 of this year, whereas the original act had allowed a year for this to be done, the people who would have been investing in this project are not able to do so and they will be investing their money in other areas, such as US-based GICs.

I suggest to the Treasurer that if this is an oversight, please correct it. I'm sure that this is not just an instance in my riding, but there are probably jobs or job opportunities being lost all over this province as a result of triggering the end of SBD, small business development, by July 1. In the document that was filed by the Minister of Finance, he indicated that this was to be phased out over a five-year period. I suggest, Mr Treasurer, if I'm right, if there is a mistake in this regard, would you cure it and at least give them one year in order to avoid the loss of further jobs in other ridings throughout this province?

1340

#### FREEDOM OF INFORMATION

**Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel):** I rise today to invite the members of this House to debate a private member's bill I am bringing forward tomorrow morning. I feel the privacy legislation should be amended to allow the Ontario public to see the deal cooked up by the Liberals and finished by the NDP for the birth of a corporation known as Teranet Land Information.

My private member's bill would allow the Ontario public to see the terms of the joint venture, who it is with and what it costs. We will then decide for ourselves if this government has made a good deal.

I'm anxiously awaiting the outcome of the May 15 deadline that will tell us if the private corporation that entered into the joint venture with the Ministry of Consumer and Commercial Relations can actually come up with the cold, hard cash to continue the project.

My private member's bill comes down to accountability; the right to know whom this government is doing business with and if the taxpayers of Ontario as well as the joint venture partners are benefiting from the deal. By not allowing anyone the right to see the terms of reference for the deal, let alone who the stakeholders of the private company are, we are led to believe that there is something wrong with the deal that forces the ministry to hide behind the freedom of information legislation.

If this government insists on entering into joint ventures with private companies, let's make sure the deal benefits everyone and that the people of Ontario are protected. The Ministry of Consumer and Commercial Relations is in the process of entering into another agreement to operate a gambling casino in Windsor. Will the ministry hide behind privacy legislation and not allow the Ontario taxpayer to know whom this joint venture is with as well?

#### JOB CREATION

**Mr David Winninger (London South):** I rise in the House today to focus on action we are taking to get Ontarians back to work.

On April 16, in the city of London, I made a very special announcement on behalf of the Ministry of Community and Social Services. I was welcomed to the Westminster Children's Centre in Wilton Grove Public School, where I was pleased to announce the Ontario government is releasing 579 child care fee subsidies under the Jobs Ontario Training program to help people in the London area get back to work.

In addition to assisting Jobs Ontario Training participants, these subsidies now include social assistance recipients who, independently of the program, are finding jobs or training and education programs leading to employment. These expanded criteria include teen mothers who are finishing high school in order to enhance their job prospects. Lack of child care subsidies is a barrier to parents getting work to support their families.

The Westminster Children's Centre is operated by London Children's Connection. A school-age program, a pre-school centre and a toddlers' centre are offered under the program coordination of Linda Grainger and executive direction of Marion Dunleavy.

How we care for our young will leave an imprint on our future. On a lighter note, I show you a gift from the young of the toddlers' centre, a red tie, and on it the imprints of their thumbs. I see it as a symbolic "thumbs up" to action we are taking in Ontario to get back to work. They also gave me this colourful book explaining the kind of things they like to do.

#### ONTARIO ECONOMY

**Ms Dianne Poole (Eglinton):** Both the NDP and the Tories are practising a new math that just doesn't add up. Bob Rae keeps telling us that he reduced the size of his cabinet. He reduced it by adding two cabinet ministers. This is certainly new math to me: reduction by addition.

This confusion over a simple mathematical function may explain the NDP's problem in dealing with the deficit. Last year, Bob Rae told us and the people of Ontario that the deficit was under control. Now he tells us that he was 110% wrong in his projections and that we are facing a \$17-billion deficit. I don't think I'm the only one questioning the Premier's math.

While we're at it, let's take a look at Mike Harris's math. In the Tories' last term of office, Mike Harris, the self-proclaimed Taxfighter, voted in more than \$1 billion in new taxes. The Tories left us with a \$30-billion debt and an annual deficit of \$2.6 billion. The record shows the Conservatives produced 15 straight years of deficits. In contrast, the record clearly shows that the Liberal government consistently reduced the



deficit year after year and produced the first surplus in 20 years.

Now Tory Health critic Jim Wilson has put a new twist on multiplication. He says the Tories left the debt at \$30 billion and the Liberals doubled the debt to \$40 billion. Only the Tories could double 30 and get 40, and only the NDP could double 30 and get 120.

Bob Rae and Mike Harris need a math lesson.

#### WOMEN OF DISTINCTION AWARD

**Mr Ernie L. Eves (Parry Sound):** I want to take this opportunity today to congratulate a very special person in our caucus, who was honoured this past Monday evening in London, Ontario, with a 1993 Women of Distinction Award by the YM/YWCA.

Since 1984, this is only the fourth time that this distinction has been given in order to salute the achievements of women who "embody the tremendous human potential and excellence in both their personal and professional lives that create role models for all of us."

Dianne is certainly deserving, in my own mind, of this recognition and appreciation. Dianne was specifically honoured for her distinguished accomplishments in public service and all of us who know Dianne know that she is not only dedicated and committed to her family, to her London North constituents, but she also stands out as a leader on a number of important provincial and national issues.

On behalf of my caucus, I would like to join the people of London in congratulating Dianne on this outstanding tribute and recognition.

#### MEMBERS' HOCKEY GAME

**Mr George Mammoliti (Yorkview):** Last night the Leafs did it, last night the Leafs won; coming back from a 4 to 1 deficit, they did it in overtime. Tonight it's the Legiskaters' turn. Tonight we play the police department and we play the police department with a little bit of anxiety. We play at Downsview arena at 7:30; that's the Jane and Wilson area.

I know what you're going to say, Mr Speaker. You're going to tell me that the cops are too good, you're going to say the cops are tops on ice, you're going to say that they're great and there's no way that the Legiskaters can beat them.

Mr Speaker, the Legiskaters are politically correct. We've got players like Chris Stockwell on the team from the Conservatives, Bob Runciman, Bill Murdoch; Murray Elston is going to play tonight as well; Mike Cooper, Derek Fletcher and Anthony Perruzza from the New Democrats. We have a good team, we're going to give them a good show.

I know they're good, I know they're heavy and I know they're hard-hitting. But, Mr Speaker, we are going to give it our best and the Legiskaters might tomorrow come into this place and say, "We beat them."

#### DAY OF MOURNING

**Hon Bob Mackenzie (Minister of Labour):** I believe we have unanimous consent for a statement on the day of mourning.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Do we have unanimous consent? Agreed.

**Hon Mr Mackenzie:** Today let us observe the day of mourning for workers who have died because of workplace accidents or occupational illnesses. Across Ontario and across Canada groups of workers are joining together today in remembrance of the terrible human cost of workplace tragedies. Last year in Ontario 231 workers died and thousands more were injured on the job.

Today we share the sorrows of the families, for they live on with the memory of needless loss; needless because workplace fatalities can be prevented, needless because workplaces can be accident-free. Better prevention of workplace accidents is the symbolic wreath that I'm offering today. It is the best way to honour those who have been injured or killed at work.

To reduce the number of workplace deaths has been my major goal since I became Minister of Labour. Progress is being made. The amended Occupational Health and Safety Act, now in its third year, is fostering a new health and safety culture in the province's workplaces.

My experience has been that improvements in health and safety measures result from greater will and determination and greater cooperation among the workplace parties. That is how we produced new construction safety regulations more than a year ago, by consulting labour, management and health and safety groups.

The latest accomplishment of this government is to put in place new regulations designed especially to meet the health and safety needs of health care workers. These new regulations will come into effect on June 1. These regulations will provide protection to more than 300,000 health care workers in some 3,000 health facilities across Ontario, more workers than are employed in the construction and mining sectors combined.

The new regulations will apply to a wide range of institutions, including hospitals, psychiatric facilities, nursing homes, group homes for adults and facilities covered by the Developmental Services Act and the Child and Family Services Act. Again, thanks to tripartite cooperation, the new regulations will mean safer working in health facilities.

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This government is determined that the top priority in all workplaces across the province has to be worker health and safety. Employers and workers must know the hazards present in their working environments and they must guard against complacency and carelessness

when confronting dangerous situations.

In spite of the signs of progress I have mentioned, I am still not convinced that all employers take workplace health and safety seriously. There are still some, I feel, who see nothing wrong with cutting corners or doing the absolute minimum. I hope that our efforts can change this mindset, because the cost of prevention and safety could never equal the value of human life.

In memories of the workers we mourn today, I want to emphasize that my ministry will continue to use all its resources to bring employers into compliance with the amended Occupational Health and Safety Act. All of this we owe to fallen workers, whom this Legislature has commemorated on the 28th day of April in recent years.

This date, I would remind the House, was selected years ago by the Ontario Federation of Labour and endorsed as a cross-Canada observance by the Canadian Labour Congress. It is the date on which the Workers' Compensation Act was passed by the Ontario Legislature in 1914, 79 years ago today.

A safe and healthy workplace is an objective to which we must all aspire. I hope that one day I can stand in this Legislature and report that workplace deaths in this province have been eradicated, but until that day we will focus our efforts and work even more diligently to reach that very goal.

**Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines):** Today, April 28, 1993, marks the 79th anniversary of the first workers' safety legislation passed in all of Canada. It is a day we remember and mourn workers killed and injured on the job.

Today, the Ontario Network of Injured Workers Groups called on the government to officially recognize this as a national day of mourning for workers killed and injured on the job. My colleagues and I support this motion for unanimous consent. I hope this will spur the government to take action on the improvement of health and safety standards in Ontario's workplaces.

In 1992, 250 workers were killed on the job in Ontario workplaces and 400,000 claims for personal injury were filed. These numbers are down from the previous year, partly because there were fewer workers in 1992.

The Workers' Compensation Board was formed to ensure that workers injured on the job received fair compensation for their injuries and that proper health and safety standards were in place in the workplace to prevent injuries and deaths. While great improvements have been made in the workplace since that first legislation was passed, the high number of injuries still occurring is evidence that there is more to be done in the area of prevention and the improvement of health and safety standards.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank all the

groups and organizations participating in events to mark this sad day. As we observe a moment of silence for workers killed and injured in the workplace and for their families, let us pledge ourselves to attaining better health and safety standards to protect Ontario's workers. There isn't anyone who sits in this House today who has not been touched personally by someone in a family or a close friend or an acquaintance who has been injured in the workplace or perhaps even killed in the workplace.

There are times when the partisan differences in the House are quite pronounced, where there is confrontation. One occasion where there is not is when we talk as members about the need for workplace safety and eliminating all of the deaths that have taken place in the past, eliminating those circumstances at least, and doing everything we can as legislators together, as three parties represented in this House, as individual members of this House, to ensure that the kind of safety measures are put into place that will avoid the tragedies that have happened in the past for the families and the friends of those who are no longer with us.

**Mr David Turnbull (York Mills):** I rise today on behalf of my colleagues in the Progressive Conservative caucus to join the members from the two other parties in expressing respect and concern for all workers in this province and to recognize the many workers who have lost their lives or have been seriously injured through accidents in the workplace.

On April 28, 1914, the Ontario Legislature led the way on the worker protection front with the passing of Canada's first worker safety legislation. Over the last 79 years, governments have achieved great strides in this area with the establishment of the workers' compensation system, the passage of the Occupational Health and Safety Act and the establishment of programs to encourage equal participation of workers and employers in the improvement of workplace health and safety. However, there is still much work to be done as we face the challenge to safety and health presented by the hazards of ever-changing technology.

Today, workers throughout the province are participating in ceremonies to honour and remember those who have lost their lives or who have been injured in the performance of their jobs. According to figures from the Workers' Compensation Board for 1991, 309 people were killed in job-related accidents and, regrettably, over 403,000 people were injured. By taking the time to remember those senseless and tragic losses, we as legislators can renew our dedication to the task of eliminating future deaths and injuries. One death or injury is too many.

As we observe a moment's silence for the working men and women who have been killed or injured in the workplace, let us take the time to remember their families and renew our commitment to worker cooper-



ation with business and labour to protect all men and women in the province from serious injury and death in the future. Indeed, our caucus has a member who was subject to a very serious work injury and so we're very cognizant of this.

**The Speaker:** I invite all members, and indeed our visitors in the galleries, to join me in standing for a moment of silent remembrance.

*The House observed a moment's silence.*

#### RESIGNATION

**Mr Dennis Drainville (Victoria-Haliburton):** As the members of the House will know, I have been engaged in a public battle with my own government over the issue of expanding gambling in the province of Ontario. This is but one issue in a series of issues where I have fundamentally disagreed with the direction this government is taking.

Over the last two and a half years I have endeavoured to play my part in the parliamentary drama by conscientiously doing the tasks that were given to me and by committing myself to learning how to make the system work and how to improve the system. It is with profound regret that I have come to the conclusion that the system does not work. The role of the individual member is now so marginal to the legislative process that I have to wonder at all why we waste so much time in related legislative duties. Either we must begin to reform the Legislature or we must resign ourselves to rule by a very small political élite.

Although the New Democratic government did not begin this trend, I am sad to say it has not attempted to reverse it either. The public still largely believes that an individual member has influence within the system, but I have found that the caucus system, supposedly the place for debate and the place where the individual members' issues and concerns are taken seriously, has proven to be ineffective.

The issue of casino gambling is a perfect example of the problem. Introducing casinos was not part of our electoral mandate and, given the NDP's traditional stance against gambling, it was the last thing that many of those who voted NDP expected this government to do. There was no real consultation with either the public, the party or individual MPPs elected under the NDP banner before this major shift in direction occurred. In caucus we were allowed one 45-minute discussion on the issue and the next time it came up, two months later, it was already written into the budget. As government members; we were all expected to follow our marching orders and support casinos publicly and in the House. This was despite the lack of substantive consultation or any hint of democratic process.

1400

Last week, the House leader and the whip met with me in an effort to communicate concerns that they said

members of the government caucus had regarding my actions and statements. This discussion achieved only one thing: I finally realized that there is no longer a place within this government caucus for my calls to reform the institution of Parliament or for the public position I have taken regarding casino gambling. It was made clear to me that the status quo was going to be maintained and that those who did not conform would be dealt with accordingly.

If there were any doubts remaining, they were erased yesterday when the former Chair of the standing committee on resources development was unceremoniously dumped from that position for his dissenting views.

It is ironic and indeed sad, Mr Speaker, that some government members look upon the actions and positions that I have taken as treasonous, since these actions and positions spring directly from the very traditions and policies that we have always advocated as New Democrats.

Mr Speaker, I have now come to the conclusion that the people of Victoria-Haliburton would be better served if I sat in the assembly as an independent member. I believe that by becoming an independent member, I will be much more able to represent their views while having the freedom to support whatever progressive initiatives are brought forth by the government.

It is not easy to take such a step, and I will miss the mutual support that I have shared with many members of caucus on various issues. I wish to publicly thank my colleagues within the government who over the past month have helped and advised me on difficult political choices that I have faced.

Thank you, Mr Speaker and all the members of the assembly, for allowing me these few minutes to explain my new status in the House. I will now leave the House, Mr Speaker, and I would ask that you attribute me a new place in the assembly.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** It is now time for oral questions. The honourable member for Bruce.

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** It takes me somewhat by surprise, Mr Speaker.

**Hon David S. Cooke (Minister of Education and Training):** You're the only one.

**Hon Gilles Pouliot (Minister of Transportation and Minister Responsible for Francophone Affairs):** Where have you been? You should show up more often.

**Mr Elston:** Mr Speaker, I don't find all of this all that laughable a situation. I know that there are always tensions and other things, and I think it's for me a—

**Hon Mr Cooke:** He was a member of your party; he was a member of the Tory party; he was a member of our party. So let's—

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** In fairness—

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Just relax. Order.

I think, in fairness both to the member for Bruce and to others, what just transpired involving the member for Victoria-Haliburton was dramatic and caught members by surprise. In fairness, I would ask the table to reset the clock at 60 minutes, and perhaps the member for Bruce, uninterrupted, can place his questions.

**ORAL QUESTIONS****TRANSFER PAYMENTS**

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** Thank you very much, Mr Speaker. These are confusing days and times for a lot of us here in the Legislative Assembly; there's no question about that. But out on the concessions and main roads of Ontario, there is a lot more confusion out and about, and as I ask this question to the Treasurer—I'm sorry; the Minister of Finance, I guess, is the new title—I'd ask him to reflect on what he said a couple of years ago when he brought in the first of his record-setting deficit budgets.

He said then, in replying to the issue of flat-lining transfers:

"If we had done that, if we had flat-lined transfers to our partners out there, as we call them, enrollment in colleges and universities would have had to be cut, we think, by about 25,000 students. Almost 5,000 hospital beds would have had to be closed; 10% of the hospital beds in this province would have had to be closed in order to meet those numbers. We think that without any additional funds for municipalities and school boards, either property taxes would have had to be increased by 4.2% over 1990 levels, or 6,000 classrooms would have had to be closed and public health operations would have been slashed by 33%."

I'm asking the Finance minister today to identify the carnage in the municipal, school board and hospital sector for the people of this province so that they can have the real story of the effects of his Friday announcement.

**Hon Floyd Laughren (Minister of Finance):** Finally, we are getting a position from the official opposition that we should not be engaging in an exercise of expenditure control but rather should be spending more money. Finally, we at least have a position from the Liberal opposition that we should be spending more money, not less. It's taken a long time to extract that position from them, but finally, finally they have told us where they stand.

**Hon David S. Cooke (Minister of Education and Training):** That's today's position.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** Yes, that is today's position. The member from Bruce should know, and I think he does, that for the last two years this government has worked extremely hard with our transfer partners out there, whether it's in the educational sector, the health

care sector or the municipal sector, in a process of restructuring the way in which we all deliver the services of government. That's gone some way to making the system work better. However, we're not all the way there yet, and it is obvious to those of us on this side at least, and I think to most citizens out there in the province, that simply increasing expenditures at the rate that the official opposition did when it was in power is no longer acceptable in this province.

**Mr Elston:** I want the Finance minister, and I ask him again, to identify the number of beds that are going to be cut under his scenario, the effect on property taxes in municipalities, the effect on school positions on classrooms in schools across this province and on the enrolment in colleges and universities so that the people can judge.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** One of the ways in which we engaged in the exercise of getting our expenditures under control was to do so in such a way—that's why we spent so much time working it out—as to minimize impacts on jobs and to minimize the impact of services at the community level. There is, at the present time, as I understand it, and I stand corrected by the Minister of Health, actually an excess of beds in the hospital system out there across the province now. So I think that the leader of—the member from Bruce should—I know, I'm sorry, I'm not trying to tease you about not being the leader.

**Mr Elston:** It's too late.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** The member should understand, and I don't mean to point fingers, because this is the 1990s, not the 1980s, but surely he would agree that we cannot continue increasing spending in the health care system at 11% a year, which his government allowed and the Tories allowed back in the 1980s. That is no longer affordable in this province. We have simply got to get that under control so that we can continue to deliver services in a more efficient way at the community level in such a way as to minimize the impact at the community level and to minimize the job losses as well.

**Mr Elston:** The Minister of Finance refuses to show us the true effect of his cuts. But, Mr Speaker, let me tell you that people out in the municipal sector and in the school boards have all been wrestling with budgets and now are substantially into their new budget years. The city of Trenton is trying to figure out what in the world it is going to do now at this stage in its budget deliberations.

I have received a letter from the Grey Sauble Conservation Authority, and I read a quote from this letter, which was addressed to Mr Howard Hampton. It says:

"We have been advised by your staff"—that is the Ministry of Natural Resources—"that our operating budgets have been reduced by 20% for 1993. Since our year is now one third gone, this cut would be closer to



30%. In addition, the elimination of the conservation land tax rebate program removes over \$200,000 of financial assistance to us. Our calculations suggest therefore that in these two funding areas alone, our cutback is 46.8% as opposed to the 10% cited yesterday on the CBC. We feel that we have been unfairly targeted."

This letter, and the small quote that I have read from it, contradicts the Finance minister extremely well, because it means with a 46.8% reduction in its funding to carry on its services, this conservation authority is going to have a difficult time avoiding job loss, service reductions and others, as this minister has indicated.

I ask again, how can he stand in his place and assure the people that there will be no job loss or service reduction or that the municipalities won't have to raise property taxes?

1410

**Hon Mr Laughren:** I think what we have here is a conflict on the view of the world out there. The Liberal opposition seems to think that we can reduce expenditures in the public sector with absolutely no impact on anyone across the province. That, my friend, is looney tunes. You know that's not possible.

What I said to the member for Bruce, and I'll repeat it, because he didn't play it back in a very accurate way—

**Mr Elston:** What's your advertising budget?

**Hon Mr Laughren:** If you'll allow me to finish my response, the member for Bruce, what I said was that we undertook not to cut just across the board on all expenditures. We went at it very selectively, and I said to the member for Bruce, we tried to do it in such a way that would minimize the loss of services and loss of jobs at the community level. I never said to anyone that there would not be an impact on jobs, job losses, or that there would not be an impact at the community level.

Only the Liberals think you can wave a wand, reduce expenditures across the province and have no impact on anybody. That's what got you in trouble in the 1980s and that's why we inherited the mess from you in 1990.

#### ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

**Mr Gerry Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt):** My question is to the Minister of Finance. I'm trying to get a fairly clear fix on where we are on the deficit for 1993-94.

With your announcement on Friday, I think your estimate is that the deficit currently would be around \$12.3 billion, the numbers I think you released. Our estimates are that the number is closer to about \$9.5 billion, and I just want to take the Treasurer through the three areas that we think would bring it down to the \$9.5 billion and let the Treasurer comment on them.

One is that you've assumed your interest costs will

go up \$2.2 billion. The increase in the debt is about \$10 billion. Anyone I've talked to indicates that you've overestimated your interest by about \$1.2 billion.

The second thing is that you will no doubt be claiming money from the federal government on fiscal stabilization. Based on the numbers in the reports, I think it's about \$550 million.

The third area is asset sales. Right now you've, I think, assumed about \$140 million, but we've heard from you and from your officials that there is, in addition to that, the sale of the GO trains, the sale of Suncor and about \$500 million more.

Treasurer, as I look at all of those numbers, we believe the current deficit estimate for 1993-94, using your numbers, is closer to \$9.5 billion and not the current \$12.3 billion you used on Friday. Can you confirm the numbers I've given or indicate where my assumptions may be wrong?

**Hon Floyd Laughren (Minister of Finance):** I will take a look at the member's numbers very carefully, but I can assure him that the thought that we would be exaggerating the size of our deficit is really ludicrous. He's accused us in the past of understating the enormity of the problem. Why would I now suddenly do an about-face and say, "Oh, I'm no longer going to understate the size of the problem; I'm going to overstate it." What conceivable purpose would be served for me or officials in the Ministry of Finance to engage in that kind of manipulation of numbers? That's downright silly thinking.

**Mr Phillips:** Well, you don't do your cause much good by accusing us of silly thinking.

You've estimated interest costs going up \$2.2 billion, debt going up \$10 billion; that's a 22% interest on the debt. It makes no sense to anyone. I could not get an answer out of you, out of your officials, so I'd just like an answer on that. Why would you estimate interest costs going up \$2.2 billion?

The second thing is, we spent all last year discussing the fiscal stabilization. Can you just give me an answer today: Will you be applying for that \$550-million fiscal stabilization you've indicated in some of your documents or not? I don't care what the numbers are. I just want from you the most accurate estimates of where things are.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** The member for Scarborough--Agincourt knows that we had a claim in on the fiscal stabilization for \$1.2 billion over a two-year period. We received one half of one year's allocation, this year that just ended, of \$300 million. The fiscal stabilization claim is still there. I don't know whether we're going to get it in this year. At one point, I didn't think we'd get any of it in 1992-93. As it turned out, we did get \$300 million. I don't think we can count on it, build it into our plan for 1993-94, which means that that \$300

million was one-time-only revenue for 1992-93 and will not be built into 1993-94.

The member for Scarborough-Agincourt and others were the ones who were telling me I shouldn't be building that into any of our fiscal plans, so if the member for Scarborough-Agincourt's got differing advice this year from last year, I'd be interested to hear it from him.

**Mr Phillips:** It's the exact same question I'm giving you now. Last year I said, "You will be lucky to get a fraction of it. That's exactly what happened. You got a fraction of it. It came true, exactly as I said."

All I want from you, Treasurer, is a straight answer. I want a straight answer on the interest costs. Why would you show a \$2.2-billion increase in interest costs on the debt, are you going to apply for the fiscal stabilization and why are you only reporting \$140 million worth of asset sales? I am just asking for a straight answer from you.

I said exactly what came true last year, and I would like today, Treasurer—and if you don't have the information today, I would like an undertaking from you that tomorrow you will give us an answer to these three simple but important questions.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** First of all, I do not recall saying that for asset sales in 1993-94 there would only be \$140 million. That's not—

**Mr Phillips:** It's right here.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** I'm telling you, that's not what I'm telling you. We are going to be getting asset sales in excess of \$140 million in 1993-94.

**Interjection:** It's your number.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** There were some asset sales that we thought we would get in 1992-93 which we didn't get which we've now moved into 1993-94, so I don't see anything illogical about that. If at one point we thought we were getting them in 1992-93, they were shown in that fiscal year. Now that that fiscal year is behind us—and I'll be very specific to the member for Scarborough-Agincourt. The refinancing of the GO Transit rolling stock was originally going to be in 1992-93. Because of complexities of law and taxation, that didn't happen in 1992-93. We think it will happen in 1993-94, so we believe that will roll into a revenue number in 1993-94 as an asset sale. We thought we'd sell the SkyDome in 1992-93. We now believe we'll sell it in 1993-94. So those will become asset sales in 1993-94.

I'm sorry if those numbers have confused the member for Scarborough-Agincourt—or have misled him, is perhaps the better term to use—but we now think we'll achieve those asset sales in 1993-94, and I will get back to the member for Scarborough-Agincourt in more detail on the specifics around the public debt interest.

I would just remind him, though, that when your

deficit is going up substantially over what was built into the original plan, that means that the interest on the public debt goes up accordingly. There's nothing mysterious about that, that's just the way it is, but I'll get back to the member with specifics.

#### LABOUR RELATIONS

**Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing):** My question is to the Chairman of Management Board. Minister, given the public service unions' tough stand yesterday, it appears that while the Premier is wont to say that the train is leaving the station, neither you nor the Premier is driving the train. In fact, you are in the caboose of this train. The union leaders are clearly driving the process. They are setting the agenda, they are setting the timetable, and it could go on, if they have their way, for ever.

Minister, your government is already over two years too late in tackling Ontario's spending problem. We are now into fiscal 1993-94 that the social contract period covers. Every day of delay means that to meet the Treasurer's targets you have to cut even deeper, every day that goes by.

1420

Minister, clearly Ontario can't afford for you to run up this public service bill any longer. You must set, number one, a firm deadline for a negotiated settlement with the public service, and I would ask you, have you set that deadline? If you have, could you tell us what it is? And if you have not, why have you not set a deadline for the taxpayers and the public of this province to bring this process to a conclusion?

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Chair of the Management Board of Cabinet):** Mr Speaker, I'll refer the question to the Deputy Premier.

**Hon Floyd Laughren (Deputy Premier and Minister of Finance):** The leader of the third party raises an important question. However, if I could cut through his preamble in his comment about who's setting the agenda and the timetable, I think if he were to ask the leaders of the public sector unions, they would not feel that they were setting the agenda or the timetable in these negotiations.

We have laid before our public sector partners a set of proposals which we want to negotiate. What they have told us, plain and simple, is that they need some time to take a look at those proposals and come back with some alternative proposals or comments on those. That seems to me to be perfectly fair. I think they understand that our interest in the long run is protecting jobs and services all across this province by negotiating a social contract. That is the goal of this exercise, and for the leader of the third party to cast it in a way that would simply say to them, "By this Friday, you'd better have a deal or all talks are off," implying that, I think is not a very positive approach to negotiations.



**Mr Harris:** I thought the goal was to cut the cost of government, cut the need for taxes and deficits. I thought that was it. I didn't know it was to try to hang on to every job that we have. I mean, I think even the unions understand there is a downsizing that has to take place, and the talks are to talk about, how deep will the downsizing be and in what areas and how will we do it?

Minister, this is the third time that you and the Premier have waffled and that you have acquiesced to the union leaders. The unions have served notice, they've served notice very clearly, that they will negotiate with you when they're good and ready to negotiate with you, not when you, not when the Premier is ready, not when the taxpayers and the public of Ontario need cutbacks in the cost of government to take place. Not only that, the union leadership, by the way, also said that they'll strike if necessary. If they don't get their way, they'll strike. They've told you that as well.

The Premier clearly has not shown the leadership that is needed to level the playing field. We need these negotiations on behalf of taxpayers and the public on a level playing field. So I would ask you this, Treasurer, by way of my solution, which I always offer when I criticize you, have you instructed your staff to prepare wage control legislation to be tabled in this House on the day after the deadline that should be set so that we can level the playing field with the union leaders who are going to drag this out and cost us every day, the taxpayers, even more money? Have you prepared the legislation? Are you prepared to table it? Are you prepared to pass it and are you prepared to set a deadline for these negotiations to stop?

**Hon Mr Laughren:** The member of the third party obviously doesn't believe in the negotiating process at all or he wouldn't make such a suggestion. I would say, however, to the leader of the third party, that he's right in one respect, that the goal isn't just to preserve jobs and services; it is to reduce the cost of the public sector in the province, to streamline it, to make it more efficient and to reduce the cost of doing so and subsequently the deficit of the province. He's quite right there.

But while we're doing that, we would like very much to work out an arrangement, which is the purpose of the social contract, whereby we do minimize job losses. We don't take any satisfaction out of causing layoffs in the province of Ontario. What we're saying is that what we want to do is reduce the cost of government in the province of Ontario, and we've asked our public sector partners out there to help us achieve that while minimizing job losses and services at the community level.

**Mr Harris:** Mr Minister, the union leaders understand the negotiating process very well. Sid Ryan, who is here from CUPE watching you today, understands what the threat of strike means. He understands delaying tactics, that if you can delay it for ever, then you

postpone it; you can perhaps get it put off, because it would be too late in the year.

Both you and the Premier know that you have the support of the public. You know that we must make these tough decisions. It took you a long time to come to that, but you know that. Unlike the Liberals, I've told you I will support you in this. I will support you to go even further; you know that as well. I want to state clearly today that I will support legislation—bang, bang, bang, first, second, third reading—one day past a realistic deadline. We must provide to the taxpayers, we must provide to the people of Ontario, clear leadership and direction that we're going to get this deficit problem under control. We must do that.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Would the leader place a question, please.

**Mr Harris:** I would ask you to level the playing field, to set a firm deadline, to welcome the negotiations and the process but to clearly say: "If by that deadline they're not met, we are going to legislate. We are going to legislate the cutbacks that have to be made to get this fiscal mess under control."

**Hon Mr Laughren:** I wasn't aware that Mr Ryan was here, but I certainly am glad he is here to see this performance by the leader of the third party.

I think everyone in the province understands, number one, that we have a serious problem with the deficit, and secondly, that we are tackling this problem with three approaches: first, to get our expenditures under control, and we've engaged in a very serious effort to reduce our expenditures. We've done that, we've laid before the province about \$4 billion in expenditure reductions for this fiscal year. Secondly, we want to work out a social contract with our partners in the public sector. We believe we have an obligation to work extremely hard to accomplish that through the negotiations process rather than the way the leader of the third party would do it. I appreciate that's a very fundamental, ideological difference between his party and this government. I respect that difference, and it's very real, but I think that he should give us the opportunity to try and negotiate this, rather than coming with a ham-fisted way and say, "It's this way or the highway."

**The Speaker:** New question, the leader of the third party.

**Mr Harris:** Mr Speaker, also to the Treasurer: Clearly the unions understand. They've said, "It's strike; our way or the highway," and they want to negotiate. Your alternative is, roll over and play dead.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** No.

**Mr Harris:** Well, if it's not, then do you have the legislation ready? If not, who's going to seriously negotiate, if they don't think you have the courage or the will or the leadership to do what has to be done? That's the problem.

I also want to ask the Treasurer this: You talked about the mix, the mix you've talked about. You confirm that in addition to the spending cuts—

**The Speaker:** Order. I was under the impression that the honourable leader of the third party had begun his question, and I would ask that he try to stay on that line. He had started into a question, as far as I was aware.

#### GOVERNMENT ASSETS

**Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing):** Thank you very much, Mr Speaker. Let me by way of a new question to the minister respond to his earlier call about this "creative mix," as he calls it. Part of it is \$2 billion, in what you call a creative mix. New revenue is part of the creative mix—that's taxes, and you know what I think of that—and the other is this sale of assets. There is a \$2-billion package there, I think the Treasury will agree with me. You know how I feel about taxes. I don't think I have to dwell on that very much longer—but I probably will.

Let's deal right now with the sale of assets. Selling assets, Treasurer, is not a solution. Selling off, for example, GO trains only takes the assets off the books by whatever amount of cash you get. It's a paper transaction. It does not increase or decrease your balance sheet one iota, particularly when you then have to go back in the ensuing years and buy the trains back or lease them back or lease-purchase them back. Why do you continue to pursue selling assets like GO Transit and the trains that have already been paid for as a way to get money short-term, one year, at the same time as you're going to lose those assets off the book and in ensuing years you're going to have to pay them back over the next 10 or 15 years? Would you not agree that this is not good common sense?

**Hon Floyd Laughren (Minister of Finance):** I'll try and avoid the temptation to talk about selling off non-strategic assets which the two opposition parties got us into, such as the SkyDome and Suncor investments. But I will not dwell on that. Surely to goodness, the leader of the third party, who's big on privatization, as I understand it, bigger than I am, understands that there are non-strategic assets that can be sold without undermining the long-term economic health of this province and make good economic sense.

The refinancing of the GO Transit rolling stock, for example, saves the taxpayers money, and if the member thinks we should not sell the SkyDome—I understand his historic attachment to it, but I don't think he really is serious if he says that we should be holding on to SkyDome as an asset for the Ontario government. I think that's simply wrong.

**Mr Harris:** No, I didn't say that.

*Interjections.*

**Hon Mr Laughren:** Well, make up your mind

whether you want to sell them or you don't want to sell them. All I would assure the leader of the third party is that we have no intentions of selling off the strategic assets of the province, but there are some non-strategic assets and land that I think make common sense to sell at this time rather than increasing taxes or reducing essential services in the province. I think that's what I would designate or call a creative mix of getting our revenues and getting the deficit down at the same time.

1430

**Mr Harris:** The public understands that selling assets is a one-year fix creating a longer-term problem. If they sell their home for \$100,000, they get \$100,000 in cash and they've got no place to live unless they then have to take that \$100,000 and go buy another home. Go buy more trains. Go buy more computers. These are the things you want to sell to get cash for one year, and the public understands very clearly that's a short-term, one-year solution and the problem doesn't go away.

Yes, sell the SkyDome. Even that one: I don't think you want to go and buy another SkyDome, I don't think you're as silly as that, but even that is a one-year solution of an asset. It's not revenue. It's not ongoing. It delays facing up to the fundamental spending problem.

I would ask you this, minister, rather than selling assets, which is a one-year fix, in many cases a book entry, and rather than hiking taxes which will stifle the recovery in the private sector and cost us jobs that we desperately need to hire Sid Ryan's people, who, some of them, are going to lose jobs, why will you not look for another \$2 billion in real spending cuts, many of which we've offered you proposals to do? Why won't you put your time and energy into that?

**Hon Mr Laughren:** We put an enormous amount of time and energy into finding \$4 billion in expenditure reductions this year. That was a very, very large effort. I guess we differ in that we have the Liberals on one side saying, "You're cutting too much; let the deficit go up." You're saying, "You're not cutting enough; get the deficit down more."

The leader of the third party is saying, "We don't want any tax increases." Surely to goodness, the leader of the third party should understand that in the 1990s any kind of solution on getting the deficit under control must include some tax increases. People don't believe you any more when you say that you can get the deficit down without increasing some taxes. That's simply not believable in the 1990s.

**Mr Harris:** No, you've got it wrong. They didn't believe me three years ago. Today they do, because it's the same message that I gave three years ago and two years and one year ago, and now even your Premier says, "Harris was right and we were wrong." So we understand that. Let's be very clear about that. We have identified for you, we're prepared to go on the—the



Liberals want to play it both ways. "Tell us what you're going to cut so we can criticize."

We've gone on the hook. We have identified for you another \$2 billion that we've asked you to take. Even your union leaders, social partners, yesterday said, "Hey, we're going to find more that you can cut." Why will you not work with the social partners, with the union leaders, to find another \$2 billion to cut instead of hiking taxes and fire-saling our assets and destroying the long-term hope for opportunity and prosperity and jobs in this province? Why won't you find that other \$2 billion—

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Could the leader conclude his question, please.

**Mr Harris:** —that even the unions say is there to be found?

**Hon Mr Laughren:** Mr Speaker, I may need your help here. One question, the leader of the third party says that we should stop negotiating, bring in legislation and solve the problem entirely.

**Mr Harris:** No, I didn't say that.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** The next question, he's on his feet saying, "Why don't you negotiate with your social partners?" I want to tell you, Mr Speaker—

**Mr Harris:** No, don't mislead the House. If you want to restate facts, fine. Don't stand up and lie.

**The Speaker:** Order. The leader of the third party. *Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order. It is not helpful to suggest that a member is misleading the House. I would ask the leader to withdraw that.

**Mr Harris:** Fine, if you'd like me, Mr Speaker, to stand up and correct the record. Usually it's the minister, when he lies, who has to correct the record. I will withdraw the "lying" comment.

**The Speaker:** I ask the leader of the third party to simply say, "I withdraw," and not make an additional accusation.

**Mr Harris:** I will withdraw in my way, not your way. I withdraw the comments.

Will you now correct the record?

**Hon Gilles Pouliot (Minister of Transportation):** Let's level the playing field. Get him out of here. Toss him.

**The Speaker:** Order, Minister of Transportation.

**Hon Mr Pouliot:** He's provoking the Deputy Premier.

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order. Minister?

**Hon Mr Laughren:** We are trying to deal with a very serious problem here, and shouting and name-calling will not get anybody to the solution, nobody. What the leader of the third party is engaging in is

nothing more than theatrics. I think he should put that behind him and let's get on with dealing with the problem. The leader of the third party usually is very good about coming forth with alternatives rather than simply standing up and posturing, so I would encourage him to do that.

I would say to the leader of the third party, we believe very much that the process we're engaged in is one of negotiations. We have said to our partners out there in the public sector, "These are proposals we are putting before you, and we are open to suggestions on other ways to achieve the target of \$2 billion in savings." We've said that very clearly to them, so there's nothing misleading about it. We laid before them all the expenditure reductions that had already been taken so that there was no bad faith in that regard, and said to them, "Now help us get there."

To me, that is true negotiation. We are open to suggestions and to alternatives from them. We are very serious about that, and we look forward to hearing back from them on what those alternatives are.

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#### DRUG BENEFITS

**Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North):** My question is to the Minister of Health. Minister, I was very interested last Friday to read the details of the government's expenditure control plan, particularly as it relates to expenditure controls that have been decided for the fiscal year in which we now find ourselves.

In the treasury document tabled by the Minister of Finance last Friday, it states very clearly that in this fiscal year, 1993-94, your government intends to save \$195 million in the area of the Ontario drug benefit plan, specifically by including reforms of pharmacy services, prescribing guidelines, drug pricing and cost sharing. Would the minister be so helpful as to tell the House and the people of Ontario, most especially the senior citizens of Ontario, how this \$195-million saving in this fiscal year in this drug benefit program will be achieved?

**Hon Ruth Grier (Minister of Health):** I'm delighted to have an opportunity to say something on this particular measure to the House, and for the member's information, I will be meeting later this afternoon with representatives of the seniors' alliance to discuss with them some of the mechanisms by which in fact this kind of saving can be achieved.

Let me say to the member that as a result of changes in the Ontario drug benefit program that have been initiated over last year there will be included in this amount some annualized savings as a result of changes that have been made in the past, as well as consideration of the items that he enumerated: prescribing guidelines, better management of the system and some discussion, as has been going on through the Ontario

drug programs reform secretariat and the advisory committee to that, as to how we can in fact reform our Ontario drug benefits program to ensure that what happens first is that we can assure people that the quality of the prescriptions and the drugs they get are appropriate for their needs, and that there is greater equity throughout the system with respect to those people who need assistance in order to obtain the drugs that have been prescribed for them.

**Mr Conway:** I draw to the minister's attention that the Treasurer's document of last week is very specific. It states that the Rae government has decided policy changes which will, in this fiscal year, a year that is now 10% over—this fiscal year began 28 days ago and you have presumably made important decisions that you know will save, in this year, \$195 million. The devil is in the details.

No one could dispute the bromides you offered in your first answer, but I think the people of Ontario are entitled to know the specifics of your expenditure control plan in so far as the drug benefit plan is concerned. Specifically, Minister, will you tell the House whether or not you intend, in this particular expenditure control in this fiscal year, which you say will achieve nearly \$200 million worth of savings, to end the universality of access to drugs for senior citizens in this province? That is a recommendation that has been apparently made by the drug reform task force. It's been widely commented upon.

Could you perhaps tell me and the seniors today whether or not that particular recommendation and policy decision has been accepted and agreed to and forms part of the \$195 million you have already decided you will save in a fiscal year that began 20 days ago?

**Hon Mrs Grier:** I'm happy to be very clear on that subject. As the member has said, the drug reform secretariat has been working for over a year, has made recommendations to me with respect to some of the mechanisms and some of the details as to how both a more effective drug benefit plan can be put in place as well as contain the costs. Don't forget that the savings that have been identified here represent not so much a reduction in expenditures as a flat line from previous years in our overall budget as opposed to the kinds of increases that have occurred in the overall Ministry of Health budget. There has been no acceptance of any of those recommendations at this point and there will certainly be discussions with the people affected.

#### PUBLIC SAFETY

**Mrs Dianne Cunningham (London North):** My question is to the Attorney General and the minister responsible for women's issues. Madam Minister, you're obviously aware of the new federal legislation introduced yesterday to deal more strictly with sex offenders, family violence and the harassment of women. While there's some criticism of specific aspects, I believe that

the federal opposition parties appear to be supportive and suggest that the legislation can be made stronger.

Will you commit to work with the federal Justice ministry and with your own federal party to ensure that this legislation receives the full attention it deserves in order to pass by the end of this session?

**Hon Marion Boyd (Attorney General and Minister Responsible for Women's Issues):** I'm pleased to confirm to the member my very deep cooperation in working with the federal ministry. Our ministry already has been working, as have the other attorneys general across the country, in all the provinces, around these issues, and there has been considerable discussion.

The actual wording of the provisions that have been tabled by the minister has not received wide community consultation and that's of real concern to a lot of women's groups. What we plan to do in Ontario is to call together women's groups, victims' groups and others who are interested in these reforms to have a thorough consultation here so that we can give the benefit of that information to the federal minister.

**Mrs Cunningham:** The minister obviously knows that the package does contain positive measures and we're happy to hear that she's not only going to lend her support but to be part of the whole communications process.

But, Madam Minister, like yourself, I'm from the London area, and we have some specific reasons for wanting this legislation to proceed quickly. Next Monday, you know that the London detachment of the OPP plans to go into court to seek permission to stop providing 24-hour protection to an area woman from her ex-husband.

It's our understanding that the courts gave this person only one day in jail after he assaulted and threatened her, and 30 days after he violated his probation and he is now out of jail and she lives in constant fear.

Given that your own staff has been advising the OPP on ending its protection of this woman, have you looked at yesterday's legislation to determine that if any way some of the ideas in that could be used to provide the protection to this woman which is currently unavailable except from the OPP?

**Hon Mrs Boyd:** I'm sure the member is aware that I'm not going to comment at great length on the particular case, except to say that in these instances one of the difficulties that we have around public safety is the inability of police to ever guarantee the safety of anyone under these circumstances. Any mechanism, such as the new law, that gives the police better tools with which to try to protect those who are being harassed and intimidated will be very welcome.

Our concern obviously as a ministry will be to ensure that in fact greater protection is there in any new amendments to the Criminal Code. There are some



concerns that, for example, the language around intent in the new amendment may have the same drawbacks that the current language has in the watch and beset section of the code, which the police have found very difficult to apply in terms of protection.

I would say to the member that certainly in all cases where women are being stalked, are being intimidated, are being pursued, the common goal, I think, of all law enforcement agencies and certainly of attorneys general across the country is to find effective mechanisms that are not going to run counter to the charter, that are in fact going to offer better protection to women.

#### JOBS ONTARIO

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** The Minister of Education and Training has a response to a question asked earlier.

**Hon David S. Cooke (Minister of Education and Training):** I'd like to respond to a question that was asked yesterday by the member for Eglinton with regard to buttons produced for the Jobs Ontario Training program and her accusation that the buttons were produced in Taiwan.

I want to inform the member, and I believe she knows—and I'm quite frankly surprised that she already hasn't risen on a point of order to correct the record—that the ministry checked with the suppliers of all the buttons, and she knows that we have been able to confirm that all of the material, including the buttons, were entirely produced in Canada.

**The Speaker:** Supplementary, the member for Eglinton.

**Ms Dianne Poole (Eglinton):** Actually, I find the member's statement quite surprising, because it runs contrary to information supplied to our caucus on the morning of April 20, 1993, by a salesman from Instant Promotions, Mr Larry Silverman, who indicated that in fact the buttons were produced in Taiwan.

But, Mr Minister, the other thing I find very interesting is your utter silence on the matter that almost \$700,000 has been spent on promotions to produce these wonderful glossy kits, almost \$700,000 at a time when this government is purporting to be exercising restraint.

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**The Speaker:** Does the member have a question?

**Ms Poole:** Yes, Mr Speaker, I do have a question. My question: Does the minister find it acceptable that his ministry and the Jobs Ontario program are spending almost \$700,000 on promotions, on bumper stickers, on buttons and the like, at a time when thousands and thousands of Ontario people are out of work?

**Hon Mr Cooke:** Mr Speaker, I'm going to read two very short letters into the record from Royal Associates, one of the companies responsible for producing the material, to the Jobs Ontario Training program, written this morning.

"This letter is to confirm that all promotional buttons are made in Canada, the parts are also stamped and assembled in Canada. If you have any further questions, please do not hesitate to call Rose Blois, account executive."

"Instant Promotions: Regarding your inquiry of the origin of buttons manufactured for Jobs Ontario, we have confirmed with our manufacturer that all buttons Instant Promotions sold to Jobs Ontario, including all parts, assembly and printing are manufactured in Canada."

Why don't you admit when you're wrong?

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order. I ask the House to come to order.

**Ms Poole:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I just want to say that I will be filing the appropriate forms for a late show because the minister did not answer my question.

#### LABOUR RELATIONS

**Mrs Elinor Caplan (Oriole):** My question is to the Chairman of the Management Board, the employer of the government and the minister responsible for our human resources. I would say to the minister surely you understand, as I do, why people are reluctant to come to the table to negotiate with your government. How can the so-called social contract, public sector partners involved in your contract negotiations trust you, given your record of bargaining in bad faith and broken promises?

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Chair of the Management Board of Cabinet):** I will refer the question to the Deputy Premier.

**Hon Floyd Laughren (Deputy Premier and Minister of Finance):** I don't think it's appropriate to accuse this government of bargaining in bad faith. If the member is referring specifically to the sectoral bargaining—sorry, the social contract table that's been set up—we were trying very hard to bargain in good faith. We went to them with all of the information we could provide. We've opened the books for them in a much more open way than any government in the history of the civilized world has ever undertaken, I suspect.

**Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines):** Civilized?

**Hon Mr Laughren:** Well, I didn't want to confine my remarks to Ontario.

I think we have really tried to be as open as possible so that the bargaining was real bargaining, not bargaining in a token way only.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Supplementary. Is this to the Chair of the Management Board again?

**Mrs Caplan:** Mr Speaker, actually to the Treasurer and Minister of Finance who answered the question. I don't think your words give confidence to anyone. Your

partners in these so-called social contract negotiations have witnessed the arbitrary gutting of an agreement that Mr Decter entered into, that was enshrined in legislation in this House. This contract was negotiated supposedly in good faith by Mr Decter, and I would say to you that, given that record and that history of bargaining in bad faith, why is it any wonder that they don't want to come to the table and negotiate with you? Bill 135 has been effectively gutted. Why should they trust you again?

**Hon Mr Laughren:** I can only assume that the member is being unusually convoluted in her question, which is not her normal style. I assume that she's talking about the Ontario Medical Association agreement that was negotiated. She says we've gutted it. What we've done is to go to the social contract table with a set of proposals and said to them, "Let's negotiate." How is that gutting anything? It's a set of proposals in which we're offering to negotiate what's on the table.

I think the member is being unfair in categorizing this as the gutting of a contract. That simply is inappropriate.

**Mrs Caplan:** You arbitrarily gutted your own contract. Decter negotiated it.

**The Speaker:** Order, the member for Oriole.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** Mr Speaker, we've gone with a set of proposals, nothing more, so I don't know why the member for Oriole insists on categorizing this as gutting an existing contract.

#### TOBACCO TAXES

**Mr Noble Villeneuve (S-D-G & East Grenville):** To the Treasurer and Minister of Finance also: Ontario's tobacco growers, manufacturers and retailers are very worried about the very significant increase in criminal activity, right down to the farm level, because of high tobacco taxes here in Ontario.

That's why they've joined with the Canadian Federation of Independent Grocers, the Retail Council of Canada, the Canadian Council of Grocery Distributors, the Ontario Convenience Stores Association, the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union, the Bakery, Confectionary and Tobacco Workers International Union and the tobacco industry to say that something must be done about tobacco smuggling.

With the losses in taxes totalling close to the annual budget of your colleague the Minister of Agriculture and Food, do you not think, as Minister of Finance, that something must be done to correct that?

**Hon Floyd Laughren (Minister of Finance):** Yes, Mr Speaker, I do think that something must be done. The level of smuggling is an unacceptable level. I had a meeting with my counterpart in Quebec, for example, where they're experiencing, I suspect, even greater losses through smuggling than we are in the province of

Ontario. But I take no comfort in that, because any level of smuggling is unacceptable.

Our hope is that by working with the law enforcement officers, we can put in place more stringent enforcement methods, because I agree with the member that something must be done.

**Mr Villeneuve:** It's obvious that tobacco taxes have not been a major factor in preventing people from smoking, and they have indeed encouraged smuggling and illegal activities: crime, in other words. What is the province ready to do on this issue to protect all those, from the farmer on through the processor, manufacturer and retailer, from criminal activities going from smuggling to break-in? What do you intend doing?

**Hon Mr Laughren:** I think that the member is half right: I do believe that relatively high taxes on cigarettes do lead to more smuggling. I agree with him there. But I also think that they lead to discouraging people from smoking, so I think that it cuts both ways, if I can use that expression.

But I think that to send a signal to the people in this province, at a time when we're trying to discourage smoking all over, that lowering taxes is the answer, I'm afraid that the member and I would part company, and probably even the member opposite and the member for Carleton as well.

#### SUPPORT AND CUSTODY ORDERS ENFORCEMENT

**Mr Paul Wessinger (Simcoe Centre):** I have a question for the Attorney General. The Family Support Plan Act is an act which I had some connection with and very much interest in. I know it's been in effect now for almost a year, and I know that when it was brought in I made many statements saying how it was going to improve the collection process for support payments.

I wonder if the Attorney General might tell me to what extent the collection process has improved. How much more are we collecting? I know it's a difficult time financially now, etc, but I'd like to know what improvements we've seen in that area.

**Hon Marion Boyd (Attorney General):** I'm really pleased to be able to inform the member that the act did make quite a bit of difference in terms of the number of dollars that were coming in.

Prior to its coming into effect in March 1992, the plan was collecting about \$14 million per month. During this last year, the average per month amount collected was \$19 million, and that has increased each month. During the month of March, we had a record intake of \$23 million. Sixty-nine per cent of the cases that have automatic wage deduction are remitting support payments and, prior to March 1992, the average was about 40%. So there is some improvement, but there's still a long way to go, and that's why we're



encouraging people to really support the plan.

**Mr Wessenger:** One of the areas that's been of great concern, I know, in my constituency office is the more difficult cases, the self-employed payors. I'm wondering, has this automatic system resulted in more effective collection in those areas particularly?

1500

**Hon Mrs Boyd:** It has improved it in some areas where, even though people are self-employed, the source of their income is available through provincial payments. That would include OHIP payments, legal aid payments, that sort of thing. But there is no question that the issue of self-employment and the issue of people who leave one place of employment and go to another place without reporting that change of employment, as they are required to do by law, is still the biggest gap we have. We are making efforts to try and find additional ways of tracing those people through the various data banks that the Ontario government has access to at this point in time.

#### AGRICULTURE INSPECTION

**Mr John C. Cleary (Cornwall):** My question should be of concern to every resident in Ontario, and it's directed to the Minister of Agriculture and Food.

Milk and milk product consumers in Ontario will be interested to know that the government is cutting the dairy inspection branch, but details are still sketchy. It appears that the whole milk-testing system is going to be overhauled.

I would like the minister to comment on how many dairy inspectors will lose their jobs, what the time frame for implementation will be and, most importantly, what the impact will be on milk testing in this province.

**Hon Elmer Buchanan (Minister of Agriculture and Food):** I want to assure the member for Cornwall and assure all the residents of Ontario that the restraints we're looking at in terms of milk inspection are not going to affect the food quality and safety of milk in this province.

There was some duplication in the system of inspection, which we're addressing through our restraint package, and there will be some reductions in the number of inspectors we have. The member should know that there will be certainly a reduction in the number of routine farm visits that have been conducted in the past.

We will be living up to all of our commitments under the act in terms of inspections at milk processing plants. We will continue to respond to any problems that are perceived or requests for inspection at the farm site to ensure that we maintain food quality and safety of milk. There will be some job losses but we will maintain the high quality of milk standards we've maintained in this province for a good number of years.

**Mr Cleary:** If OMAF plans to redirect resources to

the new food laboratory, I ask the minister again what measures are being undertaken now to ensure that milk gets to the market, has been adequately inspected under the revised system, and can he give the dairy producers of Ontario assurance that the increased emphasis on self-regulation will not mean that they themselves will be forced to pay additional costs?

**Hon Mr Buchanan:** This is not intended to introduce any additional costs into the system. There are already inspectors in place. The Ontario Dairy Herd Improvement Corp system provides inspectors as well. We are not going to do anything that's going to destroy the high quality of milk we have in this province and we're not looking at passing on any additional costs.

We're cutting back on the number of inspectors. In fact, we're reducing from 35 down to 23 the number of inspectors we have in that area. There are other inspectors, as the member knows, who are accountable to the milk marketing board and others. They will be maintained. We are trying to maintain a system with fewer inspectors, and I think that's something we all need to work towards in these times of restraint.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** The time for oral questions has expired.

#### MOTIONS

##### PRIVATE MEMBERS' PUBLIC BUSINESS

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Chair of the Management Board of Cabinet):** I move that Mr Grandmaître exchange places with Mr Callahan and Mr Ramsay exchange places with Mr Daigeler in the order of precedence for private members' public business; and notwithstanding standing order 96(h), the requirement for notice be waived with respect to ballot items 5 and 6.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

#### PETITIONS

##### PENSION FUNDS

**Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines):** I have a petition from firefighters in the city of St Catharines, who are members of the Provincial Federation of Ontario Fire Fighters, and this petition is one which opposes the use of their pension funds by the proposed Ontario investment fund. It reads as follows:

"We are extremely concerned with the proposed Ontario investment fund and the implied tampering with our pension funds. The excellent financial stability of the current OMERS pension fund is the result of a pragmatic investment strategy currently employed by the board and should be maintained. This pension plan has not achieved financial success by meddling governments."

They respectfully request that the Ontario Legislature ensure that their pension contributions, retirement benefits and pension assets remain unfettered by

attempted government speculation and they thank us for our assistance in these matters.

This is a petition which contains well over 100 names and addresses and I'm pleased to affix my name to this petition in agreement with its contents.

#### NATIVE HUNTING AND FISHING

**Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East):** I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

"Whereas in 1923, seven Ontario bands signed the Williams Treaty, which guaranteed that native peoples would fish and hunt according to provincial and federal conservation laws, like everyone else; and

"Whereas the bands were paid the 1993 equivalent of \$20 million; and

"Whereas that treaty was upheld by Ontario's highest court last year; and

"Whereas Bob Rae is not enforcing existing laws which prohibit native peoples from hunting and fishing out of season; and

"Whereas this will put at risk an already pressured part of Ontario's natural environment;

"We, the undersigned, adamantly demand that the government honour the principles of fish and wildlife conservation; to respect our native and non-native ancestors and to respect the Williams Treaty."

That's 70 signatures and I've signed it myself.

#### GAMBLING

**Mr David Winninger (London South):** I have a petition signed by 39 individuals requesting "that the government immediately cease all moves to establish gambling casinos by regulation and that appropriate legislation be introduced into the assembly along with a process which includes significant opportunities for public consultation and full public hearings as a means of allowing the citizens of Ontario to express themselves on this new and questionable initiative."

I note with some interest, Mr Speaker, that the first name on the petition is that of Kenneth Bolton, a former NDP member of this House.

**Mr John Sola (Mississauga East):** I have a petition here from St John's Anglican Church in Mississauga and it's on the same topic. It reads as follows:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the New Democratic Party government has not consulted the citizens of the province regarding the expansion of gambling; and

"Whereas families are made more emotionally and economically vulnerable by the operation of various gaming and gambling ventures; and

"Whereas credible academic studies have shown that state-operated gambling is nothing more than a regressive tax on the poor; and

"Whereas the New Democratic Party has in the past

vociferously opposed the raising of moneys for the state through gambling; and

"Whereas the government has not attempted to address the very serious concerns that have been raised by groups and individuals regarding the potential growth in crime;

"Therefore, we, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the government immediately cease all moves to establish gambling casinos and refrain from introducing video lottery terminals in the province of Ontario."

It's signed by 27 names and I will sign it as well.

#### SCHOOL BOARDS

**Mr Gary Carr (Oakville South):** Taxpayers from all across Ontario have asked me to table a petition which reads as follows:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"We, the undersigned, respectfully petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, in order to achieve school board accountability, to provide the Provincial Auditor with the right to do value-for-money audits on school boards; and allow the school board auditors to open the books to the scrutiny of the general public."

1510

#### HYDRO PROJECT

**Mr Gilles Bisson (Cochrane South):** I have a petition here signed by some 1,000 people from across northeastern Ontario from communities, from Swastika, Kirkland Lake, Iroquois Falls, Cochrane, Timmins and I could go on for a number of communities, who have signed their names to this petition in support of a project that is being proposed to be built in Iroquois Falls known as Northland Power.

I would like to be able to table this petition with the Clerk of the House. I do note, however, that the petition wasn't properly filled out, but I wanted to table it none the less because I think these 1,000 people did take the time to show that support, and I would affix my name to that petition in order to see this fine project go ahead in Iroquois Falls.

#### BRUCE GENERATING STATION

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** Mr Speaker, you may have heard me speak in the House a couple of days ago about the 15,564-plus names that have been put on a petition. I'd like to present a couple of those petitions that came to me early. A petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"When discussing the future of Bruce A, to consider that the undersigned are in full support of the continued operation of all the units at Bruce A. Furthermore, we support the expenditure of the required money to rehabilitate the Bruce A units for the following reasons:



"In comparison to other forms of generation, nuclear energy is environmentally safe and cost-effective. Rehabilitating Bruce A units is expected to achieve \$2 billion in savings to the corporation over the station's lifetime. This power is needed for the province's future prosperity.

"A partial or complete closure of Bruce A will have severe negative impacts on the affected workers and will seriously undermine the economy of the surrounding communities and the province.

"In addition to the undersigned, this petition is further endorsed by the following municipal, business and labour groups:

"Councils: Bruce township, Huron township, Kincardine, Kincardine township, Owen Sound city, Port Elgin, Ripley, Saugeen, Tiverton;

"Chambers of commerce: Kincardine, Port Elgin and Southampton;

"Business associations: Kincardine, Port Elgin, Bruce County Realtors Association;

"Labour groups: CUPE 1000, the Society; Grey/Bruce Labour Council; Ontario Nurses' Association, Kincardine and Southampton; Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Association, District 44; Service Employees' International Union, Kincardine and Southampton; Plumbers and Steamfitters Local 527; Electricians Local 1788; Sheet Metal Workers Local 473; Ironworkers Local 736; Machinists and Aerospace Workers Local 1120; Hotel and Restaurant Workers Local 75; Bricklayers Local 12; Allied Trades Council, representing Carpenters Local 2222; Cement Masons Local 598; Labourers Local 1059; Insulators Local 95; Millwrights Local 1592; Operating Engineers Local 793; Painters Local 1590; Teamsters Local 230;

"Riding associations: Bruce Provincial Liberal, Bruce Provincial Progressive Conservative and the Bruce NDP;

"Bruce County School Board and Grey/Bruce Community Industrial Training Advisory Committee also support this."

This is the first instalment of more than 15,500 names and groups that have signed in support of this. I affix my signature.

#### POST-POLIO SYNDROME

**Mr Leo Jordan (Lanark-Renfrew):** "To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas post-polio is a new phenomenon to attack survivors of polio; and

"Whereas the Ottawa and District Post-Polio Association has been formed to help survivors of polio;

"Whereas most family practitioners do not have the specialized knowledge to treat post-polio symptoms effectively; and

"Whereas we the members and friends of the Ottawa

and District Post-Polio Association wish to emphasize to the Ontario government the need to fund a post-polio clinic in Ottawa; and

"Whereas a formal request was presented by the Ottawa and District Post-Polio Association to the Ottawa-Carleton Regional District Health Council in May 1988 and received a top priority at that time;

"Whereas the Rehabilitation Centre of Ottawa-Carleton has presented a proposal to the Ministry of Health for funds to establish a post-polio clinic; and

"Whereas there are at least 1,000 known polio survivors in the catchment area of the Rehabilitation Centre who need the immediate services of a clinic; and

"Whereas there are at least 5,000 polio survivors in Ontario; and

"Whereas there is only one formally constituted post-polio clinic, which is in Toronto and which has a lengthy waiting list; and

"Whereas the cost and difficulties of several trips to the Toronto clinic and staying overnight each time are often insurmountable for a disabled person; and

"Whereas polio survivors who have no paralysis from the initial attack of polio are not immune from developing post-polio symptoms of various severity;

"Whereas research indicates that 80% of polio survivors may develop post-polio symptoms anywhere from 7 to 71 years after the initial attack; and

"Whereas post-polio symptoms are not related to the aging process; and

"Whereas, because of immigration, the post-polio population will not diminish;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to establish a post-polio clinic in the rehabilitation centre of Ottawa-Carleton for the diagnosis, treatment and follow-up of patients and to disseminate information so that the estimated 1,000 known polio survivors in the centre's catchment area can receive adequate treatment and that the medical profession be educated regarding the post-polio syndrome."

I attach my signature to that petition.

LANDFILL

**Mr Larry O'Connor (Durham-York):** Mr Speaker, I have a petition here, and you know last week there was a rally out on the front steps. There were a lot of my constituents here on Earth Day.

"Whereas the town of Georgina has traditionally been a mixture of agricultural, residential and vacation land; and

"Whereas these areas would drastically be affected by a megadump;

"Whereas the Interim Waste Authority has identified sites in the town that would consume large tracts of number 1 and 2 farm land, the areas identified by the

IWA would disrupt the vibrant agricultural community and the farm families that live in these areas, that continue to invest large sums of money into their family farms. These communities would be destroyed by the Interim Waste Authority's putting in a megadump;

"Whereas most of the people of the town of Georgina depend on groundwater for their drinking water supply, and a dump would threaten their clean water supply; and

"Whereas Lake Simcoe is the ice-fishing capital of the world; and

"Whereas Lake Simcoe provides a strong draw for tourists each year-round to fish; and

"Whereas the effects of a megadump would destroy the local economies of the community;

"Therefore, we, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly as follows:

"We oppose the Interim Waste Authority's proposal to take prime farm land and turn it into Metro-York's megadump.

"We further petition the Legislative Assembly to renew efforts to seek alternatives like waste reprocessing to landfill and implementation of progressive reduction, reuse and recycling programs."

Mr Speaker, there were students there last week from Sutton District High School as well, and I affix my name.

#### ST LAWRENCE PARKS COMMISSION

**Mr John C. Cleary (Cornwall):** I have a petition addressed to the Honourable Lieutenant Governor and the Legislative Assembly, and it's signed by over 2,000 signatures:

"Whereas the economy of eastern Ontario is desperately dependent upon the operation of tourist attractions such as Upper Canada Village and programs operated by the St Lawrence Parks Commission; and

Whereas recent news media reports indicate that management of the St Lawrence Parks Commission is considering eliminating certain programs, services and staff positions;

"Therefore, be it resolved that the Minister of Culture, Tourism and Recreation take steps to fully fund the operation of the St Lawrence Parks Commission for the budget 1993-94 to ensure that there will be no cutbacks in programs, services and staff."

#### DEVELOPMENTALLY DISABLED

**Mr Noble Villeneuve (S-D-G & East Grenville):** I also have a petition signed by 1,869 residents of Glengarry county. It's addressed to the Legislature of the province of Ontario and to the Honourable Minister of Community and Social Services:

"We, the undersigned, call on the government of Ontario to reverse its decision to cut funding to community services for people who have development

disabilities. The effects of such cuts will result in unacceptable hardships for vulnerable people and their families. In Glengarry county hundreds of citizens depend on these services and rely on the government to ensure their continuation through committed annualized budgets that reflect the realities of escalating costs of living."

I fully agree and have signed the petition.

#### HYDRO PROJECT

**Mr Gilles Bisson (Cochrane South):** I have another petition here with some 1,500 signatures, again from Timmins, from South Porcupine, from Cochrane, Iroquois Falls, Matheson, Kirkland Lake, a number of communities around northeastern Ontario. The petition is addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario in support of the cogeneration plant that is proposed to be built in the community of Iroquois Falls.

People who affixed their names to this petition are saying that this particular plant will bring some \$200 million of investment in a community of some 4,000 people in Iroquois Falls, that this particular plant will help to ensure the employment of people employed at Abitibi-Price as the host for the steam, and they wish this project to go ahead. I affix my signature to this petition.

1520

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I just want to let you know that I have slightly under 15,560 names to present by way of petition in support of the Bruce A nuclear power development in succeeding days.

**The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin):** I'm sure that the member for Bruce is very much aware that this is not a point of order.

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY

##### EDUCATION STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1993

##### LOI DE 1993 MODIFIANT DES LOIS EN CE QUI CONCERNE L'ÉDUCATION

Mr Malkowski, on behalf of Mr Cooke, moved second reading of the following bill:

Bill 4, An Act to amend certain Acts relating to Education / Loi modifiant certaines lois en ce qui concerne l'éducation.

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Government House Leader):** Mr Speaker, just before the member for York East begins his remarks, we've had some discussions with the opposition. The third party critic would like to switch order with the official opposition critic in terms of the speaking rotation, so we just wanted to inform you that we had no objection to that happening and that a normal rotation would follow after those two exchanges.

**The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin):** Agreed? Agreed.



**Mr Gary Malkowski (York East):** I wish to advise members today that I am introducing for second reading Bill 4, a bill to amend the Education Act and related legislation. This bill is an omnibus bill which contains all the provisions previously included in Bill 37 which dealt with special education issues and all but one of the provisions contained in Bill 88. Many of the items in this bill are of a housekeeping nature, but I would like to take a few moments to bring to the members' attention some of the significant measures contained in this bill.

Amendments in this bill continue to make provision of half-day junior kindergarten mandatory for school boards by September 1994. However, the bill allows for a phase-in period of three years, according to conditions to be set out in regulation.

This initiative was first communicated to the school boards in 1989, and since that time the ministry has contributed special capital grants to boards when it's necessary to help them establish junior kindergarten programs. The operating costs will continue to be supported through the ministry's general legislative grants.

I believe it is important to continue with this initiative so that all children can benefit from early learning experiences. In a complementary measure, the bill will amend the Education Act to allow school boards to be the operator of a child care program under the Day Nurseries Act.

Currently, child care centres are located in schools, but they may not be operated by school boards. This voluntary measure would provide for closer education-child care partnerships in keeping with the government's child care reform directions. It removes a barrier to active participation on the part of school boards. In the case of new child care programs, this new rule would respond to communities where no agency is able to provide the service.

We believe this is an important step in ensuring the necessary services are better coordinated for the children, especially before- and after-school care for school-aged children.

Other amendments in this bill concern special education. We propose changing the Education Act and related legislation to allow school boards, the French-language section of school boards and provincial schools to use American sign language, or ASL, and la langue des signes québécois, LSQ, as languages of instructions for deaf and hard-of-hearing students. ASL and LSQ are languages of the deaf anglophone and francophone communities in North America. It was recommended in the Report on Deaf Education that the use of ASL and LSQ would make education more accessible to some students. These languages are very much a part of deaf culture, and this move is supported as an option by many parents.

The bill also amends the Education Act to allow Ontario to make payments towards the education costs of elementary and secondary students who have received prior approval from OHIP for out-of-country medical treatment. These are children and youth with severe psychiatric or conduct disorders who need the kind of specialized help that is not available in Ontario. This measure provides the legal framework for the Ontario government to make payments towards their education in treatment facilities out of the country. This is an important amendment to ensure that the repeal of the "hard to serve" provision, also contained in this bill, will not adversely affect these students.

Another important measure in the bill is the repeal of the provisions respecting trainable retarded children. This change is appropriate because the term "trainable retarded" is no longer an acceptable term to the education or parent communities. All exceptional pupils will now have access to the same procedure for identification and placement, thereby removing a perceived barrier to the integration of pupils with developmental disabilities.

In addition, the bill amends the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act to permit area school boards in Metropolitan Toronto to take over the responsibility from the Metropolitan Toronto School Board for the education of children previously identified as trainable retarded. This will improve the opportunities for these children to be integrated into regular schools and classes.

The bill contains amendments regarding school board boundaries. These amendments are designed to remove any unintended discrepancies between municipal and school board boundaries which may have arisen in the past out of changes to the boundaries of counties, regional municipalities or the defined cities of London, Windsor or Hamilton. This amendment does not affect the current negotiations between the boards of education in London and in Middlesex county.

Another amendment deals with an issue on which we believe it is necessary to have some uniformity, and that is the maximum length of time a student may be suspended from school. This bill would set 20 school days as the maximum, although boards would be permitted to establish lower maximums.

Finally, another amendment will require school boards to notify the Minister of Education and Training if a teacher is convicted of a Criminal Code offence involving sexual conduct involving a minor, or of any other offence that, in the opinion of the board, indicates pupils may be at risk.

These are some of the key changes contained in Bill 4 and I strongly urge the members to vote for this bill.

1530

**The Deputy Speaker:** Are there any questions or

comments? Are there any other members who wish to participate in this debate? The member for London North.

**Mrs Dianne Cunningham (London North):** I guess I'd like to begin by saying that we were somewhat surprised to have this legislation placed before us so quickly since the beginning of this new session. This is a bill that we have seen in various forms since June 13, 1991.

It's had a number of different names. We first remember it as Bill 125. We had the first reading on June 13, 1991. We then remember it as Bill 20, which had its first reading on May 26, 1992. We then remember it as Bill 88, which had its first reading on October 22, 1992. We then recall Bill 114, which had its first reading on May 30, 1991; it was special legislation, proposed, and then as Bill 37 more recently, its first reading on June 2, 1992, again as special education legislation.

It deals with some 28 separate and unrelated changes to the Education Act, and I talked about the sections as they were introduced in the past. I can only say that although we call this an omnibus bill, I wouldn't exactly agree with the parliamentary assistant when he stated that it was a housekeeping piece of legislation. Clearly, parts of it are, but there are other parts that have, I think, long-standing idealistic reasons for the government to put forward its legislation in this regard, and I'll talk about some of the things I'm going to say with special focus on junior kindergarten and, furthermore, on the child care part of the legislation, which we've seen for the first time.

I'd also like to say that these new additional parts have only been made public in the last few days—this week. I certainly was made aware of them at the end of last week, but as we phoned out to our constituents, whom we rely on here for not only their good advice but because we feel it's important that we represent them—I'm now talking about our organized educational community, our parent community and our school boards. We're anxiously awaiting some of their input.

I'm just giving the government some warning that we would expect this bill to be referred to committee so that any of the questions I may raise can be answered, and so that any of the concerns we've heard so far from the members of the public we represent here in this House can be addressed.

I'd like to begin by talking about the aspect of the bill that I think we're particularly interested in having some further discussions with. We were aware, as I said, that the government would be moving with regard to Bill 37, special education legislation, in the direction the bill proposes, but we haven't had an opportunity to really communicate. This morning our office spoke with the Ontario Association for Community Living, which wasn't even aware of Bill 4 and any of the contents that

pertain to the integration of exceptional students. I suggest that in the future we certainly have more lead time, even before we read our comments into this Legislative Assembly's record, so that others can at least relate to what we're talking about this afternoon.

On Friday, April 23, the Treasurer announced that \$635.6 million would be cut from the Ministry of Education and Training's budget, including a \$130-million deferment of operating grants and the cancellation of \$69.6 million in transition funding for school boards.

At the same time, this government has introduced Bill 4, which will download costs on to local school boards. Programs are discussed in this legislation that will result in additional costs for school boards, such as junior kindergarten, enhanced special education programs and services and the beginning of what we believe will be—but we're certainly willing to discuss this further with the minister to get clarification—a universal child care system for three- to five-year-olds, even perhaps within our school buildings. There's a lot of questions around that and I'm not about to raise anybody's concerns here. I just want to put our questions on the record.

I'd like to start with junior kindergarten. It seems to us that school boards will be required to operate junior kindergarten after August 31, 1994. We appreciate the fact that the minister did in fact listen to us with regard to the policy of this government, and that was that this would be the deadline, given some special, I suppose, understanding or agreement with the minister himself. That was the understanding in the past. Now we find in legislation that the Lieutenant Governor in Council will have the power to allow a board to phase in junior kindergarten by September 1, 1997.

I think this delay in a program that this government is requiring to be universal is responsible at this time and I also feel that it is really the only way that he could practically expect any participation, given the tough times.

The school boards are telling us that they don't have the additional funds for junior kindergarten programs. I think the minister must understand that, and the Premier more than anyone, as they entered into some negotiations a week ago with members of the public service on a social contract. As we look at further cuts in budgets, I would say this is not the time to be demanding new programs without the dollars that would have to go with them.

I must also say that one of the reasons for the school boards not beginning these junior kindergarten programs, besides the fact that they don't want them in their jurisdiction or besides the fact that they don't have the dollars for the operating costs, is that they don't have the physical space. My understanding is that in the Premier's own riding he has some difficulties in making



this policy stick because of the lack of space for a junior kindergarten program.

We do know, though, that all boards will still be required to start offering some junior kindergarten programming by August 31, 1994, and it's our understanding that the minister indeed recognizes that if junior kindergarten programs are in place now, they will not be able to take those programs from their board's operating budget at this time. That is his intent.

There are currently 19 boards that do not offer junior kindergarten programs. Many are growth boards that do not have the space I've referred to and all of them have limited resources. We should say that Bill 4 making this mandatory for school boards is an initiative that this government should be thinking very seriously about, in spite of the delay in implementation.

I should say that the funding changes we've been experiencing in the last year have been changes that school boards have had to face on a monthly basis. We're always hearing about new incentives in education. It's not new to this government, but it is more frequent with this government.

Last January, for instance, the boards were promised 1%, 2%, and 2% transfer payments over the next three years, and in November that same year the Treasurer had to go back on this plan, on his word. Then we found that he decreased the funding to the education sector even further last Friday with his announcements.

Many boards have already set their mill rates. Budgets have been ongoing, public discussions that have been received by communities with sometimes anger and sometimes total misunderstanding. As a matter of fact, just today I was in the press gallery, only to see that we had yet another education group tell us that school board budgets are not easily understood. Some school boards are not making the information available to the public and indeed there probably needs to be some kind of a program audit of school boards, as long as finance audits—in fact, there was a request that the minister make this mandatory.

1540

I think that at this time it's too early for us to respond in that regard, although it has been certainly a suggestion put to us in our New Directions, Volume Two, by the public, that we look at value-for-money audits of school boards, colleges, universities and training institutions that are publicly funded. But we're looking for input from the public in that regard, and I think the idea or the consequence of these questions being asked at this time only indicates the total confusion around funding education in the province of Ontario.

Now we know that the government is going to have to carefully justify, during any committee hearings, moving in this direction in spite of the, I think, stand

that he has taken in this new version of the bill, where he has in fact taken a look at the implementation date as far forward as 1997.

I should also remind this government that if indeed this is something it is not going to back with funding—it being its program, as opposed to the certainly 19 school boards that don't offer the junior kindergarten program—by 1997 it's going to have a hard time implementing legislation that isn't supported across the province of Ontario.

My projection is that if they don't start listening, if they don't respond to parents, if they don't demand that school boards be more accountable, if they don't introduce a core curriculum, if they don't look at careful testing of what's been taught, if they don't take a look at training in our secondary schools along the line of apprenticeship programs and major changes in the delivery of programs to our secondary school students who are leaving school, I would suggest that if those kinds of initiatives are not in place before the end of their term in 1995, they won't have to worry about what happens in 1997.

I say that very clearly, because those are the kinds of concerns that the public is advising us of, no matter where we speak. I'll be out tonight in Mississauga, tomorrow night in Parry Sound, and these are the kinds of questions I get asked. I hope I can, at the same time, bring back the concerns of the communities that we are asked to speak to, to the minister, so that he can consider their tremendous concerns around not only the quality and cost of education but the lack of governments in the last 10 years to respond.

I'd like to move on just for a moment with regard to this junior kindergarten program to take a look at what the minister has talked about with regard to child care in the schools. It's a brand-new section, something that we haven't really had time to look at, but it should be, I think, discussed in the context of the junior kindergarten programs because we're talking about the same age group of child.

This amendment to the bill or the act authorizes school boards to establish, operate and maintain child care centres. It's very interesting that this should be brought forward at this time. This is a first step, I believe, towards implementing the government's plan to provide a seamless day for the care of children.

I certainly think that the care of children is very important in our society, and where they are cared for when they're not with their families, and at what age they are cared for and by whom they are cared for are questions that we should have been able to answer in a very public way in the last five years. In my opinion, I don't think the public has had opportunities to discuss this issue of child care or early childhood education in the manner in which they ought to have.

Now we see the government talking about child care centres in schools, and I think that their thrust and intent here is probably admirable. But I think that because it appears in this legislation, the Education Act, it's going to be very confusing to the public of Ontario and especially to school boards.

The document forwarded to cabinet by the Ministry of Community and Social Services recommended the creation of an early childhood authority to coordinate child care services and education policies. This paper, which some of us saw, seeks cabinet approval for an analysis of base funding for school-based day child care centres that would combine schooling from 9 am to 3:30 pm and child care before and after. The cost of such a school-based program for children aged three to five was described in this advisory document to the cabinet as "very substantial."

Now this leaked cabinet submission—we seem to be picking up from time to time many of these documents—envision a non-profit child care system operated as a public service and recommends withdrawal of government operating grants for private child care operations. Mr Speaker, you can imagine what we've been living with in the last couple of years in this province as we try to phase out the private child care operations and phase in non-profit child care systems, to the chagrin of the small business person who has provided the service to communities in the past quite successfully.

In any regard, as an immediate measure, the ministry recommended amending the Education Act to allow school boards to hold the licence to operate regulated non-profit child care centres.

Following cabinet direction regarding system design and funding, the Ministry of Community and Social Services is supposed to return, or was supposed to return, to the cabinet in the fall of 1993 with detailed policy options and implications regarding enhancing access to the child care system, though I'm sure that this move is coming a little bit sooner than what the government itself expected.

Cabinet, after the fall of 1993, was to determine the most appropriate time to introduce new child care legislation, some time between October 1993 and January 1995, to correspond with the next provincial election. The big question remains: Why are we proceeding with these amendments to the Education Act at this time, because it is confusing to the public who will have jurisdiction over early childhood education and/or child care for three-year-olds?

How in fact will the government of Ontario pay for any additional services at this time? How in fact should it be paid for in the future? Is this in fact a trend towards universal, publicly-paid-for child care? I really don't think so, but none of these questions have been answered. So when the minister does in fact ask why

we would like to have this in committee, you can imagine that we will be putting these questions on the record, certainly, for his staff's perusal.

A variation of this scheme exists in Grey county. We've had the opportunity to talk to the Grey County Board of Education representatives and that county board of education has requested that the minister allow the board to develop a plan, in collaboration with local child welfare, health and social service agencies, for a variety of programs and services for preschool children and their families as alternatives to the traditional junior kindergarten program. So the direction that the ministry is moving in we would applaud, because we think the child care programs are more appropriate for young children than formal education programs.

The Grey county board has set up an agreement that will place kindergarten teachers in existing child care centres for the first part of the day. I thought this was the kind of thing that we would be looking at sort of as a pilot: take an opportunity to discuss the pros and cons, the successes and the failures and definitely the costs, the appropriateness of teachers as opposed to early childhood education specialists from our community colleges, and have an opportunity then perhaps to look at other pilots and move in that direction as well.

1550

It is designed, I know, in this program to reduce the cost of adding junior kindergarten to the school system and to save jobs in local child care centres. This pilot, we know, after we have a chance to look at it, will of course be one model of service integration and collaboration in a rural setting that should be seriously considered.

Right now we have approximately 1,125 child care centres located in schools, serving 41,742 children, and approximately one third of the licensed child care system right now exists in school centres. I think child care is something that we want to promote as a matter of choice for families. I also believe, as we take a look at this program being included under the auspices of the Ministry of Education and Training, I can only say that perhaps we're sending the wrong message to the public.

I would also like to report to you that, in the fourth report of the select committee on education in June 1990, there was an appendix to that report. That appendix was in fact the dissenting opinion of Mr Cooke, the Minister of Education and the member for Windsor-Riverside, and his colleague, a well-known education expert and member of the New Democratic Party of the day, Mr Richard Johnston, the member at the time for Scarborough West. Their dissenting viewpoint at the time to this select committee on education's fourth report, if I may quote from it, should be considered by everyone when we're looking at finding solutions to this whole challenge of providing care for young children, not only responsible programs but being able to fund



them accordingly in a manner that we can afford.

They go on to say:

"Although there is much in the majority report which we support and for which we can take credit, as for example, proposed class sizes for junior kindergarten and senior kindergarten"—I believe that they should be just that, by the way, proposed class sizes; they never should be mandated by the province, given the responsibilities of local school boards right now—"the New Democratic Party members of the select committee on education feel obliged to issue a dissenting report for two reasons. The first revolves around the committee's failure to systematically attack the lack of planning by the government in the area of early childhood education. The second concerns the need to place existing child care facilities in schools under the direction of the Ministry of Education."

It really makes me very nervous to think that in Bill 4 we're beginning to do just that, because I don't believe that we should have child care facilities in schools under the direction of the Ministry of Education. Surely the minister doesn't really mean that the education dollar is now going to have to pay for child care and, if he does, that is definitely worthy of public consultation.

Secondly, I'd like to say that, if indeed the two members of the time were attacking the government of the day with regard to planning, this government is very much at fault in that regard. I can say that, I think, with some authority as a critic because it was just now brought to my attention, towards the end of last week, that this would happen. I don't remember any public discussion on whether or not child care should be the prerogative or the responsibility of the Minister of Education or the Minister of Community and Social Services. I think that would have been a very worthy debate. I'm encouraging, through my comments today, that we refer this to the standing committee on social development of this Legislative Assembly so that we can have proper debate.

I'm going to read on in this report, in this dissenting opinion:

"The greatest demand for child care spaces comes from large urban areas which already pay the greatest percentage of their educational costs." They were talking at the time with regard to Metropolitan Toronto and the city of Ottawa.

"If the province were to expand traditional, community-based child care options in those centres it would have to pay about half of the costs, whereas with the junior kindergarten expansion approval, it pays virtually nothing."

Very clearly at least two members of the NDP, at that time in opposition, really felt that this burden ought to be passed on, by virtue of the Ministry of Education's

jurisdiction, to the local taxpayers. I would suggest that isn't a direction we ought to be moving in at this time, certainly given the promise of the government that it would restore the funding of education to 60% of the cost to be borne by the province of Ontario.

I personally have never given a number at any time that I've been a member of this House or even before, because I never really did understand the best way to pay for education, nor all of the implications of the different commissions that have looked at it. It's something our party is looking seriously at right now, and I can tell you that it's not an easy question. But I know one thing and that is that local taxpayers should not be paying a larger burden of the cost.

It would be so refreshing if we had a government that looked firstly at young children, at their needs, at the program, and then decided who ought to fund it. Clearly we're getting mixed messages from this government, if this is a stopgap solution to the challenge of providing early childhood education and/or child care, obviously beginning in the Education Act as it is now, certainly supports the minister's position in his previous positions as a member of the select committee on education.

They go on, these two members, to say that, "The select committee, at our insistence, has recommended student-teacher ratios of 16 to 1 and 18 to 1 for junior and senior kindergarten respectively."

All I can say to that is, if indeed this government is going to be looking at changes to the Day Nurseries Act, I should remind it that in that act 3- and 4-year-olds are cared for in our child care centres across the province of Ontario with ratios mandated at 8 to 1. So either the two members at the time didn't have that information or they thought that more children, 3- and 4-year-old children, could be in fact cared for with ratios of 16 to 1.

It was always fun when I was in opposition to the Minister of Community and Social Services of the Liberal government as I would remind Mr Sweeney that I would like to have seen larger ratios for school-age children because in fact that ratio was not defined in the act and at the time it wasn't clarified in any way, so certainly the regional and area offices of the Ministry of Community and Social Services were still looking at 8 to 1 ratios for children under the age of 12, which, of course, for people who are caring for children in their homes wasn't a very sensible number.

Most of us know all about 10- and 12-year-olds and I think there are 10- and 11-year-olds and we are able to care for more than that in our homes. That one hasn't been dealt with yet. I've been down here for five years and we haven't looked at changes to the Day Nurseries Act, certainly since I've been here.

Moving back on to this whole area, which is particularly confusing, given that we read the leaked document

to the cabinet, now we see this in the legislation in Bill 4, we're not particularly clear on what the minister really wants to do.

I'd also like to spend some time on the special education programs that are mentioned and with some discussion on the former Bill 37. It's unfortunate that the government decided to include the special education amendments in with the other items in this omnibus bill. We had clear consultation before Christmas with groups that were concerned about Bill 37, and they indicated that there were a variety of concerns with regard to that particular piece of legislation. We haven't heard from the interest groups, but we now know these amendments will no longer get the attention they deserve unless we are able to refer this bill to committee.

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We believe that all children who would benefit from integration should be provided with the opportunity of being integrated. Certainly, it would be my position and that of my caucus. However, we feel that a number of concerns need to be addressed to make the integration option successful.

First, I'd like to say that the government must commit to maintaining a range of special education options, including segregation in provincial schools, so that parents can choose the optimal place for their children. As children gain in knowledge, as they gain in life experiences and certainly as they become older, they ought to have an opportunity, they and their families, to make choices around their placement. I now am talking about not only children of the early years, ages 3 to 10 or 12 in our elementary schools, but children in their secondary years and beyond. Especially young people who even go beyond the legal age for secondary school in our province ought to be considered for placements that are either segregated or integrated into institutions in our society today, especially as those institutions become part of our communities.

We of course need a lot of help in this regard, both from the private sector and from volunteers, because members of our society ought to have the same opportunities as everybody else.

But if we're going to provide all these opportunities and we are going to provide parents with a choice, then governments must provide the provincial resources to support programs, and this is extremely important. I would like to underline this to the minister. The worst thing that people can do, especially governments, is to raise the expectations of families, to get programs in place for a very short period of time and then to withdraw them when families have come to rely on them. So if the ministry is making it mandatory for boards to offer these programs with this bill, these special programs which of course we do support, then they also must provide the dollars. The local taxpayer, I will underline again, cannot afford to pick up the cost.

An interesting quote which I think the minister may enjoy and I'm going to quote right now: "The NDP opposes the Liberals passing the buck to the municipal level. A New Democratic government would provide 100% provincial funding for appropriate specialist staff. This would ensure that hard-to-serve students have an equal opportunity to reach their potential regardless of the strength of the local municipal taxation base."

I think most of us would recognize that that quote took place probably just before the last election. I think the government should be reminded of its intent at that time and be asked to explain why it's making mandatory legislation here and it's not also, at the same time, showing where the money will come from to support the programs, because to this date the government has not committed any additional resources to keep its promise.

I think now, just two and a half years after their election, we are experiencing unprecedented budgetary restraints at school board levels, and they have resulted in cuts to the very programs that we have worked very hard to build in the province of Ontario, especially subsequent to the passage of the old Bill 82 under the Conservative government, where in fact we're looking at school boards that have been able to plan carefully and to program carefully for our very special students. We now see cuts in the numbers of teachers' aides, in speech pathologists and other specialists that are needed to support an integrated program.

So if we are looking at Bill 4 and we are looking at all of the issues in there and we are looking at new programs, I should say we should also be looking at the minister's plan to support these programs with the kind of funding that they not only need but deserve.

There was a document—it was called a Consultation Paper on the Integration of Exceptional Pupils—worthy of everyone's perusal—published by the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation. It proposed to review a long list of educational issues.

At the same time that the public consultation process is supposed to be taking place, the Minister of Education is stating that he needs to proceed with full integration of physically and mentally challenged students into all schools, a process which would not only require substantial alterations and improvements to many schools just to be physically possible but would also require time for teacher retraining, curriculum revision and materials to be developed that have to be properly done, all at this time when boards of education capital budgets are already stretched to the limit simply to provide for the regular maintenance of existing facilities and when no progress has been established to prepare teachers for major changes in the teaching environment.

This is just one message, I think, by our secondary school teachers where we're talking about integration and exceptional pupils, and I think their concerns are



worthy of very serious consideration by the government.

At the same time, I should add myself that as this government has promised that it would go out on a major consultation around education, I think perhaps it might be very responsible of the minister to include some of these issues for public consultation.

The Ontario Public School Boards Association is asking a number of questions, and before any decisions are made it's suggesting that these questions be answered with regard to full implementation of the integration option by school boards. How should "integration" be defined? These are their questions. To some, integration means full inclusion of exceptional pupils in regular classrooms and neighbourhood schools. For some, integration also means that the exceptional child would participate in the regular school curriculum. For others, they expect that integration will provide opportunities for students with special needs to interact with other children their own age but that these children will have an individualized program planned for instruction.

These are the options that the public are wondering about. They all have to be addressed. It's not easy, I understand, to plan for special education with regard to our system, but I do know that these are the kind of questions that are going to be asked when we discuss the removal of references to "trainable retarded child" and "trainable retarded pupil," which are sections 8, 11(2), 13, 17, 19, 20, 26, 31, 33 and 49. These are the kinds of questions that will have to be answered.

What is meant by "local community school or classroom"? Is it anticipated that all schools will be equipped to offer the integration option or only certain schools within the jurisdiction of the school board? Are there conditions placed on both the school board and the pupil with regard to the integration option or is this option to be available to any exceptional pupil where the parents request it? Whose needs are to be given primacy: the needs of the pupil, the needs of the parent or the needs of the community?

Finally, on this whole issue there must be a recognition on the part of both school boards and the government that additional resources, both financial and personnel, time and resources for in-service training for teachers, must be provided before any programs can be implemented.

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So when on May 28, 1991, the minister stated that the integration of exceptional pupils into local community classrooms should be the norm in Ontario wherever possible when such a placement meets the pupil's needs and when it is according to parental choice, we were also made aware that the minister confirmed that the provincial schools—schools for the deaf in Belleville, London and Milton and a school for the blind in Brantford—will continue to be an option for special

education, and we applaud that. It should also be noted that the ministry is considering rationalizing services for the deaf and may close the Sir James Whitney School in Belleville. Therefore, a discussion paper was released in January 1992 with a response deadline of June 15, 1992.

The observations I've just read into the record were with regard to the September 1993 deadline. Originally it had been announced for September 1992. So we still have some time for the minister to consider the questions raised in that instance by the Ontario Public School Boards Association, and further, questions by the Ontario Separate School Trustees' Association, where they said that they applauded the statement of May 28, 1991, by the Honourable Marion Boyd on the inclusion of exceptional pupils at the local level, and they said, "Transition funding would ease the financial burden of schools who are moved from segregated programs to inclusion." This is the transition funding we're talking about. "The Ministry of Education must provide sufficient funds for school boards to completely educate special-needs children." So that statement by my colleague and member for London Centre was obviously well received by the OSSTA and others.

I told you, Mr Speaker, that there are many issues in this legislation, and I would like to just underline the issues that we will be addressing during the committee hearings. There are a number of them.

The definition section with regard to "commercial assessment" and "residential and farm assessment" in the Education Act will apply to the County of Oxford Act, the District Municipality of Muskoka Act, the Municipal Act and the Regional Municipalities Act. We'll be looking for the minister to make remarks on that first issue and the definition.

Similarly, we'll look at the second issue and expect him to give us his opinion on that, and that's with regard to—this is the Bill 165 corollary amendment—telephone and telegraph levies, another section of the Municipal Act.

The other issue, of course, that hasn't been addressed yet but we expect the minister to clarify is with regard to the assessment update in the District Municipality of Muskoka Act and the fact that it will be delayed for one year. It's our intent that we don't want to spend a lot of time on this, because in fact we support it.

With regard to what we would consider a fourth issue, the removal of the terms "trainable retarded children" and "trainable retarded pupils," we would support as changes to the Education Act, and I've talked a little bit about integration and the responses with regard to the trustee associations and the teachers' federation.

With regard to the school boundaries, we would like the opportunity to ask the minister more questions with

regard to section 9. I think the parliamentary assistant addressed that in his comments today.

The sixth issue in the act that we would like the opportunity to talk to the minister about is with regard to testing, where this bill would authorize the minister to require school boards and inspected private schools to participate in provincial reviews. I find that extraordinary, but I applaud it. Some school boards and private schools have resisted participation in the OAC visual arts examination review. Voluntary compliance has resulted in a participation rate of approximately 80%, but the minister lacks specific authority to require full participation. Therefore, it's our understanding that the bill will expand and give the minister the kind of authority that he or she needs.

OPSBA, on Bill 125, because this was the old Bill 125, supported the amendment "on condition that there is a clearly defined process developed in consultation with all education stakeholders for the designing and conducting of these reviews. Clarification of the intent of this amendment in relation to the recently announced"—at the time they made their comments—"provincial Benchmarks project is required. The program is to begin in the fall of 1995 and will test grades 3, 6 and 9 students' performance against a provincial standard." We would like the opportunity to discuss that, and the committee would be the appropriate place.

"Clarification of the role of the various members of the education community in providing advice to the project is also required in light of the recent disbandment of the Provincial Advisory Committee on Evaluation Policies and Practices (PACEPP), which provided advice to the minister on matters of evaluation and assessment," and we would like to have the minister comment on those concerns as put forward by the Ontario Public School Boards Association.

With regard to what we would consider the seventh issue, the authority to pay out-of-country education costs, section 10, which is new and, yes, supposedly a response to our questions of the past: This is related to the removal of the hard-to-serve provisions, special education. In order to deal with pupils identified as hard-to-serve before the section is repealed, Ontario will pay the costs of a placement for a school year in which legislation comes into force for a pupil who by June 2, 1992, was found to be hard to serve.

We also understand that the bill authorizes the minister to pay towards out-of-country education costs associated with pupils who require medical care and treatment outside of Ontario, when approved by the Ontario health insurance plan. I would like the opportunity to speak more fully to that some time and perhaps ask questions and give the minister more information during the committee hearings, because I personally have had some experience in that regard.

We know that currently the minister only has the authority to allocate money to school boards, and I believe that the former Minister of Health was probably extremely—what should I say?—aggressive in trying to get this issue dealt with. Perhaps this is where the government felt it best could be dealt with. I'm curious to see, again, why that should be under the Ministry of Education's jurisdiction, but it's only a matter of further clarification so that we, of course, can support the intent of that part of the legislation.

The eighth issue was the use of American sign language, a number of sections of this bill. Of course, it was our privilege today to have a bill introduced by a parliamentary assistant using American sign language, which I think has been the privilege and pleasure of this Legislative Assembly. We're all amazed at his energy and his dedication and his role modelling on behalf of so many young people. Certainly I can say personally that the member has given many people hope, and that's a wonderful example. If in fact we're looking at role modelling in government, the member for York East is a very positive one, and I appreciated the comments he made today. I'll be interested in reading them later on in the Hansards.

Of course, we're looking at approximately 2,300 deaf and hard-of-hearing students in Ontario's schools, and we know that we want them to have every opportunity. I would be really interested in having answers to questions that we have received with regard to this section. If we can't get it in committee, which I expect we will, perhaps we'll have to deal with it in a different way.

But I can only say that this Legislative Assembly has been criticized today with regard to the way in which it operates, and there are certain members who don't feel we're particularly responsive to being open and consultative in the eyes of the public we serve. This bill will provide a wonderful opportunity, as we have all been looking forward to, to get some of these serious questions answered.

Perhaps over a period of time we could devise an agenda so that people's time will be treated with respect, and perhaps we could make the best use of a short period of time to get some good information for all members of the Legislative Assembly who would take the opportunity to be there.

Special education programs in Metropolitan Toronto: We understand that the Metropolitan Toronto School Board did establish a task force in 1987 and that the task force recommended in June 1988 that area boards assume the responsibility from the Metropolitan Toronto School Board for program delivery and that the area boards have already taken over this role. It is expected that the divestment will be complete by January 1, 1995. The divestment of these programs and services involves a transfer of both teaching and non-teaching



employees from the Metropolitan Toronto School Board to Toronto area boards of education, and the bill addresses the issues arising from the transfer of these employees.

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I know we're speaking at some length this afternoon, but it may save some of us some questions in the future, because when a bill such as this is published, it's not always clear as to the intent of the sections.

With regard to suspensions, we call this issue number 10 within the legislation. I can tell you that the amendments place a limit on the length of suspensions and provide clarification of suspension appeals, and the members should know that there is no maximum fixed period for the suspension of a pupil from school. The amendment would state that "a principal may suspend a pupil not in excess of 20 days."

Currently, there is uncertainty whether the appeal of a suspension to the board stays the suspension. The amendment will clarify that an appeal of the suspension does not stay the suspension, and the right of appeal in cases where the suspension has expired prior to the appeal being heard is for expunging the record only. A school board will be able to establish a committee to deal with suspensions and expulsions.

Don't we wish that some of these things were unnecessary. If everybody was well behaved, we wouldn't have to worry about these kinds of things. If we ourselves could set better examples in this Legislative Assembly, maybe we would worry about less of them, but some days we just don't set the kind of example for our young people.

But because of the demands on society today, we see a government that is having to come forward with this kind of legislation. I can tell you, there are more processes and more pieces of legislation that school boards have to take look at in these times. One just wonders why the cost of education is so exorbitant; you just have to see what we're asking our school boards to be responsible for.

There was a time when you could phone a parent and say, "Your child will stay home from school today," and the parent would say, "You're absolutely right," and work with the school system to solve the problem of the behaviour of the student. Now, more than ever before, we have young people with a lack of the kind of support that is necessary from their families, for a variety of reasons. Some families ought to be spending more time with their children. Others are not able to, for reasons of work, reasons of sickness or health.

For people watching the Legislative Assembly for debate around this bill right now, I looked at suspensions and looked at yet another rule around the Education Act to meet today's society, and all I can say is that if you do one thing today, sit down and talk to your

children and spend some time asking them what they want with their lives. For you children who don't know where your parents are—there used to be ads on TV that said, "Do you know where your children are?" You should perhaps take a look at an ad that says, "Do you know where your parents are?" In today's world, the only way we're going to get ahead in Ontario is to have parents and children working together to support their school systems.

We're going to rely more than ever before on teachers who are dedicated. This bill talks a lot about the necessary training for teachers to deal with special students. I would say that teachers are looking for the support and training to deal with young people who, in many instances, are not getting the support they need at home, the guidance and the restrictions on behaviour that simply should not be allowed. Many of us have witnessed it.

I thought I'd put those comments on the record, as I take a look at the Education Act, which has to be changed once again.

Suspensions: The Ontario Public School Boards Association, when it had the opportunity with regard to Bill 125, commented that it supported "the amendment that an appeal of a suspension does not stay a suspension, but does not support the amendment limiting the maximum amount of time for the suspension to 20 school days, regardless of the reason for suspension. In certain circumstances, and given the seriousness of the offence, a suspension of 20 days is not long enough. Length of suspension should be at the discretion of the local board."

They go on to say that they "do not support the amendment which enables a committee of the board to expel a student without approval of the whole board." These in fact are our elected school board trustees, and the minister is going to have to give them opportunity to speak to this legislation in committee.

The Metropolitan Separate School Board commented. They suggested, "The recommendation to cure the problem is inconsistent with the basic sense of justice that underlies the Statutory Powers Procedure Act. If the appeal does not operate as a stay, it is predictable that with the new 20-day limit to the suspension and the length of time it takes most boards to schedule an appeal, virtually no appeal will ever be able to affect the time of the suspension. The Metropolitan Separate School Board therefore does not support the proposed amendment."

I think I have spoken at length with regard to what we would consider the 11th issue, and that was kindergarten and junior kindergarten. I can only say right now that the costs, of course, at this point in time are to be considered seriously by school boards, and we should know that after spending some \$30 million to implement junior kindergarten, the Peel Board of Education

decided to cancel the program in April 1992 to save \$3.9 million.

You should also know that Brant county has estimated that implementing junior kindergarten will cost \$5.8 million in capital and \$5 million in annual operating grants and that the province has offered \$4.15 in capital grants. The Durham board estimates that junior kindergarten will cost \$12.2 million in capital and \$7.2 million in annual operating grants. Three thousand students would be added to the system, and the board already has 13,000 students in portable classrooms. Waterloo estimates the cost at \$7.4 million over five years, and Wellington estimates that the annual operating cost will be \$3 million, with an additional \$5 million for capital if the province does not provide capital funding.

I think the issue here is not only the fact that school boards have not asked for these programs, but that the ministry is demanding them and legislating them in spite of the fact that the minister has listened to our first and initial question, and that was, "Please, Mr Minister, would you consider delaying the implementation of the junior kindergarten programs?"

We have always said we should be looking at the appropriate programs for young people, for three-to-five-year-olds. Should they be programs supported by the Education dollar, or should they be programs supported by the Ministry of Community and Social Services dollar? Should they be supported totally by the public dollar, or should they be supported in part by parents? Are programs in schools, operated by school boards, appropriate education programs for an all-day program for three-year-olds? In my view, they're not. Are child care programs for young children for the purpose of socialization or for the purpose of support to a family while parents work appropriately administered by the Ministry of Community and Social Services and appropriately paid for in part, where possible, or in full, where possible, by parents responsible?

My answer would be yes, but no one's asking the public. Now we see, yes, a delay in the implementation date for a program that's being mandated by this government at a time when I've just given you some of the costs that the boards have relayed to us as being a real problem.

I have to say that this new program directive was originally included in the 1989 Liberal throne speech. So this whole child care initiative was started by the Liberals, and in 1989, Bob Nixon allocated \$194 million over five years for operating grants and \$100 million for related capital projects. However, the cost will not cover the full cost of implementation for the 19 boards without the program, and those were the boards in September 1992. I have to tell you, Mr Speaker, this is a very controversial subject across the province of Ontario.

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In March 1992, a little over a year ago, the minister told education stakeholders—and this was Mr Silipo—that he was willing to consider alternative proposals. He said that, I believe, in my presence, and he said that the government had set a stipulation that the program must be serviced, I believe, by a certified teacher.

I'm raising that question now for the minister to take a look at because if it has to be a certified teacher and we're looking at early childhood education programs, we're looking at programs that are going to be administered by the Ministry of Education but funded by the Ministry of Community and Social Services. I have to tell you that we have to watch that terminology "certified teacher," because that's one of the issues, who should be teaching or caring for our children. I think it's very important that be discussed in committee.

Again, the Ontario Public School Boards' Association recommended "that in recognition of both space and resource limitations of many boards, the government acknowledge the need for flexibility in both implementation dates and strategies for kindergarten programs. Regardless, until the government is in a position to reinstate the funds allocated for these programs, the deadline for mandatory kindergarten in all school boards should be extended."

The ministry, in its own way, has done just that. However, I would suggest that even since that statement was made by the school boards a year ago, times have changed in the past few weeks and the minister is going to have to really seriously consider listening to these boards, given the new changes and atmosphere in the province.

Our 12th issue was the hard-to-serve pupils. A hard-to-serve pupil is one who is unable to profit from instruction offered by a school board because of a mental handicap or mental and other handicaps. The current provisions of the act outline the procedure for having a pupil declared hard to serve and authorize the placement of these pupils within or outside Ontario at government expense.

The hard-to-serve section was included in the 1980 special education amendments to the Education Act in order to accommodate school boards that did not initially have the capacity to address the needs of severely disabled students, and the Ministry of Education believes that at this time appropriate special education programs are available through schools in Ontario or the provincial schools.

I was a school board trustee for a long time leading up to the passage of that and we knew in the province of Ontario, certainly in at least the 13 years that I was involved, that we had to go a long way to provide our hard-to-serve pupils an education that they deserved.

I will only tell you that the Learning Disabilities



Association of Ontario said that it is "opposed to eliminating section 35 of the Education Act, 'hard to serve,' without first putting in place a mechanism to protect learning-disabled pupils for whom school boards are unable to provide, or to purchase from other boards, appropriate special education services." They go on to say, "The reality of special education in Ontario these days is that boards across the province have drastically reduced or even eliminated special education classes and support services for those students with learning disabilities that need them."

I'm going to take the opportunity to advise the minister and this government that the implementation of their de-streaming program in the secondary schools—or if any is even being considered for the elementary schools, they ought to carefully take a look at the intent of the special education amendments to the Education Act of 1980. They ought to carefully consider the research of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education and others that support teaching methodologies where young people are expected to be not part of a regular class for at least part of the school day.

Sometimes they should be in contained classes, especially in the early years, for the kinds of educational programs that they deserve and that this province has decided, through very serious research, are good for them, are appropriate. So we should never be looking at total destreaming in our elementary and secondary schools. There are a lot of parents who will use this opportunity, as we look at Bill 4, to come forward and ask questions of the government with regard to not only the hard-to-serve pupil amendments in this act, but their own special education programs as they relate to integration of special students and as they relate to, of course, contained classrooms and special programs that have been proven to be successful, as we deal with not only generally disabled young people but specifically disabled young people.

Continuing education, our 13th issue, makes the admission requirements for regular day school and credit continuing education courses similar. Again, the Ontario Public School Boards' Association comments that it does support the amendment, but it stresses that schools must have some discretion about the appropriate placement of adults.

I'm not going to put specific comments with regard to what we would consider the 14th issue, auditors, on the record. I'll save that opportunity for when we take a look at the clause-by-clause section of the bill.

The entitlement to vote is with regard to the declaration of Canadian citizenship.

The Municipal Statute Law Amendment Act: I won't talk in detail about that.

The other issue with regard to the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs: We'll leave that for the moment.

Open access: I think I can only say here that clause 143(1)(a) of the Education Act duplicates the right of open access that is available under section 144(2) of the act, and this redundant provision is removed.

If we want to get into some of those sections, I can say it is housekeeping, and for the pupils to whom section 143 will continue to apply, the system of payment transfers from Roman Catholic school boards to public school boards will be replaced by individual fee payments by the Roman Catholic boards, and the Ontario Public School Boards' Association supports this amendment.

This is an example of what the parliamentary assistant referred to as housekeeping and we would agree with him. But I have to say that even he, I think, would agree with the statements that we've made today with regard to some of the other issues around special education, junior kindergarten, child care in school and others.

The sexual assault subsection requires school boards to notify the minister when teachers are convicted (a) of criminal offences involving sexual misconduct with children; or (b) of other criminal offences which would on reasonable and probable grounds appear to place pupils at risk. It's common sense; unfortunately, we have to put it in a piece of legislation. That's not unlike the requirement that teachers report sexual and physical abuse, and so we're just being consistent with former legislation with regard to responsibility around criminal offences, sexual misconduct, with regard to teachers.

Isn't it a shame that we even have to consider such a clause, given the times and the information and the public education we have with regard to our responsibility in our schools to protect our young people and to educate them and provide them with the knowledge and training they'll need to be contributing citizens to our society.

I've talked about the child care centres. We have a section here on textbook deposits. I should, on that one, say that the authority for school boards to require a nominal deposit for textbooks provided to pupils enrolled in a continuing education course in which a credit towards a secondary school diploma may be earned—school boards may be concerned about providing textbooks to students enrolled in continuing education programs because they may reside in another jurisdiction of the school board and may constitute a less stable population than day school pupils.

The Ontario Public School Boards' Association once again commented that they do not support this amendment, which provides boards with the authority to require a deposit for textbooks provided to pupils enrolled in a continuing education credit course.

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They say that if adult education is to be recognized

as a legitimate component of the education system, "then adequate and equitable funding must be guaranteed by the provincial government to provide for textbooks for these programs." Interesting comment, one that the minister may be looking at.

Issue 22 with regard to sick leave credits: I will leave the minister with some questions and I believe that there are a number of problems with the proposed revision. My questions would be as follows.

The province is passing legislation that will increase costs for local school boards. Therefore, what is the rationale for the change? Will it improve the quality of education? Will it be retroactive for employees currently on staff who were not able to transfer credits in the past? The legislation will dissuade boards from hiring experienced personnel. Teachers or custodians with 200 accumulated sick days will carry a liability with them that a board may not want to assume. The legislation creates a hiring bias, in many people's opinions, and since age goes hand in hand with the liability, it is only one short step removed from age discrimination.

The Ontario public school boards' comment under the old Bill 125: "OPSBA does not support the removal of 'intervening employment' from section 158(2), (4) and (6) from the Education Act. This revision would automatically increase school board liability under section 158(1) where a retirement gratuity exists." Those are their comments. They must be considered.

There are comments with regard to disqualification of trustees, with regard to the requirement to appoint a supervisory officer with school boards that have fewer than 2,000 pupils, and the Ontario public school boards in its final comment that I'm going to be quoting from today say this:

"In 1990 OPSBA expressed its concern to the Ministry of Education, on behalf of its northern members, regarding the withdrawal in 1989 of Ministry of Education supervisory services for small northern school boards. Since then, many of these small boards have attempted to negotiate the sharing of supervisory services, but arrangements have not been developed due to financial restrictions and the distances between boards.

"OPSBA urges the government to assist these small boards by providing funding, including travel costs and resource support, to enable the successful implementation of a network of shared supervisory officer positions."

The municipal affairs legislation, also the special education advisory committees: "The provisions of the Education Act respecting special education advisory committees will apply to each section of the Ottawa-Carleton French-language school board." We believe that both these issues are being dealt with under the title of housekeeping.

In conclusion, Bill 4, An Act to amend certain Acts relating to Education, in my view has far-reaching concerns for the education community. I've only been able to put a few of them on record today. In the interest of the opportunity for us to have questions to the minister, I think we're going to ask, I know we're going to ask that this bill be referred to committee.

I know that the new minister is very busy getting himself acquainted with his new responsibilities. I think he's one of those people we are particularly happy to see in this position because I know he's particularly interested in education and training in Ontario, and so far he has certainly let us believe that he's looking for solutions to the challenges in education today.

He knows that I'm very much looking forward to working with him. This is his first piece of legislation. There are a number of issues we would like the opportunity to discuss. There are a couple that he inherited from the former government, and we didn't have the same kinds of opportunities to look at the issues surrounding early childhood education, child care and certainly special education that we would have liked.

Mr Speaker, I'd like to thank you and certainly the parliamentary assistant for his remarks this afternoon. We look forward to working with the government and working with school boards, teacher groups, parents and students to come to some conclusions around the issues I've had the privilege of speaking to this afternoon.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve):** I should thank the honourable member for her participation. Questions and/or comments, the honourable member for York East.

**Mr Malkowski:** I appreciate the comments made by the member for London North. Her comments are useful for us to consider here in standing committee on social development. However, I would like to respond to two things: one, child care, and also the definition of "integration."

Firstly, under child care: Of course child care in schools will not be under the direction of the Ministry of Education. Schools will hold the licences under the Day Nurseries Act, which is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Community and Social Services, because during the child care consultation conducted by the Ministry of Community and Social Services, some school boards did request that the Education Act be amended to permit them to hold licences to operate child care centres.

I'd like to talk a little bit about the definition of "integration." I'd like to clarify that integration of course includes school boards, provincial schools, demonstration schools, self-contained classes that are provided by—it's appropriate education to students to assist them to have access to a learning environment and also to allow students to participate fully and



effectively as society becomes more integrated.

I look forward to the considerations of the comments by the member for London North. We will certainly take those into consideration.

**The Acting Speaker:** Further questions and/or comments? Seeing none, the honourable member for London North has two minutes in response.

**Mrs Cunningham:** Just to thank the parliamentary assistant and the member for York East for his clarification. He probably found it quite interesting that the school boards were asking that they be able to hold the licences, and I think it's a practical application of everyday life when the Liberal government moved to include in new school buildings child care facilities. It certainly was, I know, their intent at the time that those facilities be administered by the Ministry of Community and Social Services.

Practically speaking, and surprisingly, I think, to the government of the day and now to communities, in many of those facilities there didn't seem to be either non-profit operators that would come forward in fact to get those school programs, those early childhood programs, those day care programs going, which really surprised us across the province.

Secondly, in many instances, even where they did, especially in our adult day schools, it really did become a great deal of work for the Ministry of Education people. I'm now talking about vice-principals and administrators in schools. So I think this is a very interesting request on behalf of school boards.

In the end, I'm very happy that in fact if it is the Ministry of Community and Social Services who will be responsible not only for the administration but the funding, I'm certain that would be the kind of information school boards would be relieved to hear. Thank you for the clarification.

**The Acting Speaker:** Further debate? We now revert back to the official opposition, the second reading of Bill 4, An Act to amend certain Acts relating to Education.

**Mr Charles Beer (York North):** It's a pleasure for me to rise and join in the debate on Bill 4. I too would like to start off by commending our colleague the honourable member for York East for his introduction of the bill. As my colleague the member for London North noted, it's fitting that, as one of the amendments in the bill relates to American sign language, he would introduce the amendments in American sign language.

As we look at some of the changes we've brought to the education system over the last number of years in terms of dealing with languages, it is quite correct and fitting—and I know from my own personal experience members in my broader family for whom American sign language is their way of communicating. I think, as with so many things that happen in this Legislature, there is

not only reality to the fact that the member for York East is here with us and used ASL in introducing the bill, but there's also a symbolism to it and, again, as the member for London North mentioned, the element of role model. I think that is very important and that adds something that is a little different to our normal debates and procedures here in the House.

1650

I also would want to commend our colleague from London North for her presentation, which as always was extremely thorough and covered all of the various aspects of the bill. I think she has placed a number of questions that I have as well, and while I don't want to reiterate all of those, there are a number of areas that I'm going to return to and to raise some issues and questions that I think are important for us in dealing with this particular bill.

While I understand the reason why the government took two of the old bills and moved them together into Bill 4, I share with the member for London North the recognition that while parts of Bill 4 are housekeeping, parts of the bill are really dealing with some fairly fundamental issues, and for that reason I think it is important that the bill go to committee; I think we want to deal with it in good fashion, but there are a number of questions that I think would be better asked and shared within the committee context, and we would be supportive of that.

I want to make a couple of general comments at the beginning about what we're doing. It's been mentioned that this is the first bill brought forward by the new minister. I would also want to note that we're pleased to see him and hope he enjoys his tenure as Minister of Education and Training, but not only is it his first bill; it's also the first bill that we're dealing with in the education area since last Friday.

I think it's important that we all recognize what last Friday means or ought to mean as we look at legislation of any kind or indeed any government directive that is going to have an impact on school boards or, for that matter, municipalities, hospitals and the like; but here we're talking about school boards.

There were two documents released last week by the government, one on expenditure controls and one on jobs and services—the social contract, as it's called. We have to recognize that the impact, if those two documents in fact are implemented, will remove from the school sector some \$290 million of expenditure control and some \$520 million in terms of salaries.

The point is simply that in the education sector, which already feels itself under a great deal of pressure, this is going to add other pressures. I think if ever we were to ask ourselves the question of how is it that at this level, the provincial level, we can be sending on programs to school boards without appropriate funding, and all governments have been guilty of this. But we

have to examine very carefully and very closely any initiative that we take from now on because that reality is a very real one and it's not that school boards or municipalities or hospitals, any more than any individual, want to argue against the government's attempts to bring greater restraint to public sector expenditure, but we have to look very carefully at what those constraints are in terms of what they do for, in this case, school board budgets and all of the various programs that they are mandated to implement. How do they do that with this new reality and how do we help them, here at Queen's Park, to make sure that the most important programs are in fact implemented and brought to fruition?

So, clearly, the first thing then is that we all recognize, as members of this Legislature, as those active in the education field, that we are going to be in for a period of some years where there will not be a great deal of new money, if any new money. I think we have to recognize that the \$14 billion in the elementary and secondary systems ought to be enough to meet our needs, but we're going to have to be very careful in looking at a number of things that indeed are in this bill, whether we can afford them, if we want them, how we can go about ensuring that the funding is there.

So I think that is the first point that we have to make, that there is a new fiscal, financial reality out there and we, as legislators, must take that into account when we look at a lot of things that we would like to see implemented at the local level but where we're going to have to be very strict in terms of the priorities and the importance to make sure that the money flows with any mandate to carry out those programs and that those, by and large, are programs that the public has said it wants to see implemented.

With that being said then, and in looking at the bill itself, it seems to me that while there are many issues—as the member for London North enumerated, over 20 that are dealt with—there are some that in terms of public policy are particularly important, where we need to have, I think, some good discussion and debate.

The first point that I want to turn to is the question of kindergarten and junior kindergarten. We know that there are some 18 or 19 school boards that are currently not offering a junior kindergarten, and when one looks at the list, most of those boards are in the fast-growth areas, ones that are experiencing tremendous pressures and, therefore, boards that are experiencing a great deal of financial pressure.

I think that it is important, in terms of the government's amendment, to note, as it has noted, that it will be bringing in regulations so that boards would have to begin implementing junior kindergarten programs August 31, 1994, but not have to have those implemented until 1997. That being said, we have to look

very carefully at how that is going to be done, and I think we are going to have to be very cognizant of continuing financial pressure in terms of whether even the 1997 date is a realistic one.

Now all of this, I think, needs to be said within the context that as a member of the government of the day that brought in junior kindergarten, I believe the literature that is out there, the experience that we've had with kindergarten and with junior kindergarten demonstrates clearly that it is very, very valuable in creating a more even playing field for young children; that as we look today, knowing that increasingly there are kids coming into the education system who, through no fault of their own, are simply not at the same level as so many kids from other families, we've got to try to find ways of ensuring that they're open to learning, that they're going to be able to learn and to learn at an early age.

Junior kindergarten is not the only answer to that, and I want to make some comments with respect to child care, but clearly junior kindergarten can play a very important role in doing that. I, in travelling around the province, have had the opportunity to visit a number of junior kindergarten programs where I have seen clear evidence of how young people have been helped by the fact that they are able to participate in those programs and to receive—I guess really what it is is the stimulation that those programs have offered to those young people in terms of their ability to learn. So I think that's something that, as a party, we have always felt is extremely important, and we continue to support that principle.

What we've got to do now, I think, working with our partners from the boards, both the separate and the public boards, is in particular with those who have not begun to implement or are not in a position to implement, and even some who've started but who have experienced very severe financial problems, we have to be able to sit down with them to find a way of ensuring that junior kindergarten programs can be offered. I think the real test here is to be looking at priorities: What are the kinds of things we're doing that perhaps don't need to be done, that we can perhaps put to the side so that junior kindergarten programs can become a reality? But we can only do that if we make sure, in terms of the various grants and so on, that we are able to fund those programs, to ensure that the space is available, whatever capital costs are required, and then the ongoing operating costs.

Certainly, in looking at the experiences of a number of school boards today in trying to develop junior kindergarten programs, those elements of space and cost are producing tremendous problems, and I think we have to recognize, whether it's as a member of the former government or this, that we have the responsibility here, where we believe that this is an important provincial initiative, to make sure those programs are



adequately funded. I think the only way we do that is to really sit down in meaningful discussion with both the public school boards and the separate school boards and recognize those costs and make sure that they happen.

1700

If, for example, one looks at the expenditure control package the government put out last Friday, there was one that related to cash flow to school boards. I want to read it into the record, because it is one of those parts of their program which is really going to cause problems, particularly to poorer and smaller boards. What the government is saying is, "Beginning in 1994, payments to school boards in the first three months of the calendar year will be reduced from 17% to 14.5% of their annual entitlement." It goes on to say, "This will not reduce the boards' total annual entitlement," but the way in which money will flow to boards in the first three months of their fiscal year, beginning in January 1994, is going to put constraints on those boards in providing all of the programs they want to provide. The only way they're going to be able to make up that money is either by raising taxes, which is for any school board not an approach it wants to take, or by borrowing money, by going into debt, which technically they're not allowed to do but which is a situation many of them find themselves in.

So these have implications. The expenditure constraints have implications for programs which we from the provincial level have said to school boards, "We want you to provide," and I think we have to be very much aware of that. This is a new period of time in terms of the way we're going to be providing those programs, in this case at junior kindergarten level.

We know as well that within this area of junior kindergarten the government is also proposing that under the Day Nurseries Act school boards be allowed to in effect act as operators. I was interested to hear the member for York East commenting that of course that act falls under the Ministry of Community and Social Services and that therefore it is not the Ministry of Education that will be running those programs but that they would be done under the authority of the Ministry of Community and Social Services.

We know from the document, the so-called leaked document, that there are proposals whereby the government is looking at that three-to-five age group, and we also know that we haven't had a full debate about early childhood education and about just how we see the links between our child care program and our educational programs.

This leads me to the whole issue of the role of schools and what it is that we see them doing. We know from so many reports—Children First, which came out in the fall of 1990, the Ontario Child Health Study, programs such as Better Beginnings, Better Futures—that whatever we can do with young children, both

preschool and in the early years of school, that can have a decided impact on their ability to learn.

I think it would have been wise for the government of the day to have taken the Children First document and sent it out to committee for broader discussion. It, in my view, was a very interesting document that raised all kinds of questions around: How do we link together the school, the various ministries of government, not just Education but Health, Community and Social Services, Recreation? How do we bring to play municipal recreation programs and the community at large into the operation of those schools? The question, then, of what role schools should play in the provision of child care, how the community should be involved in that, I think becomes very critical.

The example has been used of the Grey County Board of Education and the proposal it has made, essentially a rural school board area, in looking at how it could combine child care and kindergarten programs in a way that was going to be of benefit to young children. Again, our focus here is on young children.

I think we have to be much more flexible in looking at those kinds of programs, and I would reiterate again what we have been saying for some time, that in the provision of child care, we really do focus on those programs being community-based and allowing for the greatest amount of parental choice. I think that means that some of those programs are going to be run by private day care operators, some are going to be run by municipalities and some are going to be run by non-profit, and that this choice is healthy within our system.

I think within that context there is a role whereby a school may hold the licence for a day care centre, but it must not be a kind of back door through which we move whereby the Ministry of Education ultimately becomes responsible for child care. At least we mustn't do that without a very full public debate, because I don't think there's a consensus out there at all within the public as to how we see education proceeding for that younger group, the three-to-five-year-olds. We must be very, very careful, I think, to ensure parental choice and to ensure flexibility.

So I think we want to ask questions of the minister and of the ministry around how they see the development of junior kindergarten, kindergarten and child care in general, because that is not an area where, to this date, the government has really set out, in a public sense, where it is that it wants to go, at least in an official sense. We've seen the document that went to cabinet, we've read other documents in which former members of the opposition who are now in cabinet or in the government have expressed different views about how they want to see it being done, but we haven't had that debate with any degree of certainty that this is where the government wants to go.

That is why in this bill, while I think the minister

was sensible in saying, "Look, we've got to build in more flexibility around the implementation of junior kindergarten," I think we need a much clearer sense from a policy point of view of just where we're going with regard to junior kindergarten and with respect to child care. Those are certainly areas that we would want to explore in the discussions in committee.

I want to move on to the area of special education. In approximately a year that I spent as parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Education, I don't think there was an issue that brought about more emotion or feeling than when one sat down to discuss with parental groups, with individual parents, about the kind of education they wanted their youngsters to receive. In many cases, these were young people with severe disabilities. Clearly, for them the question was not, "Well, look, can we sit down and work this out and maybe in five years we'll come up with a good program?" because for them, within five years, that would be too late. There were several individuals in York region during the period that we were in government who were going through the courts around the kind of education they wanted to receive.

When we look at what we are trying to do with respect to special education, as we do with child care, again I think we want to provide flexibility and we want to provide parental choice. I was here on staff at the time of the debate on what was called Bill 82, I think, which was the original special education bill, and there was a lot of discussion among members on all sides of the House around what would be the ideal situation. Clearly, the ideal is to integrate each child as fully as possible into the classroom, but that will still mean there will be a need for some flexibility and for some special programming and special supports.

1710

Again, this bill touches on certain elements of special education, but it doesn't get into a whole series of areas that those out in the public who are involved with—whether it's the association for bright children, the association for children with Down syndrome or the association for learning disabilities, just to provide a range of the groups and the concerns that are out there, there is a tremendous amount of frustration that those people have felt in not being able to come before a properly constituted legislative body and talk about special education and what they would like to see.

It had been my understanding that the government—what was originally Bill 37, and the elements of that bill have been wrapped up and placed within Bill 4, but in addition, later this year, we would be looking at another piece of legislation making more fundamental change to the special education area, in particular dealing with the whole question around how the IPRC, the individual placement of students, would work.

As many members know, because we often get these

concerns expressed in our communities, there's a committee that determines, if there is a child with special needs, what kind of program he or she is going to get, and parents have been concerned that the process has been weighted on the side of the board or on the side of bureaucracy. Even with the best will in the world, and there are some marvellous people within school boards who work in this area, there has been difficulty faced by many parents in getting what they believe to be the appropriate program.

One of the recommendations that's been made is that the three-person committee that would be constituted to determine the program for a young person, in future would be made up of someone selected by the parents, someone by the board and then they would choose a third party. I think that would be a very welcome change and one that people want to see.

I understand that what the government is looking at is not specifically another piece of legislation, but it is in the process of developing a policy memorandum or directive. Mr Speaker, I think, will remember that there was a consultation on integration launched in, I believe, 1991. A report was brought in. It was a pretty thorough review. I think there were something like 1,600 individuals and groups that participated in answering questions around special education.

It's interesting: That report has never been made public. I gather it has been used internally within the ministry, but it's never been made public and the government's own advisory council on special education has said, "Look, we think it is important that the document be made public, because it would show us the opinions of people from across the province who are dealing with the special education needs on a daily basis." I would frankly urge the government to make it public.

One of the conclusions I understand is in that document is that some 90% of parents responding said they wanted to see a continuum of choice based on parental decision. I think we have to really remember that our goal and our objective is to integrate each child as fully as is possible, but within that there remains a continuum of choice so there can be specialized programs for young people who may need, in different settings and in different ways, those specialized programs. But we need to know and the people who participated in the consultation need to know what was said and what the range of opinion was.

In wanting to explore this question around exactly where the government is going and what this policy memorandum might contain, the concern, I think, as one can recognize, is that if you have a policy memorandum, that doesn't come before the Legislature.

One of the sort of strange things about a lot of what we do here is that there are some areas where there's a lot of legislation, and so there's a lot of debate in this



House. The education field is not necessarily one of those where there is a lot of legislation, so it is not always easy to engage in a real and meaningful debate about where it is we want to go. For example, this year, in this session, this is the only bill that we're going to be dealing with on education, and some of these issues and points really have to be brought up within this context or they're not going to be set out as fully, as we would like, because both question period and statements really don't allow for that kind of exchange.

I think what I want to know and what different groups within the special education field have talked to me about is, in more specific terms: How does the government plan to move forward with its proposals around integration? What kind of flexibility will be there? Will parents be fully consulted?

One of the concerns has been that every second year, under one of the regulations of the ministry, there's supposed to be a detailed review in each board of the special education programs that it has. The government's own advisory council has said that it's not happy with the way that process has been working, that in many cases the reviews are not adequate and don't really meet the needs of the parents within that area.

When, for example, the association for learning disabilities was talking with me and with others about Bill 37—again, the components of which are now in Bill 4—they were saying, "We don't want you to deal with the hard-to-serve issue until we've had a chance to deal with some of these other issues," that they see as linked, and in particular, they argue that the placement, the IPRC, that issue, is linked.

I think we need to review that with the minister in committee so that the people who are going to be most affected by any of these changes will be able to have their say. That's why things like under the Metro Toronto act where they're changing the way in which those programs are being provided—they're going to be divested from the Metropolitan public board to the individual boards in Scarborough, Etobicoke and so on.

Those are things which, in the main, have been worked out and where we have no quarrel, but I think where we're at right now is that we really have not had a good, solid public debate around the place of special education programs within our school system. What does that mean? What are going to be the rights that parents have to ensure that wherever they live in the province, there's a certain level of education that they know they will be able to get for those young people?

We have to continue to remind ourselves of what happened last Friday. Whatever it is we then evolve, we've got to make sure that we can pay for it and that the resources that are going to be necessary to have those programs are in fact in hand.

I think every member who has ever visited a school

and gone into a classroom and seen young children with a variety of disabilities within that regular classroom, recognizes immediately the benefits that flow both ways, not simply the benefit for the child with the disability but for the whole class, because that's part of life, that's part of the reality, and I think especially at the elementary level provides a tremendous lesson for young people about differences and about how no matter what those differences are, each one of us has a potential that we want to reach.

I think our role, as we look at this legislation, is saying, what will the impact be of this legislation, not just on the school boards, as important as that is, but more particularly, what will its impact be in the classroom where the young children, where the students are, and how do we make sure that works as effectively as it possibly can.

1720

Now, continuing with the whole area of special education, there are a couple of further points that I want to make. In a letter to the former Minister of Education, the Honourable Tony Silipo, in November of last year the Canadian Foundation for Children, Youth and the Law sent a letter to the minister regarding the hard-to-serve provisions which are part of Bill 4 and part of the special education provision. It's a short letter but one which I'd like to read into the record because I think, again, it expresses a view that we need to hear in this Legislature and that needs to be part of the debate. It begins:

"Dear Mr Minister:

"Further to our letter of June 9, 1992, we are writing to reiterate our concerns about your proposed retroactive repeal of the 'hard to serve' provisions of the Education Act."

This was in the then Bill 37 but reappears in Bill 4, which we have today.

"We feel that this matter should be sent to committee and not slipped through the Legislature without discussion."

As an aside, I think we will see this before a committee. Certainly both the opposition parties are requesting that.

"The substantive rights of students are affected and the retroactive nature of the legislation appears to be directed specifically at our clients and other individuals who are attempting to utilize the 'hard to serve' process, yet we understand from other interested organizations that one of the reasons given for repealing the 'hard to serve' provisions continues to be the fact that they are 'rarely used.' We wish to point out that the legislation was designed for the exceptional case and that the fact that it is 'rarely used' is therefore an appropriate consequence.

"We wish to remind the minister of the undertaking

of his predecessor"—we're now into the third minister, so here we are talking about Minister Silipo—"Marion Boyd that she would not repeal the legislation without putting a mechanism in its place.

"We have suggested alternatives to the 'hard to serve' process and we are and have been open to consult with you at any time. Unfortunately, you have not seen fit to respond to our correspondence of this summer or previous correspondence.

"We would appreciate your immediate response and attention to this matter and would ask that when the proposed repeal of the 'hard to serve' provisions comes before the House, you insist that it go to committee for fair and proper consultation."

That's signed by the group Justice for Children and Youth.

I read that into the record because there are a number of groups out there which have concerns, which feel that if the hard-to-serve provision is removed without other changes coming into place, like the change to the placement committee, children are going to suffer. I think we need to explore that and we need to get a clearer sense of where the government is going.

The next point that I want to make in terms of special education relates to the government's own Advisory Council on Special Education. You know, in government we create different councils at different times, and I think we have to recognize that there are some which, after a certain period of time, perhaps no longer have a usefulness and we decide to make some changes.

It was always my feeling, in the year that I was parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Education, that one of the most important councils that we had was indeed the special education advisory council, because what it did was bring together in one body representatives of a very broad number of groups, parents and others, who came together to look at the education provisions that were currently at play in the province and what were the changes that were needed to be made.

Whether you were a person with a hearing problem perhaps or a visual impairment or you were a bright child, whatever your exceptionality, they would be looking at legislation and a program to make sure that in the various schools around the province we could offer full programs to those young people with disabilities.

My sense is that the government has not been listening to this council in the way that it could. When one looks at its interim report in December 1992, just a few short months ago, and its recommendations—I'd like to note and enter some into the record—again, I think it's a reason why we need to take Bill 4 into committee so that we can explore some of these questions, not only in the context of Bill 4 itself, but also where's that going

to lead us, where's the vision, what is the plan down the road.

The first point I would make in their report is that the council was convened in September 1992, and I'm quoting, "after a hiatus of almost two years." So for the first two years of the mandate of the present government, the council was not functioning, and I think that really is too bad, as I've mentioned.

When they get into their recommendations, a number of them really speak to trying to make sure that the minister, the parliamentary assistant, senior officials of the ministry participate with them in a very active way, look at their recommendations, and they even note that some of the reports that they prepared, they had not received official responses.

Again, I think these are people who are all doing other things, they have full lives to lead, and if we are asking them to serve in a voluntary capacity on a number of these councils, it's important that we listen to them and that we hear the arguments they make with respect to special education.

One of their recommendations, for example, is that future legislative initiatives such as this one be discussed with council, so that they can assist in terms of how those legislative documents would go forward. They note that they're pleased with a number of things that have been happening, but they want to make sure in terms of special education legislation, in particular the view that there be a continuum of choices, that there be flexibility, that that be maintained, that from their discussions with all the different groups who are part of their group, one of the biggest problems is making sure that that element of parental choice is there.

So what we would be seeking here in terms of the special education provisions is to get a sense from the minister, in addition to the changes around the Metropolitan Toronto act and the changes to the hard-to-serve, and the fact that those young people who are going to need programs outside of Ontario, outside of Canada, that they're going to be able to get those programs.

What are we doing to make sure that we're continuing to develop programs to meet the needs of all the young people who have special needs in our schools? I think that we need a clearer sense of the direction that we're going to go, and it's another reason why I think it will be important that this issue go before the committee.

Maintenant, je veux aborder pendant quelques minutes certaines questions qui touchent la communauté francophone. Comme vous le savez fort bien, il y a quelques changements qui touchent le secteur francophone, dont le projet de loi 4 sur la création des comités spéciaux de l'éducation spéciale. Il est très important, surtout parce que dans ce domaine, on parle d'Ottawa-Carleton.



J'ai avec moi aujourd'hui quelques lettres de parents de jeunes francophones de la région d'Ottawa-Carleton. Je pense qu'il est très important que le Ministre comprenne très bien et très clairement qu'il y a une situation à Ottawa-Carleton avec ce qu'on appelle la tutelle, qui dirige le secteur public, qui empêche vraiment le plein développement de l'éducation en langue française dans la région d'Ottawa-Carleton.

Pour ne blâmer personne, je comprends fort bien qu'il y a deux ans, il y avait un problème. Le gouvernement a décidé de prendre une certaine approche. Nous avons discuté de cette approche mais, peu importe les arguments pour ou contre à ce moment-là, je pense qu'il faut dire qu'aujourd'hui, la réponse du gouvernement n'a pas marché, n'a pas fonctionné.

Ce qu'on voit maintenant avec les lettres qu'on reçoit des parents, c'est qu'il y a une frustration que les parents ne peuvent pas vraiment consulter leurs conseillers parce que leurs conseillers n'ont pas vraiment de pouvoir. Donc, on a le tuteur à Ottawa-Carleton qui, en effet, prend les décisions. Lui, il essaie de faire son possible, mais ça ne marche pas parce qu'il y a la frustration des parents, des étudiants et, en effet, de la collectivité francophone. Donc, je pense que ce qui est important pour le Ministre, c'est de parler avec la communauté francophone, avec les conseillers, et de développer un plan qui va enlever le système du tuteur et qui va mettre de côté la tutelle.

1730

Si on peut faire ça, je pense que les recommandations qu'on fait dans le projet de loi 4 sur l'établissement des comités, ça a du bon sens ; il n'y a personne qui sera contre. Mais je veux dire, en discutant de ces changements, que c'est très important que le Ministre accepte de parler avec les représentants francophones de la région d'Ottawa-Carleton pour assurer que ce conseil peut fonctionner de façon beaucoup plus claire et ouverte et, en effet, prendre en main la direction de l'avenir des jeunes francophones de cette région.

Je pense qu'avec le ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones, le Ministre, en effet, peut le faire, et que ça va répondre à un besoin réel de la communauté francophone.

There are several other important issues that are in this bill, and I want to address them in the time remaining.

Much has been said on the whole issue of testing. It's probably the one subject that, as one goes around the province and talks to parents, brings forth a tremendous range of discussion, and it's one of the areas where parents feel that they don't have a good understanding of what is happening to their kids in the school system.

One of the proposals that is in the act is going to provide the minister with the authority to conduct reviews of classroom practices and the effectiveness of

educational programs and to require school boards to participate. I know that that change has been brought forward for a number of reasons; in part, to ensure that it's clear that the minister has that authority. But I think what is there and what is important about it is that it enables us to better and more effectively respond to parental concern: What are the standards that we have out there? What are the expectations that we have? How are we going to evaluate and assess how well our students are doing, how well our children are doing, in meeting those various standards?

The government has released a document called The Common Curriculum, Grades 1-9, a document which is still in need of a tremendous amount of work. We need to know where that is going, and it's quite likely that if the minister finally names the members of the Commission on Learning and sets out the mandate of that commission, we may see that certain elements of this are going to be part of that commission. But we can't necessarily wait for a year and a half or two years while the commission does its work, and so we need to see some changes.

I think one of the things that was disappointing to a lot of people in the document The Common Curriculum was the fairly short amount of space that was given to this whole area of testing and assessment and how that would work. We know that we have now the provincial Benchmarks and we're looking at programs at the grade 3, grade 6 and 9 levels. The minister has said, in the speech from the throne, that there will also be testing next year in grade 9. I think all of those are steps in the right direction, but we've got to see what they form part of. Again, one of the problems here is that these are individual initiatives here and there, but not yet linked to a coherent vision of how we see our system of education: What is it that we really want to have and how do we see that going forward?

So I think, in looking at this particular amendment that is in the act, that we'd like to get from the minister a clearer sense of where he sees this whole issue of testing going because parents, I think, relate that very clearly to the whole issue of accountability, whether it's the accountability that parents have vis-à-vis school boards and the accountability they want from their trustees or accountability from their teachers, and I think—let's be frank and honest—there is a reciprocal requirement that parents be accountable.

One of the things that we've seen over the last decade or so is that it at times is more difficult to get parents to participate more directly in schools; not all, and there are many who are very involved. But if you speak to teachers these days, they will say that so often when there is an evening to meet with the teacher the parents who most often come are ones who are involved on a regular basis, and how do we get to those other parents who aren't there?

That takes me back again to the comment I made earlier around child care and junior kindergarten and the report on Children First which said we've got to find ways to develop better outreach so that schools are reaching out to parents and finding ways of helping them to give education and give learning a real sense of importance in their households. So I think while this amendment does not deal specifically, obviously, with the broader question of testing, it is important that the minister have this, if you like, in his back pocket, but again important that he work with the school boards in ensuring that it is used carefully and wisely as we go forward.

Another important provision that is in this act refers to the whole question of suspensions. It's an issue which we don't talk about a lot publicly, but again if you go to a school, if you sit down with principals, with teachers, one of the real concerns that increasingly they have is around violence, inappropriate behaviour, however you want to put it, not simply at the secondary level but also at the elementary level.

There are some really excellent programs that different school boards have developed around discipline and for those of you who have an opportunity to visit particularly your local elementary school to look at some of what are called "conflict resolution programs" that schools have developed so that even at the earliest stage young people are taught and are worked with by teachers around how they can avoid getting into fights using certain kinds of language and trying to resolve problems.

I often use my wife as an example anecdotally of the kinds of things that she as a teacher is seeing in the elementary classroom, and one of the things that she has commented on to me is that over the last five or six years you see much more violence at the elementary level in the playground. That has to be something of concern to us. It's certainly not something that the school by itself can solve, but it's something that the school has to deal with.

In the amendments that have been made here, we see that they're going to require that there be a suspension of a pupil, that suspension cannot exceed 20 school days, that the appeal of a suspension for 20 or however many days, if that is taken to appeal, the suspension remains in force and a school board is going to be asked to establish a committee to deal with suspensions and expulsions. We know that the major school board associations have some difficulty with that in terms of how it is going to work and also in some cases with some of the principles around it and their own freedom of action to deal with it.

I don't think anybody has a simple answer in terms of how we go forward, but I think we have to recognize that principals and school boards and classroom teachers need some greater guidance in terms of how they deal

with inappropriate behaviour, because if you talk to teachers, that is of greater concern than ever before and there are more problems of that nature within the system, and something has to be done. But while it may be that this is the appropriate amendment at this time, we'd like to explore this, provide an opportunity for the school board associations to raise some questions and see if this is the best way to go, if there are perhaps some suggestions we can make to the government in dealing with that.

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In terms of the other issues that have been enumerated by my colleague in some detail, I don't want to go back through all of those. They're there, they're in Hansard, and we're going to be able to look at them and to ask questions when we get into committee.

But I think the key thing we want to note with this bill is that two major communities are being affected: those who want to see the development of junior kindergarten programs, those who have real concerns around those programs and the whole issue of how we fund them; and those who have concerns around special education programs. This bill will be the only opportunity we have, in a broader sense, to be able to discuss those not only with the minister but to provide an opportunity to groups out in the province to participate in that discussion.

This will be happening, it would appear, against the backdrop of the Commission on Learning, and if we look at the Commission on Learning and also put it within the context of the financial problems, I think it is very important that if the minister is determined to go ahead with the commission and to give it some major issues to deal with, that time frame be as short as possible. He has said he may ask them to look at certain questions and to report back within a month or within two months—I think that's very important—and that they should always be looking at their work and their recommendations in the context of, what are the dollars that are going to be available for school board to provide those programs?

That's the context within which this particular bill now sits. I think if we can review those questions with the minister, that will be very helpful to the public at large and we can try to put something together that will be helpful.

But the final comment I would make today is that there is a new financial reality out there and that in everything we do as legislators, whether it is with Bill 4 or with any other, where we are talking about programs that are going to carry costs, we have to make sure that school boards have the capacity and the ability to deliver those programs. That's our responsibility.

One wants to be very fair: I think, when we go back over the course of the last 10 years, that all three parties as governments have, if you like, sinned in that regard,



where at times programs have been passed on to school boards without appropriate funding. We shouldn't have done it in those days in principle, but today it's an even more serious issue, and we've got to make sure we don't do it. That's why, in looking at the provisions around junior kindergarten and looking at the provisions around special education, we need to explore very thoroughly what the cost implications are and how we're going to go forward to ensure that, in this new reality, boards are going to be able to do what we want them to do.

With that, Mr Speaker, I'll close my remarks. I look forward to committee hearings on this and to working with the minister and with the members of the committee in trying to make sure that what we do with this act is going to be a real benefit to the young people who are in our schools.

**The Acting Speaker:** I thank the honourable member for his participation. Questions and/or comments? Seeing none, further debate; the honourable member for Sault Ste Marie.

**Mr Tony Martin (Sault Ste Marie):** It certainly is a pleasure for me to get up today and participate in this debate, given the tone of the first two speakers today. I appreciated their positive approach, some of the questions they asked, some of the issues they raised, certainly, I would have to say, a long sight different from what went on in this House yesterday, where we had orchestrated shenanigans by the opposition to make the government look somewhat foolish or whatever—not what I thought I would be coming to do in this place when I got elected two and a half years ago.

As I said, it is indeed a great pleasure to participate in this debate, because we are in the process of exchanging ideas, talking about some important issues that face our province and the education system and the way we deal with our children. It is in that context that I want to make just a few comments today and to assure the members opposite that all of the things they have said, both the positive and the negative, will be taken into consideration.

In fact, this piece of legislation is slated to go to committee, where we can have a fuller debate and fuller discussion about the issues they raised on behalf of some of the constituencies that have come to them and to us over the period of time that this piece of legislation has been on the books.

Both members have referred to the fact that this is not new. This compilation of various and sundry pieces of legislation that belong to the omnibus bill that is now known as Bill 4 has been around for awhile. Some of it actually dates back to the previous Liberal government, which was looking at doing some innovative and progressive things for the education system so that it might be in better shape as we move into the next century.

I also want to put this legislation into the context of what we, as a government, are about these days. The Premier not so long ago introduced a plan to put Ontario back to work, and indeed there isn't a thing in this package that in any way goes against that or is in conflict with those proposals. As a matter of fact, each piece of this bill, if one were to go through it and spend some time looking at it and thinking about it, fits most clearly into a number of the 10 points that were laid out as our plan to put Ontario back to work.

Probably the most obvious and most relevant piece of that plan is our effort to emphasize education and training and how important they will be to all of us as we move into the future, but particularly those who are starting out now in the elementary and secondary grades, and the two pieces I'm going to speak about today, the children who are newly coming into the system.

So this piece of legislation clearly fits within the context of our attempt to invest in our infrastructure. It fits into the context of our wanting to emphasize education and training as an important part of this initiative to put Ontario back to work. It is very clearly part of our agenda to strengthen social justice for those who are having a difficult time right now participating fully in the communities they live in, and certainly it speaks to supporting families getting back to work.

I want to today speak briefly about those, but about two pieces of the legislation. I don't have time to go into all of the important components we're putting forth today, but junior kindergarten and child care are certainly important things to move forward, to make our intentions clear on, as are the initiatives we're considering here to recognize the deepest aspirations and desires of the deaf community in Ontario to be included as well and to have their culture and language recognized, as they should be, so that they can participate more fully in the mainstream of the communities in which they live.

Certainly, both of those speak to investing in our infrastructure. The junior kindergarten and child care proposals that we're bringing forward, or a context that we're developing so that those things can happen more clearly in education, will call on us to have to invest more in the buildings and resources that we have in communities, particularly new buildings. The older buildings will have to be brought up to date in terms of some of the facilities that will be needed there, and any new buildings that we will build will speak to a need for us to be recognizing that in this day and age, in many instances both parents in a family work and will want to be bringing their children to places where they will be learning something so that in the end the early learning will help them in their later learning.

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Also, emphasizing education and training, certainly

nobody would argue, I think, any more with all of the study and work that's been done on how important it is to get to our children early, to offer them opportunity early on in life to learn and to be stimulated and challenged in ways that will prepare them to participate more fully in the later years. For us to expand on junior kindergarten, provide an opportunity, particularly in smaller and rural communities, for more child care to be offered where there are no other alternatives, I think, is important. Indeed in some communities where there is the space in schools to offer more accessible child care, particularly to single parents who want to get back into the system, who do not want to be on social assistance for the rest of their lives, to have someplace to bring their children where they're going to be looked after and challenged in the ways that only schools can, we will be encouraging that to happen.

Certainly I think it behooves us as well, as we look at so many groups out there in society today who for one reason or another find themselves marginalized, not able to participate more fully in the everyday life of a community, this piece of legislation opens up a tremendous door—which actually has been rapped on for a number of years—to the deaf community, as we recognize more fully the importance of their language and their culture and want to bring it in as a full part of what we do for that community in all of the cities and towns across this province.

I think in looking at that it's important as well to realize that in coming to this decision it wasn't just something that perhaps Gary Malkowski and I talked about one day and decided would be a good idea to do but that there's been a lot of activity over the last few years, both while the previous Liberal government was in power and certainly in the last two and a half years while I've been around this Legislature, looking at the question of how we introduce ASL to the various programs across the country.

There was initially the review of deaf education that made some strong suggestions around this question. One of the previous ministers of Education, Marion Boyd, appointed a committee, which I chair, to look at how we might introduce ASL and QSL to the curriculum of the various school boards and to the curriculum indeed of course of the provincial schools in the province, and to do that in a way that is sensitive to the fact that parents out there want some choices and that we have a history of some things that have been done that have been in many cases very good over the years. But as in everything else that we do, we want to make sure that we are continually bringing to the fore the best that is possible, the greatest opportunity that is possible for everybody, and indeed at this particular point in time the introduction of ASL or QSL to the curriculum of education institutions across the province is really important.

As a matter of fact, it's a social justice issue. Again, as I've said before, that's one of the 10 points we have put forth recently as being part of our attempt to put Ontario back to work. We feel very strongly that there are many, many excellent men and women out there who happen to be either hard of hearing or deaf who are just chomping at the bit to participate more fully, to offer the gifts that they have in ways that they've never been able to do before, and certainly it's just and right that we do all that we can to make sure that they are able to participate. It reflects, I think, our approach to a number of other groups out there that at the moment are feeling somewhat ostracized and marginalized, that we will do all that we can to help them too.

Supporting families getting back to work: I don't think I have to go into that too much and relate junior kindergarten and child care too much to that. I think most people will see that as an obvious connection.

If we're going to support families getting back to work, if we're going to, under the heading of justice, allow particularly single parents to get off of the system, to be able to contribute more fully to the economy in the ways that they can, many of them quite well educated, who unfortunately found themselves in circumstances where they were left alone with one, two or three children, who can't get back into the workforce because of concerns about child care or other issues, certainly this will go a way to providing opportunity and to encouraging them to participate more fully in the community within which they live.

I think that this very clearly not only helps those people who find themselves in the situation where they're in need of this service but will help the larger economy in many significant ways, as these people, rather than taking, by way of social assistance, which they have a right to do, but are now beginning to contribute to the pot from which others will be able to share and indeed will be part of this government's very sincere effort and agenda to put Ontario back to work.

There are some specific issues that people have raised around the question of junior kindergarten that I would like to speak to for just a few minutes just so it is on the record and people understand. Some people ask, "Why is the government continuing to make junior kindergarten mandatory?" We say very clearly that this government is committed to permitting children everywhere in the province to receive better educational opportunities through early learning, which has been shown to help in their later learning years.

How many school boards do not yet have junior kindergarten? I'm happy to report that most school boards in the province already have implemented junior kindergarten because they've recognized the value in it and that there are only 18 left, including three isolated school boards, that do not have junior kindergarten as an option.



How will these school boards manage to implement JK in the current economic climate? The ministry is contributing special capital grants for any renovations or new building that needs to happen. Operating costs will be eligible for general legislative grants. The bill permits boards to phase in the program between September 1994 and August 1997, where cost and classroom space factors make full implementation by 1994 impossible. I think, again, this piece of legislation that has been changed reflects our listening, our wanting to listen and our wanting to be responsive to the very real concerns of boards out there in these difficult financial times. The 18 that are left obviously have some very legitimate reasons, I'm sure, for not going ahead, and we're trying to be sensitive.

Why will all children have to attend junior kindergarten, or will all children have to attend junior kindergarten, an issue that's often brought up in my community and was floating around at one point. The mandatory junior kindergarten proposal was taken to mean that it would be mandatory that kids go to junior kindergarten. Well, that's not true. Junior kindergarten is still a voluntary program.

I know in my own instance, my two children, the first one didn't go. She felt that she wasn't ready, it wasn't a comfortable thing for her to do, and so she didn't go. My second child was chomping at the bit to get there and so he went and enjoyed it and benefited tremendously from it. Junior kindergarten is not mandatory. Families who decide that they want their kids to go

there will now have the opportunity to make that choice.

What about school boards currently offering junior kindergarten and deciding to phase it out between now and June 1, 1994? These boards will have to phase it back in, starting in September 1994, and have it completed by 1997.

The issue of child care and why school boards are being allowed to operate day nurseries: This voluntary measure promotes and strengthens school and child care partnerships. During the child care and early years of school consultations, some school boards asked for this licence since it will enable them to link the two programs for effective use of space and resources. I think it's important to recognize how important and valuable this opportunity will be to schools, particularly in small centres in Ontario, and I think it just behooves this government to do all that we can to set the framework, to set the context within which this can happen.

Anyway, these are just some thoughts on this very important piece of legislation. As I said, I've enjoyed the input so far by my own colleague Mr Malkowski and the two opposition members, and I look forward to debating these issues further as this legislation goes to committee.

**The Deputy Speaker:** It being 6 of the clock, this House stands adjourned until 10 of the clock tomorrow morning.

The House adjourned at 1802.

## ERRATUM

No.	Page	Column	Line	Should read:
7	224	2	48	riding, but even high school students from Sutton High,

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No. 11



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## Legislative Assembly of Ontario

Third Session, 35th Parliament

## Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Troisième session, 35<sup>e</sup> législature

# Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Thursday 29 April 1993

# Journal des débats (Hansard)

Jeudi 29 avril 1993

Speaker  
Honourable David Warner

Clerk  
Claude L. DesRosiers

Président  
L'honorable David Warner

Greffier  
Claude L. DesRosiers



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Thursday 29 April 1993

The House met at 1000.

Prayers.

**PRIVATE MEMBERS' PUBLIC BUSINESS**

**TERANET INFORMATION DISCLOSURE ACT, 1993**

**LOI DE 1993 SUR LA DIVULGATION  
DE RENSEIGNEMENTS CONCERNANT TERANET**

Mr Tilson moved second reading of Bill 3, An Act to provide for Access to Information relating to the affairs of Teranet Land Information Services Inc / Loi prévoyant l'accès aux renseignements concernant les activités des Services d'information foncière Teranet Inc.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve):** The honourable member for Dufferin-Peel has 10 minutes.

**Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel):** Mr Speaker, this is a subject that has come up in this House when I was critic for the Ministry of Consumer and Commercial Relations, it has come up in the standing committee on estimates and it has come up in the standing committee on public accounts. It has been discussed for some time over the last year and probably came to light when the television program *The 5th Estate* featured a story on this subject.

Although it deals with the computerization of our land registry system, the philosophy of my intent in making this bill is also to deal with situations where our government, the provincial government, enters into a partnership relationship with a private corporation and the fact that all of the affairs of that partnership are kept in confidence because of our privacy legislation.

I will briefly give the history of how Teranet Land Information Services Inc arose in the land registry system. The purpose of it is, as I have indicated, for the computerization of our land registry system in the province of Ontario.

The registry system was started, as I understand it, in 1795 and the land titles system was started in 1895. For over 150 years in Ontario, these systems have protected our rights in property. Of course, the volumes of real estate transactions have increased over that period of time and consist of manually searching old, dusty, abstract books in the registry offices around this province.

I believe it was in the 1970s that the Ontario government recommended major reforms to improve the recording service and access to land records and the distribution of land records. Finally, it was proposed by the then Conservative government that there be a program called *Polaris*, which is the province of Ontario land registration information system, which had the following objectives:

To convert all properties to a land title system to

eliminate the extensive 40-year search requirement; to create a province-wide map index to locate each known property in Ontario; and to automate the land records system to allow searching by computers and to increase the use of microfilm to reduce document storage requirements.

The computerization of this system, I think, was favoured by all. All three parties, the people who use the system, the lawyers, the public, the surveyors, they all supported it. Where the difficulty occurred, it was decided by the subsequent Liberal government to enter into a private partnership arrangement and this occurred, as I believe, in 1988.

I have spent some time on my allegations of improper tendering practices by the government in creating that concept, but that's not the purpose of this bill, because at that time there was a strategic alliance concept which was developed and approved and announced in a request for a corporation that would form a partnership with the province. The corporation that won the tender was a company called *Real/Data* and it formed a partnership with the province of Ontario. It is that company, *Real/Data*, known as *RDO*, which I submit used the privacy legislation to block the province from releasing the information in the whole computerization of our land registry system.

This concept, I fear, can spread into other things. I believe that it can spread into such things as the plans for the casino gambling project in the city of Windsor, that partnerships can be entered into and we won't know who these people are. We won't know who the shareholders are, we won't know anything of the financial relationship. We won't know who the province of Ontario is doing business with. We won't know what that business is.

Of course, this is a very complicated subject because of the privacy legislation, the whole subject of the registry system. Most people don't even know what that is and in that respect it has created a major problem, I submit, in knowing what the province is doing.

*RDO* entered into a lucrative partnership agreement with the Ontario Ministry of Consumer and Commercial Relations, and this was the big money project. This is the only ministry, other than perhaps Treasury, that makes a profit, and it's essentially given it away to a private corporation called *Teranet*, which is partially owned by *RDO* and by the province of Ontario.

But we can't find out what they're doing. After political pressure from this side of the House, from the press, that information came forward very reluctantly, involuntarily, and there's still all kinds of information that needs to come out.

That is the intent of introducing this bill, and I will refer members to a wonderful article that was written by Peter Moon of the *Globe and Mail* several days ago in which he summarized the most recent problem where part of the partnership arrangement was to keep the terms of the partnership secret for ever, so that the dealings of the provincial government with our land registry system are going to be kept secret in this province for ever, and a most difficult position.

One of the terms we were finally made aware of was that RDO was to put up a certain amount of money to honour that contract, and it has been discovered that it hasn't been able to do that, it hasn't been able to get the funding. To quote from Mr Moon's article:

"RDO put up an initial \$5 million but failed to meet a scheduled payment of \$4 million last October and another one of \$10 million in January. The contract gives RDO a grace period of 120 days if it fails to meet a scheduled payment."

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Mr Daniels, who's a well-known assistant deputy minister and who has assisted the members of the committee in this House on this topic throughout, has said they're technically in default on the October payment and they have until next month to meet the second payment. Then he made a rather astounding statement:

"Teranet's full-time workforce will not be reduced, Mr Daniels said, but on May 8 'a major gearing down' in the work schedule will be implemented. It will include layoffs for much of Teranet's contract staff, he said.

"Mr Daniels said he could not identify the two Canadian firms interested in investing in RDO beyond saying they are major companies with the ability to make up RDO's \$14-million deficiency."

Well, I'm sorry, Mr Daniels, but the people of Ontario want to know who you're doing business with, and that's been the problem with this corporation from the very outset. We don't know who we're doing business with. We don't know really what in the world—how much the province has spent. Yes, we can look at estimates, we can watch the estimates process. We now know there's \$14 million or \$15 million that RDO is shy in making up its terms of the contract.

So the purpose of this bill—and I look forward to hearing members of all parties, because this process was thought up by the Liberals and implemented by the New Democratic Party. I must say, for a party, the New Democratic Party, that normally opposes this sort of thing, opposes the whole issue of secrecy—they want to know what in the world the province of Ontario is doing and where they're spending their tax dollars, particularly in a time when we're trying to cut back on our expenses.

I look forward to hearing the comments from the members of the New Democratic Party in government and the members of the Liberal Party, the creators of this corporation and this problem, but I also hope they will comment on the overall principle, because it's going to surface again whether it be in gambling casinos or whatever. It has nothing to do with whether you like or don't like gambling casinos. The question is, should the taxpayers know what the province of Ontario is doing with their tax dollars and should they know who they're doing business with? That is the real intent of this bill.

RDO has resisted efforts to know who owned the company until August of last year, as I said, when it released a list of shareholders to the *Globe and Mail*. But you notice who the list is? A lot of them are lawyers holding shares in trust for individuals, so we don't know who they are. We don't know whether they're the Liberals or perhaps members of the government. We're entitled to know these people because of our whole issue of conflicts of interest.

Thank you very much, Mr Speaker, for allowing me to speak on this introduction.

**The Acting Speaker:** Thank you. The honourable member will have two minutes to reply when all parties have participated. The standing orders allow each recognized party in the House a period of 15 minutes to debate the item of business. Debate will proceed in the normal routine with the honourable member for Halton North.

**Mr Noel Duignan (Halton North):** I'm pleased to rise to speak to Bill 3 here today and I know the member for Dufferin-Peel is a very thoughtful member. However, since the legislation proposed by the member requests access to compatibility, sensitive and personal information about Teranet Land Information Services, let me begin by outlining the history of this corporation.

As members are aware, Teranet was incorporated in 1991 as a public and private sector partnership between the province of Ontario, as represented by the Ministry of Consumer and Commercial Relations, and Real/Data Ontario, more commonly known as RDO. RDO is a consortium of Ontario firms specializing in surveying and mapping, computer mapping and management consulting. The member firms include Landata International Services Inc, a group of Ontario surveying mapping firms, Peat Marwick, Intergraph Canada, EDS of Canada Ltd and Systemhouse Inc.

Teranet was created after an extensive government selection process spanning some three years. The corporation was formed to accelerate the implementation of the province of Ontario land registration and information system, commonly known as Polaris, and in turn to use this automated land registration system as a basis for an Ontario-based, land-related information system industry.



The partnership was rigorously reviewed both internally and externally to ensure business, legal and financial safeguards. The agreement provides for 100% government control and ownership of both Polaris and all land registration systems information. The government also controls the use, access to and fee structure of all land registration data. Bill 3 calls for disclosure of all records related to Teranet for the 1991 agreement with RDO, despite anything in the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act.

As the former Chair of that standing committee on the Legislative Assembly, I oversaw the review of that act, the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act, and indeed I have some serious concerns about the legislation proposed by the member for Dufferin-Peel. I believe Bill 3, quite frankly, advocates a dangerous precedent. Forcing disclosure of competitive, sensitive and personal information from Teranet, I believe, erodes the basic principles of the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act and sets up a discriminatory situation just for one company.

The freedom of information act sets the rules for disclosure of third-party information which the government has in its custody. It requires competitive, sensitive information to be kept confidential if disclosure would cause harm.

The procedure identified for making recommendations about amendments to the act, including disclosure rules for commercial information, is a comprehensive review process set out in section 68 of the act. This is the process in which I participated while Chair of the standing committee on the Legislative Assembly. What I found out through my involvement with that review process is that the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act is working extremely well. While there may be some glitches in the act, it is still in fact working well. It strikes a balance, I believe, between the right of access to information and the protection of personal privacy.

In the case of Teranet, the joint venture agreements have been released to the requesters, with severances for third-party information, which must be kept confidential by the ministry according to the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act. As members are aware, the act allows a requester to appeal a decision of any institution defined in the act. An appeal is presently under way with respect to the decision of the Teranet documents. The parties to the agreement have agreed to significant other disclosures, and the matter is currently under review by the freedom of information commissioner, in keeping with the procedures of that act. Bill 3, in my opinion, would put a different disclosure standard on Teranet. It will require all information about Teranet to be disclosed.

As I stated earlier, the legislation proposed by the member for Dufferin-Peel advocates, and I believe sets,

a dangerous precedent. It would erode the basic and extremely important principles of the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act, which establishes that personal and commercial sensitive information should be protected. Weakening this right for one individual and one company would undermine the basic premises of the act and endanger all who look to the act for the protection of their privacy.

Bill 3 would also create serious inequities because the standard of disclosure it proposes would not apply to other companies the government has ownership in, but it is the overall issue of fairness which I must address. Individuals and companies must be treated equally and equitably under the act. We cannot make rules for one entity and not expect serious repercussions. We cannot allow the important principles of the act, including the principle of the protection of privacy, to be undermined by the attempt to apply a different rule to one individual company. You have probably heard the adage "the exception makes the rule." I fear the proposed exception to Teranet would destroy the act itself.

In summary, I believe Bill 3, by mandating disclosure of competitive, sensitive and personal information from Teranet only, would erode again the basic principle in the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act and set up a situation with one company. The FOI act sets the rules for disclosure of third-party information which the government has in its custody. The act requires competitive, sensitive, commercial information to be kept confidential, and I believe disclosure of this information would cause harm.

I urge my fellow members of this Legislature to vote against Bill 3.

**The Acting Speaker:** Further debate?

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**Mr David Turnbull (York Mills):** I must admit I start this debate with a great sense of humour of the fact that what I'm hearing from the government benches—is this really the New Democratic Party? Is this the party which has always spoken about the need for openness in government?

The concept of computerization of the database of land registry is indeed very sound, and we should lead the world in this. I applaud that concept. Indeed, it was the Conservative government that originated this idea with the Polaris scheme. However, there's no doubt about it that there is a great deal of cynicism, and people are disgusted at the fact that this government is not prepared to release details. They have gotten involved with a company which apparently is not properly financed.

In fact, the other bidder on this proposal to computerize was a consortium which included the Royal Bank. The Royal Bank commented and the other group commented from the very outset that in fact the group

that was awarded this contract was not properly financed and warned from the very outset that this was a danger. The government absolutely ignored that possibility and proceeded in this deal with people that we were not made aware of as to who the players were. We didn't know what the financial interests were, and yet government, in other words taxpayers', money was expended.

This deal has been investigated by both *The 5th Estate* and the *Globe and Mail* and commented on many times by my colleague the member for Dufferin-Peel. There have been articles in the *Financial Post* and that stalwart which tracks this government, *Frank Magazine*. I would have to say that where there's this much smoke, almost inevitably there must be some fire.

The computerization of the land registry is the information equivalent of Ontario Hydro; that is how significant this deal is. Indeed, before the people of Ontario are forced to get into bed with the private sector on casinos, I think we have an entitlement to know who we're doing business with. If indeed we're going to be in joint ventures with Don Corleone, I think we should know about it before the people of Ontario wake up with a dead horse's head beside them, and that is the seriousness of this venture.

I would suggest that my colleague hasn't gone far enough. I would suggest that any joint venture that taxpayers' money is put into should be subject to the scrutiny of the public to see if the deal is in order.

As I started out by saying, it is indeed extraordinary that the NDP consistently in opposition, and to its credit, pushed for more freedom of information, but in government that has become just an illusion, because indeed when we apply for anything under the freedom of information, we get back documents where there is more black ink blacking out the real information than there is useful information. It is absolutely worthless.

So this government, which suggested in opposition that it had a higher standard and that it believed in full disclosure, is worse than the other two parties in government because indeed it has no intention of letting the taxpayer know what is happening. There has been every subterfuge to make sure that the taxpayers, and indeed the general public beyond taxpayers, the media, are not aware as to what the ownership of this consortium is.

The private part of the consortium, Real/Data or RDO, has missed the first payment that it was committed to and is very close to missing the second payment. The consortium has suggested that it is going to lay off significant numbers of staff and it's going to gear back, and indeed the government is now looking for other members to join the consortium. Private members, once again, were being given no details as to who these people are or what their financial contribution is. There is something smelly about this. As I said

before, where there's this much smoke, undoubtedly there must be at least a little fire.

So why would the government not come clean and say yes, it is important that the taxpayers know where their money is going, make full disclosure and commit to bringing forward a bill which would ensure that all joint ventures that the government is involved in will be subject to full and open disclosure? It is appropriate.

I have heard in the past, when other governments have been in power here, all kinds of nonsense about the need for privacy. It is nonsense. There are times that the government legitimately wants to keep information to itself, but where it's entering into a joint venture with taxpayers' money and the private sector, it is appropriate that the public knows who they are dealing with, how much money is being invested and what the exposure is and the details of what competitive bids are.

We want to know, is it a bunch of government hacks and supporters who are in fact behind this, who are going to pocket money out of this deal? There is very, very serious credibility at stake here, and unless the government wakes up, smells the coffee and agrees to full disclosure, you will constantly be under suspicion, and you're under enough suspicion already.

With this I would say that I support the bill of my colleague the member for Dufferin-Peel, who indeed brought this issue before the House some two years ago and has not let go and will not let go until this government comes clean with what the taxpayers' money is being spent on.

**The Acting Speaker:** Further debate?

**Ms Christel Haeck (St Catharines-Brock):** Mr Speaker, as you overheard me say a few minutes ago, hyperbole is one thing and bombast is really quite another. I find it very hard to deal quietly with some of the statements from the gentleman from York Mills because it bears no relation to reality and I think that I'd—well, I could say a lot, but it would be wise to be politic, as they say, and polite.

The history of the land registry does in fact go back to the very beginnings of the province and provides a very good record of not only the settlement of the province but for historians and genealogists also provides a lot of family information. As someone who worked in that field for a few years, I do recognize the importance of the land registry beyond just the real estate issues that have been mentioned here today. So there are a lot of people who are interested in what is happening in this area, but it is used primarily by lawyers, surveyors, other professionals in the real estate industry.

Obviously the volume of those records that have accumulated over 200 years is quite substantial, and there are requirements. I think, as many people know if they've bought a home, there is a search required. The



lawyers frequently don't do this themselves; they hire people to do the land searches, and that obviously adds to the cost of anyone's home, and there has been some pressure to simplify the process so that everyone has easier access and really and truly all of us better understand the system and can make better use of it. So by simplifying the process, we're really in fact achieving a number of cost savings.

I'm not sure if most of the audience here today or anyone viewing this particular session this morning would understand the term "retrospective conversion," but when you're in the process of taking paper records that have existed for many, many years, you do have to go through a complicated process of taking them from the paper record to some sort of machine record, and yes, that takes people, that takes time and it is complicated. People do have to understand the process.

So when the member for Dufferin-Peel talks about the fact that there is a number of companies which had come forward to raise an interest in doing this job, yes, it's something that possibly government doesn't want to do. There were a couple of bidders in the process and over time governments did in fact assess the business proposals that were put forward and made some decisions, but the product that was to come out of this was to the service of the greater good of the province of Ontario, all of the people living in the province of Ontario, who could conceivably make use of the products at some time.

I would like to let the audience know the kind of things that were going to be produced. The first one is a title index database. It is a computerized version of the abstract index and parcel register organized on a property ownership basis. It is immediately updated by an on-line registration function. It would be available for searching through computer terminals and printouts, not necessarily in the land registry office but in other locations. It would be accessible by property identification number, the address, the owner's name and instrument number. If we take that particular product that would be developed, I think what all of us as citizens would have would be a very easy access point to the history of our particular land holdings, but also in the whole real estate transaction. This would simplify the matter and actually reduce the cost of the search that would be required.

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The other product that was going to be developed was the property mapping database. It is a computerized property map file which displays survey fabric, property lines and unique property identification numbers, and would also enable paper copies of computer-generated maps to be available to the public.

I'm not sure what kinds of constituents would come to you, but I have a number of constituents who are very interested in what is happening in the community,

neighbourhood groups interested in land development who really and truly make use of this kind of information and go out to citizen meetings and really ask very pointed questions about what is happening in their area. So I would see this as a boon to us all.

The member for Halton North raised a number of issues around the freedom of information act and I think he made his point very, very well. But I also wanted to raise the issue we heard in the standing committee on the Ombudsman during our investigation of that office, the review of that office over the last summer, as well as writing the report during the fall and winter. I think anyone interested in seeing some of those comments should look at the report of that standing committee and look at the concerns expressed by business people, that the freedom of information commissioner allows greater access to information than they feel is necessary. What it means to them, as companies, is that their concerns are not treated in the same way as for an individual. But as a lawyer, I know the member for Dufferin-Peel recognizes that through the incorporation process of a business, what you do is create an entity which, in law, has to be treated the same way as you and I. So under the freedom of information act, we do have to give all elements of society—business and individuals—the same protection.

A lot of information around this project has in fact been made available to the member for Dufferin-Peel. I believe he fully understands the ramifications of the freedom of information act, and I find it rather passing strange that, as a lawyer, he would be asking to change an act in a way that would deal with individuals differently than companies. That's not something I personally can support. It would make it difficult for this government or any government to deal with legislation in that way.

So, like the member for Halton North, I will be voting against this particular piece of proposed legislation, and I encourage my colleagues to do the same.

**The Acting Speaker:** Further debate?

**Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham):** I'm pleased to participate in this debate on Bill 3. I want, first of all, to thank the member for Dufferin-Peel for bringing it forward. It has been a labour of responsibility that he has carried forward from the very beginning when he became involved in this issue.

I don't think a member would bring forward such a responsible bill had it not been for the frustration caused by the failure of this government to table information about a private deal. There wouldn't be any need for this bill at all if the government were as forthright and open in its dealings on this one as it has been in some other areas. But the government has not come forward and stated the terms of the deal that exists between the government, under the Ministry of Consumer and Commercial Relations, and a private company.

I commend him for his initiative and I commend him for the way in which during the past at least two years he has stayed with the issue. I mean, it has not been easy. He has written letters to the minister. He has attended estimates in the Ontario Legislature trying to get information on a private deal between the government and a private company. To his credit, he has succeeded in at least obtaining the names of the shareholders and part of the contract. We would not even have that information today had it not been for the perseverance of this member.

The government has stonewalled the Legislature. The government has covered up this whole issue and refused to give an open, honest, clear statement to the Legislature on this issue. To that extent, it is wrong. For this government, which, with the Liberals back in 1985, came forward with its accord and said, "We are now going to bring forward the freedom of information act so that the public has access to information and dealings going on within the government," and this House approved the freedom of information act—and now the government is using that same act as a shield protecting it from coming forward with all the facts.

I find it so reprehensible that here the pontificating NDP and the Liberals would have great support for the FOI and then, on the other hand, when we start looking for the background information, there is just no way in which the opposition can get this information. It's wrong, and we're at a point now where it will continue to be an issue unless the government begins to open up on it.

Therefore, we have Bill 3 before the House. Bill 3 really doesn't amount to anything more than a few lines. It just says it "overrides the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act to provide for access to information relating to the affairs of Teranet Land Information Services Inc, a corporation owned jointly by the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations and Real Data Ontario Inc."

If there is ever a deal with the government of Ontario or the government of Canada—but we're dealing specifically with Ontario—when there is a private deal with the government, there is a point at which that deal should become public and open information. We have young people in the gallery today, and I think one of the things they want to know is that in a democracy things will not remain secret for an extended period of time when they pertain to the public good. It's almost as if it's going to be like the war crimes: You'll wait for 20 years after Nuremberg, or 30 years or 50 years, to find out what really went on. We want to know now what went on between the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations and Teranet. It might all be just fine, but the fact that there is the cloak of secrecy is the issue we want to get behind. Let us know. We have the right to know as legislators, but we are not being told

what we need to know in order to ask the questions that the public deserves to have answered.

All we're doing now is asking for the information to be tabled, and yet stonewalling is just continuing and we do not know anything more than we knew since we got just the names of some of the directors and some of the contract. It's fundamentally wrong in a democracy that the public doesn't have access to that information and we as their representatives are being prevented from doing our job because the government is saying, "Hey, it's private and secret." There is nothing like this that should be secret. It's a deal in which a company is going to make money—once it gets past the \$14 million it hasn't paid. It is a profitable venture. It should be profitable. I'm supportive of the fact that the government wants to work with private enterprise.

This was signed by Peter Kormos when he was Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations that week, and in that process it was important for him to at least do it. What he did then was confirm the actions that had been previously put forward by Mr Sorbara.

I'm saying, what is the deal? How much money is in it by the government? What are the terms of the agreement? What are the specifics? What are the schedules? What is the full contract? Tell us the truth. The NDP came into this House after September 6, 1990, saying, "It will be an open government." All we're saying is, New Democrats, wake up to your promises. Understand that what you stood for then was to have open, honest government. All we're asking is to open the books. Show us the background of Teranet. Let us then together understand whether the deal is a good one or a bad one for Ontario. The police are investigating it. Let us have our chance to do our investigation as well.

**The Acting Speaker:** Further debate?

**Mr Joseph Cordiano (Lawrence):** I think it's fundamentally important for me to stand up and to speak on this matter, and I'm glad of the opportunity to do that this morning because I think there need to be a couple of points clarified with respect to the issue at hand, Bill 3, the act that is being proposed by my good friend Mr Tilson.

Let me start off by saying that in principle, this act is supportable, or the initiative that is being undertaken by my colleague Mr Tilson is supportable in principle, that what's being asked for in this matter is the release of information relating to a contract, a partnership agreement between the government and a private enterprise firm, that being Teranet Land Information Services Inc, which is a company controlled by Real/Data Ontario Inc.

The matter is really: Should the public have full disclosure of the information that is being put together, the information regarding the actual contract, the contents of the contract, the details of the financial



arrangements relating to this agreement? I think there is a case to be made with respect to the fact that when a public entity, the government of Ontario, our governing institution, enters into a contract with a private sector firm to deal with what amounts to public information in a commercialized way, then there is merit—in fact, good reason—in having disclosure on the part of the government of Ontario to assure the public that in fact things have been dealt with in a proper fashion, that there is nothing untoward about the contracts that have been put in place.

Let's go back a little with respect to the process that was used in getting to the point where Real/Data was selected as the successful bidder. There's a chronology of events which led to the selection of Real/Data, and I think it's important to understand that the procedures that were followed were entirely appropriate. They've been outlined in this note I have, and I won't go through it step by step because there's very little time, but I want to make the point that various processes were used to ensure that this was a fair and accountable bidding process. The public service was very involved in making the final selection. In fact, as the Liberal administration initiated this project, there were a number of decisions leading up to the final selection in the fall of 1990 and the early part of 1991.

If you recall, the election of 1990 saw the new government being sworn in on October 1. Following their swearing in, there was a cabinet review and strategic review of the selection process of the two final proponents that were involved in the bidding. Independent reviews were also—and this is an important point—conducted by legal advisers, financial advisers and chartered accountants. In February 1991, this new NDP government reaffirmed its position regarding the bidding process and reaffirmed that Teranet, or rather Real/Data was the successful bidder.

This process was not only sanctioned by a Liberal administration that saw this put in place, initiated it and undertook to request proposals to 20 firms at the time, back in 1988; there was an evaluation process conducted entirely by an interministry team; an arm's-length consulting firm was also part of this process; Management Board of Cabinet asked for a review of the terms of the negotiation, and so on and so forth.

There was an entire process that was followed that was systematic and very accountable, and the final selections were made on the basis of criteria that had been set out previous to the request for proposals.

I say to you, Mr Speaker, it is important to note that the final selection was made on a clearly established set of procedures that were followed to the very end and that in fact this process could be scrutinized and would stand up to the test of that scrutiny, so there's nothing really to hide here, there's nothing that could not be accounted for.

I would say, in speaking to Bill 3, the act that is being proposed, to get at the facts, to get at what have been described as sensitive pieces of information, sensitive because of the private nature of the workings of this firm that has been created in a joint partnership with the government, that this is a model for undertaking this kind of enterprise which should be held up, which should be supported, because I can say that in the future we need more of this.

We need private-public cooperation. We need a marriage between public institutions and private enterprise. We need to do that to accomplish the greater efficiencies in the future that we need in order to sustain our public efforts to make possible the kind of modern data access that we need. That's just but one example of the many kinds of cooperative efforts that we can see in the future.

I would hate—for a moment, Mr Speaker—I would very much dislike that this process continue to be questioned in the way it has, and to leave this cloud of doubt about what has taken place here.

Today, I want to stand in my place and say to you, Mr Speaker, and say to the government that this process should be held wide open for everyone to see because we need this marriage between public and private enterprise. We need more efforts like this, more initiatives like this, and we have to ensure that this selection process, that the entire methodology of this, can be held up to public scrutiny and that there be no doubt at the end of the day that things have been done properly and that people can be accountable for their actions.

I would support the efforts of my colleague Mr Tilson in this regard, simply because I want to ensure and reaffirm that processes, that efforts like this, can be, in the future, successful.

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**The Acting Speaker:** Further debate?

**Mrs Elinor Caplan (Orlino):** This morning in private members' hour we're faced with what I think is an important issue. It's an issue of cynicism and an issue of rights, both the public right to know as well as individual and corporate rights to protection of personal privacy. I think the remarks of my colleague the member for Lawrence were very important to have on the record. He was absolutely factually correct in his historic chronology.

The events surrounding what became the Teranet land information system began back in 1988, and I must say to the members of this House and those who are watching that I was aware of and a party to those ideas that were then brought forward of a new concept of private and public sector partnership and participation in the development of a concept that could be marketed worldwide. It was an idea that hadn't been tried before in Ontario—and remember, those were times when the

economy was doing very well, when there was a lot of confidence in Ontario.

However, even at that time, the level of public cynicism was something that concerned me and my colleagues at the cabinet table. We were concerned about public cynicism, because as government attempted new approaches, those new approaches had to be open, in our view, to the highest level of public scrutiny if you were going to address those issues of public cynicism and concern about how government does its business. I've spoken in this House on the issue of cynicism on numerous occasions. The point I want to make is that the antidote to that cynicism, in my view, is accountability and openness.

I believe that the case that is before us and the request from Mr Tilson has a lot to do about that level of public cynicism. Mr Tilson in this House has asked numerous questions. They've always been tinged with a sense that something was wrong with the deal the NDP government actually entered into. That was the tone of his question, and it concerned me.

I'm aware of the chronology, as my colleague the member for Lawrence has put it forward. I know that when the government changed in the fall of 1990, the new NDP government, the leaders of that government, were also cynical and concerned about the integrity of the process of the contract letting. I know they commissioned outside experts to review that process to ensure its fairness, and I know it was after a review of that process, when they were confident that there was nothing untoward, nothing that anyone should be concerned about, that they were satisfied, the NDP, that the process that had been set in place by the Liberals was fair and open, and that they then let those contracts.

With that historical perspective in mind, they proceeded with what was conceived of as a new and an interesting idea for public sector partnership. Mr Tilson's questions, which were answered by the NDP government—and as I say, his questions suggested cynicism. They defended those on the basis of the confidence they had that the process had been fair and that the process had been non-partisan.

Mr Tilson remains unsatisfied. The losing bidder—and as you heard from my colleague, it came down to two people bidding on this contract—has raised questions around the process and the integrity of that process.

It seems to me that in an era when we want to foster and support public sector partnerships, it is important that people have answers to those questions, that it appear and be so, that there is not only nothing to hide but that there is full accountability on these important matters of confidence, so that there will be a lowering of the terrible level of cynicism, and greater confidence in the integrity of those who are making important decisions.

I happen to be sympathetic to the right of Teranet to keep that information that they see as private and important to safeguard, and that's why the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act allows the freedom of information commissioner, where there is an overriding public interest, to release information to the public that it should have. I know that Mr Tilson and others have attempted, through that process, to get the information unsuccessfully.

While I express today my concerns about the precedent of overriding the protections of the freedom of information and protection of personal privacy legislation, my own view is that when government is involved we must tilt and err, if we are going to, on the side of greater openness and greater accountability.

It is of concern to me that the people of this province are cynical about the way government works. Anything we can do to enhance their confidence and lower the cynicism I believe is in the public interest.

**The Acting Speaker:** Further debate? Seeing none, the honourable member for Dufferin-Peel has two minutes to sum up.

**Mr Tilson:** I must say I find it ironic that two members of the New Democratic Party are opposing this legislation, and there may be more—I hope not—as I find it ironic that I'm about to read selections from the Ontario Public Service Employees Union, the Tory reading this newspaper which in the past has supported the New Democratic Party, where the union which has supported you in the past opposes this philosophy.

I of all people, and the Progressive Conservative Party of all people, are not opposed to private enterprise entering into a contractual relationship with the government. Of course; we encourage that. However, we must be accountable to the taxpayer.

Millions and millions of dollars are being spent in Teranet and I, as a member of this Legislature, am unable to find out who is in this corporation. I'm unable to find out what money is being spent. I'm unable to find out where it's being spent or how it's being spent. I'm unable to ask questions about this latest development that RDO is short by \$14 million. They're essentially in arrears. I'm unable to ask those questions. How preposterous that we, as legislators, can't even ask the directors or the officers of that corporation or the people who are running this corporation, spending public taxpayers' money, what in the world you're doing. We can't do that.

Don't get the impression that I'm opposed to private enterprise doing business with the government, entering into a partnership. As the member for Oriole has indicated, I think we support that. What we're opposed to is the secrecy. We are in favour of open government.

I think I have an extra two minutes, Mr Speaker, from our caucus's share of the time. I am going to refer



to the March edition of the OPSEU News. They're concerned. They are concerned as to the secrecy and they talk about, "On March 2, OPSEU members working for Teranet Land Information Services Inc learned that private sector investors might default on \$14 million in payments due."

Of course, Mr Daniels, the assistant deputy minister—and again I emphasize we respect him; he's simply taking instructions from the can't even tell us who are the people who are interested in investing in this corporation. He can't even tell us the names of those people because of this legislation. Unbelievable.

"With Teranet, data on every property and land owner in Ontario is for sale.

"Large companies with computer expertise get preferential rates to search data. But real estate lawyers complain registry data will cost them more."

Now, that really is irrelevant to this bill, but it's a relevant question to ask in this House, and I can't get it because of the privacy legislation. I can't get answers to it. I have asked questions on that.

"Teranet's government perks include free office space and free title searching. Before Teranet or its subcontractors move in, separate offices are set up to create the database. Then the offices go on line and all new transactions are done on the computer." I can't ask questions on that. I can't get into that.

1100

That's the reason for this legislation. We, as legislators in this province, are entitled, as the members of the New Democratic Party said over and over and over to the Liberal government and the Conservative government when they were in opposition: "We want accountable government. We want to be accountable to the people of Ontario." Well, you're not being accountable, and that's the purpose of this legislation.

And yes, it does open the door to other things, and I give you the example of gambling casinos. I'll bet you a loony that when the gambling casino legislation comes forth, you're going to have a private deal with Donald Trump or Jimmy Connors or whoever those people are and we won't know what it's all about.

**The Acting Speaker:** The time for ballot item number 3 has now expired. We will deal further with this ballot item at 12 noon.

REGIONAL MUNICIPALITY OF DURHAM  
AMENDMENT ACT  
(NEWCASTLE-CLARINGTON), 1993

LOI DE 1993 MODIFIANT LA LOI  
SUR LA MUNICIPALITÉ RÉGIONALE DE DURHAM  
(NEWCASTLE-CLARINGTON)

Mr Mills moved second reading of Bill 6, An Act to amend the Regional Municipality of Durham Act / Loi modifiant la Loi sur la municipalité régionale de Durham.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve):** Mr

Mills, the honourable member for Durham East, has 10 minutes.

**Mr Gordon Mills (Durham East):** First of all, I would like to welcome to the chambers today the mayor of Newcastle, Her Worship Mayor Diane Hamre. Sitting next to her is Dennis Hefferon, who is a special solicitor to the town of Newcastle who has assisted in the drafting of this bill with Legislative Assembly help, and I'd like to welcome Mr Hefferon.

At first blush of this bill, you'd say to yourself, "Why are we changing the name of Newcastle to Clarington?"

**Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West):** Yes. why are we?

**Mr Mills:** If the member for Etobicoke West admits that he still remembers Bud Abbott and Lou Costello, if he's old enough, and "Who's on First Base?" this is really something about what this change is about, because if I can just enlighten the members, we have the town of Newcastle, we have the village of Newcastle, we have the town of Bowmanville, and people come into the fine municipality that I'm privileged and honoured to represent and they say they're looking for Newcastle, the town of Newcastle, and people say: "No, you've got it wrong. You mean the village of Newcastle." So they go down to the village of Newcastle and they say, "I'm looking for the town of Newcastle," and they say: "No, you've got it wrong. You mean Bowmanville. That's what you're looking at." So it really goes back to Bud Abbott and Lou Costello, like "Who's on First Base?"

Anyway, having arrived at this difficulty over a number of years, it was finally put at the last municipal election on November 12, 1991, and the question was put on the ballot in the form of a referendum, "Are you in favour of retaining the name of the town of Newcastle?" The majority of ballots answered that question in the negative, that is, 7,806 of the good people of the region said, "No, we want a change."

The yes vote was 5,492 who didn't want it changed, and that's for obvious reasons. You know, parochially, people, their grandfathers and before them lived in Newcastle, they like Newcastle on their birth certificate and they like Newcastle on their grandchildren's birth certificate, or Bowmanville, whatever it may be, and they're a little bit reluctant to have the name changed. However, the people spoke, and her worship took it on as the first order of business in that inaugural meeting to deal with this very problem, as she promised to do.

So the general purpose and administration committee met and they placed an advertisement in the local newspapers, calling to receive nominations for individuals to sit on that committee. If we talk about open government—I've heard the other people over there on about it this morning—this was the most open process that any municipality could ever do to come about it

fairly with this name change.

Let me just get to the proper note here about the committee makeup. They selected individuals to appear on this committee from ward 4, ward 2, ward 3 and a representative from the Northumberland and Newcastle Board of Education, the Peterborough Victoria Northumberland and Newcastle Roman Catholic Separate School Board.

These fine people—Malcolm Hamon, Cathy McKeever, Don Gilhooly, David Wing, who acted as chair, Geri Bailey, Ron Hope, Shirley Robson and Caroline Burke—went about the process of listening to the people about the new name.

The committee went around the municipality. They went to every corner: Bowmanville, Mitchells Corners, Enniskillen, Wilmot Creek, Hampton; public schools—Orono public school, Kirby, Newtonville, Newcastle and in Bowmanville, and these meetings were the process to select the name.

They came up with a few names that they thought would be appropriate, and the gist of this exercise was not to retain any connection with the name of Newcastle, because we've gone through that before. So the names that were selected for preference were Applewood, Clarington, Darlington, Darlington Mills—which I like very much—Orchard Mills—which is my second choice—and Pineridge. They went around to all these communities and talked about all of this, and finally the name change committee made the final selection, not Darlington Mills but Clarington, and this was announced on October 6, 1992, to the council.

This struggle hasn't been without effort, and of course the region of Durham became involved in this because it had to give its approval. The region of Durham advised the Honourable David Cooke, the former Minister of Municipal Affairs, that it approved of the changes as requested in regard to the name of the municipality being changed to Clarington, and that the description of the corporation and its name be changed from "town" to "municipality" and that the municipality have the same rights, powers and duties as a town municipality under the law.

So it went to council and it was unanimous, the name change selection of Clarington. It went on to the next tier of government, the regional government of Durham, and it was unanimously approved there. It's gone through to the Newcastle—well, presently, until it's changed—hydro commission, and it made a motion to adopt the word Clarington. So you can see, Mr Speaker, that this bill, this name change, has gone through many, many hoops and hurdles to get where we are today.

I want to talk a little bit about the cost of this, because I know that perhaps some people are very interested in what this is going to cost. I must say that the costs of this, the entire name change process, that is,

the committee, was carried out at a cost of \$4,657, which came in well under budget. There was a budget of \$7,450, and obviously they are a very astute group of people to spend the taxpayers' money so frugally and to achieve what they set out to be, so cost-conscious.

Isn't that awful? I had all my papers in order and now I'm stumbling.

**Mr Ron Eddy (Brant-Haldimand):** Do you want some of mine?

**Mr Mills:** I gave them to the opposition and I can't find them myself.

The region of Durham has said that the cost—and I'm going from my memory—for this name change, as far as it could see, would be minimal, and as far as the town of Newcastle, the cost of the entire operation is estimated to be at about \$90,000.

I've got about a minute or so, Mr Speaker. I would be remiss if I didn't thank all the people who helped in this process. In particular I would like to single out the efforts of Linda Bruce from the town of Newcastle clerk's department and what she gave to this process: her organizational skills and hard work. The task was run smoothly, and in all my time that I've spent on municipal council before coming here I've never seen a process that ran so smoothly as what happened out there. It just seemed to tick right along in a wonderful way.

1110

I look forward to third reading of this bill so that we can finally put the stamp of Clarington on our community. I see it as a new era for the region, something to go forward with. We have all kinds of serviced industrial land in, now, the town of Newcastle that's very appropriately located close to Highway 401, and I would suggest that if there are any companies or businesses that are looking in, they should consider the move to the new Clarington in the region of Durham East because they have fine access to Highway 401 and all those big buildings they build there will draw attention to their business.

I thank you for the time and I look forward to the support of my colleagues, not only from my own party but from my colleagues and friends from the opposition parties. Thank you.

**The Acting Speaker:** Thank you. The honourable member for Durham East will have two minutes to sum up. All recognized parties now in the Legislature do have 15 minutes to participate in the debate. Further debate?

**Mr Eddy:** Thank you, Mr Speaker. It's a pleasure for me to rise in support of Bill 6, An Act to amend the Regional Municipality of Durham Act, whereby the town of Newcastle's name will be changed. I support it wholeheartedly because I see it as a local matter being decided in a local forum by local people, and that's very



important.

My only concern and regret is that this bill is not being sponsored by the Ministry of Municipal Affairs, because I see it as a wonderful opportunity for the ministry to be an advocate on behalf of local government rather than imposing rules and regulations and changes on local government, as so often is the case.

I think it was an opportunity missed by the ministry and, although I realize there may be other municipalities that might come forward with proposed changes, I see nothing wrong with that and so I'm disappointed that the ministry is not furthering this matter and indeed promoting and presenting the bill. However, I hope the minister and the other members who are attached to that ministry would indeed approve of this bill.

The matter goes back, of course, to the formation of regional government in the region of Durham. It's some 20 years since the county of Ontario, the united counties of Northumberland and Durham were dismantled and municipalities were given and dispersed among other municipalities. I recall that two townships were sent to Simcoe county. I don't know that either party was happy with that. A municipality was given to the county of Peterborough, I believe, one to the county of Victoria, and out of the remains, the regional municipality of Durham was erected and the present county of Northumberland.

I must hasten to add that I was disappointed with the imposition of centralization of government in local areas by previous Tory governments without enough local input, because if that had happened, if there had been more local input and liaison and discussion, I don't think we would be discussing this bill today. Indeed, the opportunity would have been given to municipal officials, municipal leaders and indeed community leaders, to deal with the matter at the time, but I'm very pleased to see what is happening today.

We experienced the centralization of local government and indeed the centralization of the education system without very much or any local input by previous Tory governments. The other matter that rises to mind, of course, is the government of those days not promoting the decentralization of provincial services and indeed the relocation program whereby services would be in other communities.

I think that's very important, and indeed the government of the day is not proceeding with those programs. Many promises are being broken to many local municipalities today, including to a city in my area, the city of Brantford. Demoralization and great resentment have happened in many areas that were dictatorially, in some cases, reorganized and centralized.

I well remember the day when an outstanding municipal official, Mayor Victor K. Copps, chained himself to a pillar over here in an attempt to get the Tory govern-

ment of the day to be reasonable about the imposition of regional government in Hamilton-Wentworth. As a locally appointed official in those days at that particular time, I well know the alienation, the resentment that was caused and demoralization.

I think this is making great progress. It's long overdue, the proposal that the people of the area and of the communities and the elected council are proposing. I must compliment the mayor, who is present, her worship Diane Hamre, and the council and indeed the community leaders for handling this matter and indeed coming forth with a very excellent proposal.

Living in a local community with so many local names, as I do, I well realize the importance of being able to determine where you are at any given time. I shouldn't get lost in parts of my riding, but I will tell you how confusing it is where you have a number of townships and a number of urban municipalities thrown together into a new municipality, and sometimes with a new name, as is happening here, which is an advantage, or sometimes with one of the old names of a particular area. You travel about and you see signs for this concession and that concession, but it is most confusing because you need to know, along with the concession, what former municipality it was in. It's a great problem in rural areas, and perhaps you've experienced it yourself, Mr Speaker, if you've travelled in some of the areas in regional government.

The only question I had about this bill was using the name "the municipality of Newcastle" rather than the term of a municipality, such as a town, village, township, city or indeed borough. I guess there is one borough left in Ontario. I had understood that all municipalities of course use the name "municipality of," but there was a designated term. It does not really affect my thinking in supporting the bill, but it is a point that I think may have been considered, and I would ask the honourable member for Durham East maybe to just speak to that if it has been examined and looked at, because it is important.

The forced centralization of local government has caused great alienation across the province in many areas, as I've said. I happen to live in a county, a local municipality in the old county system, and I always felt that system of government was kept outdated and antiquated because the province of Ontario, the Ministry of Municipal Affairs in particular, would not update the legislation to permit counties to do those things that the county council and indeed the elected councils of the local municipalities might decide to do and would want to do and did want to do on a cooperative basis. The answer always was, "We will not update the county system because the entire province is going to be regionalized."

The entire province was going to be regionalized, and those were the plans of the former Tory governments.

1120

What happened, of course, is they started to lose seats across the province of Ontario, and they came to the conclusion that if they proceeded with the forced centralization of local government in forming regions and restructured local municipalities, putting so many of them together in many areas without, in my opinion, enough local input to be accepted by the local people—it had to stop, and it did stop. There are some municipalities that, I'm pleased to see, have survived with the old system.

The problem is, the legislation should be updated. Counties, indeed all municipalities, including the new municipality, should be given the right to do those things that they wish to do, decide to do, the elected representatives decide to do, unless they're specifically prohibited from doing it by law. The legitimacy of the right of local governments to make local decisions for local people, I think, should be clearly stated and indeed should be agreed to by the Ministry of Municipal Affairs, which could and should take leadership on this important matter.

People in local communities feel abandoned by governments. They are alienated. There must be ways that we can bring the feeling that government is on the side of the people back to the people. It's particularly noticeable these days with what is happening in our province. Of course, I have to mention, when you talk about demoralization, the constant realization by local people of what they individually owe because of provincial and federal debt, and indeed many people have personal debt, so it is a great concern.

So I would like to see, and I'd certainly lend my support to the ministry to proceed with, rather than having such restrictive legislation for municipalities, opening it up to let counties or any municipality do those things that the elected councillors would like to do, including a change of name for whatever reason, and there are certainly very good reasons to let them decide those things.

County governments in the past begged the ministry to change legislation to allow them to have water and sewer services on a county-wide basis. It wasn't permitted. It was only permitted, of course, when the county system was replaced in certain areas by the regional system of government, which made so many changes all at once.

Personally, I think progressing slowly over a number of years is much better than passing a bill that establishes a restructured form of government, puts a number of municipalities—in some cases many municipalities—in together, sometimes with no community of interest, imposes the form of local government, and then takes most of the services to the upper tier, which of course is indirectly elected, and that's fine if local people feel that indirect election is preferable. I think

those things must be looked at and must be changed.

So it is with pleasure that I support the town and advise all those in this House that we certainly support the bill wholeheartedly.

**The Acting Speaker:** I wish to thank the honourable member for his participation. Further debate?

**Mr Dave Johnson (Don Mills):** Mr Speaker, perhaps just a couple of housecleaning items to start with. I'm delighted to be the first to welcome the honourable member for Victoria-Haliburton to this side of the House. You can see he's sitting beside me. The only question I had in my mind was, I didn't realize I had the option to sit there myself when I was newly elected to this House just a couple of weeks ago. I think you get quite a good view.

**Mr Anthony Perruzza (Downsview):** You've still got that option.

**Mr Dave Johnson:** I still have that option, do I? Actually, I like it right here, though. The other question was that we're not sure if we have enough room over here to accommodate all the potential requests that we see coming up in the near future.

Secondly, I really didn't have much critical to say. I guess this is a golden opportunity to be critical, but I really didn't have anything critical at all to say of this particular bill. Perhaps the member for Brant-Haldimand has made a couple of comments that I might just make a few observations on right at the outset with regard to local municipalities having a say over local decisions.

I certainly, coming from a local municipality, agree with that. In very strong terms, I agree with that direction and I would hope that the honourable member and his party and the party on the other side, the government, would agree with that as we deal with Bill 7, which will be coming before us next week apparently, because in terms of Bill 7, a waste management bill, there are certain issues, certain responsibilities, that municipalities will be dealing with, where the authority has essentially been taken away from local municipalities and delegated to regional municipalities.

Regional municipalities certainly need powers as well; there's no question about that. But I think we need to make sure that the balance of power is appropriate, and I think the honourable member for Brant-Haldimand would agree with me that Bill 7, as it's phrased in its present form, doesn't give the local municipalities the say that they should have. So I'll be interested in his remarks when that issue comes forward.

In terms of centralization, the member again has outlined a problem in his region. I can only say that in this region of Metropolitan Toronto, the centralization has worked well over the past number of years. Metropolitan Toronto, being formed in 1954, was put in a position to provide services for the people of all the municipalities in Metropolitan Toronto, some 13 muni-



cipalities at that point in time.

Reorganization occurred in 1967, which affected my own municipality in East York being created from the township of East York and the town of Leaside. Although there was certainly some resistance at that point and while some people still fondly look back on the situation before 1967, I think from the vantage point of where we are now, most people would agree that centralization did work in Metropolitan Toronto. It did give a proper balance of power between the region, between the local municipalities, and created local municipalities of an efficient size that they could deal with the issues that we've had to deal with over the past number of years. So I think there's a counterexample in terms of what the member for Brant-Haldimand was speaking of.

Getting directly to the bill that the honourable member for Durham East is introducing, I am pleased to support him in this endeavour. The member has raised the problems that have been encountered through the years with Newcastle being formed from the town of Bowmanville, the village of Newcastle, the township of Clarke and the township of Darlington. There has been confusion with regard to who lives where or where people are to be directed or that sort of thing, and this is something that's come to the point that it certainly has to be dealt with.

Again, from my background, I understand that sort of confusion. I mentioned previously that East York was formed from the township of East York and the town of Leaside, and there are still people today who think in terms of the township and the town, as opposed to the borough of East York. I can well understand, when people give directions to the town, that they may be thinking of Bowmanville or they may be thinking of Newcastle, and there could well be confusion.

So this is something that was raised and had to be dealt with. I was pleased, as the member for Durham East has pointed out, that there was a very open and honest, aboveboard and proactive municipal involvement, leadership, in this whole issue, that it involved all the people from the town of Newcastle. They decided upon a referendum. This was, I believe, in 1991, during the municipal election, and the question at that point was, "Are you in favour of retaining the name of 'town of Newcastle'?" The returns that came back were 7,876 no, 5,492 yes. Obviously, that reflects a couple of things. That reflects that the majority of the people were definitely in favour of a change.

1130

It also reflects the fact that this was not an easy decision. I know, having spoken with the mayor just previously today, that she had some concerns herself, and a great number of people obviously did have concerns. There's an emotional attachment to a name that people have identified with for many years.

I might say in that connection that the honourable member to my right-hand side was born in Newcastle, Newcastle upon Tyne, a few years ago, and I'm sure that in his mind there's that sort of attachment as well, as there would be an emotional attachment in the minds of the people from Newcastle. But notwithstanding that, there was a clear message, and the clear message was, "We need to have change."

I was very impressed with the process that the municipal council followed from that point in time. They did establish a name change committee to facilitate the public consultation. The council organized advertisements in the newspapers in April of last year. They advertised for nominations to sit on this committee. They finally decided upon a committee of eight people: six people, two from each ward within the city, and one person from the separate school board and one from the public school board, a total of eight people.

Those eight people, as I understand it, set up a committee, mailed a household notification to the residents within the town of Newcastle, sought suggestions, proposals, for the name change, a very open process, inviting all the people to participate. As I understand it, they did receive some 1,300 different suggestions. It must have been quite a chore to go through those and to decide upon the right direction.

In August of last year, the committee decided that it would put forward several names and again seek guidance. The names were Applewood, Clarington, Darlington, Darlington Mills, Orchard Mills and Pine Ridge. Those were the names that were put forward for the public again to comment on. Advertisements were placed in the papers. Residents of the town who attended the meetings were given an opportunity to cast a ballot for their favourite name, and the name that we're about to approve here today, Clarington, was selected in October of last year.

There has been some suggestion about the use of "municipality" as opposed to "town." I haven't researched this fully, but as I understand it, the way the act is recommended to be changed by the honourable member, the use of the word "municipality" would allow the former town, as it will be, to retain all its legal and financial status. That's fairly important. Out of this process, the town of Newcastle of course is not interested in losing any financial support in grants or other financial structures. That's obviously most important to all municipalities in this day and age, and the way this is being set up, to call Clarington a municipality and the way the act is being amended, will account for that and will allow the municipality of Clarington to retain its financial position. Again, I'm in support of that.

The cost has been alluded to by the member for Durham East. They've apparently stayed within their budgets all along the way. The total cost is, I believe,

fairly nominal considering the process they've gone through and the involvement of all the people. There again, I don't believe the financial issue is an issue whatsoever.

So in summing up, Clarington is a combination of the townships of Clarke and Darlington, and these were townships that I understand were created back in the early 1800s. Bowmanville was named in 1823. The townships, I think, were created about the same time. Actually, Darlington township was created in 1794, I believe it was, and Clarke township I believe was created just shortly after that, so there's a lot of history there between the two of them.

"Clarington" is a combination of the townships of Clarke and Darlington; it's an excellent choice. It's a choice that's supported by the council of the town of Newcastle. It's a choice that has involved all of the people of Newcastle in the selection process. I would simply offer my congratulations to the mayor, to the members of the town of Newcastle and to the people of Newcastle for going through a very civilized process and for making, apparently, a very wise decision.

**The Acting Speaker:** I thank the honourable member for his participation. Further debate on second reading of Bill 6, the honourable member for Durham-York.

**Mr Larry O'Connor (Durham-York):** It's a real pleasure to be here speaking on this bill today, because my colleague from Durham and I of course share part of Durham region, and there's my personal history: My family roots go right back into what has of late been called the town of Newcastle.

When my parents were young teenagers and moved to Courtice, of course it wasn't the town of Newcastle; they moved to Courtice. As you drove out of Oshawa, the first thing you came into was Courtice. Name changes must be a difficult thing. I've got nine brothers and sisters, so when my mom and dad tried to think of names—they know it's a difficult process to pick names. When they were living in Courtice, about the middle of October in 1954 there was the terrible storm that struck all of southern Ontario. As my father was driving my mother to the hospital to have a baby—they had twins, as a matter of fact, girls—I'm sure the name of the hurricane, Hazel, must have crossed their minds as a name for a girl, but Marilyn and Marie are the names that were picked for my sisters.

But they lived in Courtice at the time, not in the town of Newcastle. And then later on a few more of us came along and they had to leave the town of Courtice. I'm sorry, Madam Mayor, but they moved to Oshawa because they felt they needed to be somewhere on running water, because it was very difficult to pump a lot of water for all those diapers, so they moved to Oshawa.

But I remember going back to Bowmanville, the Bowmanville zoo. I'll tell you, when you've got nine brothers and sisters, a field trip like the Bowmanville zoo is a big thing. I'm sure the members of this House know about the Bowmanville Zoo, because Mr Tilley, with his famous hats, has done some advertising around the subject of the Bowmanville zoo. For those of you who don't know, one of the zoo-keepers there has lost his hat four times to the elephant but always recovered it, and it's still in fine shape, from what I hear. Returning to Bowmanville once in a while, as you left the city of Oshawa and went into Newcastle, it was rather strange, because all of a sudden you drove into Newcastle, but you were going to Bowmanville and Newcastle is on the far side. It's really kind of confusing.

I remember growing up in the south end of Oshawa. For my very first date I took my wife over to the bowling lanes at the east end of Oshawa. Of course the bowling lanes are gone, burned down, and where those bowling lanes were was in Newcastle, which is really perplexing.

I've still got a lot of good friends who—my best man lives in Courtice, and I've got a brother who lives in Bowmanville, not to be confused with Newcastle, because they are two different places. Anybody who knows Bowmanville would remember driving through, and on the south side of the road there's this bus that sells the best french fries you could ever ask for. I've gone to Hanc's many a time, taken my wife when I was dating, and maybe the odd time, when my mother worked in a nursing home around the corner, slipped in and grabbed some french fries to munch on while I was waiting for her to come out of work. Hanc's is quite famous.

1140

Later on my mother did move to the village of Newcastle—not Bowmanville, not the town of Newcastle, but the village of Newcastle—to work in a nursing home. I recall one time going over there to get her keys, which she had locked in her car by mistake. I drove over there, and as soon as I left Oshawa I was in Newcastle. Then I drove through Bowmanville. Then I kept driving until I got to Newcastle—quite confusing. The mayor has to be congratulated in changing this name and helping take some of this confusion out of the whole thing.

It's really got to be quite difficult for people when you tell them, "I live in Newcastle, and as soon as you leave Oshawa you're in Newcastle, but really you're not in Newcastle, you're in Courtice." When I was little and I returned to Courtice a few times, it was very small. Of course, there are a lot of people living in Courtice now; it's just incredible.

The whole thing is incredibly confusing, because what has happened now is that the town has decided,



the municipality has decided, "Let's bring it together, let's give it a name, a name that people are going to be able to grow up with and remember." The people who live in places like Newcastle or Bowmanville today will still be able to remember where they live. They live in the municipality of Clarington but the village of Bowmanville.

It makes sense to me. I know my brother who lives in Bowmanville will like that, and I'm sure when his son or daughter is born this August, he's going to be able to take him or her to the Bowmanville zoo, which isn't in Newcastle any more but back in Bowmanville but never moved, in Clarington.

I just want to say to the mayor and to my colleague here that I think the name change is really a terrific, positive sort of thing. Every once in a while a little bit of common sense overcomes politicians and they start thinking, "Hey, this is maybe a little bit too confusing for folks and we're going to try to bring a little bit of common sense to this." So I want to thank my colleague here for allowing me to speak on this because, by golly, it's good to have a little bit of common sense in here once in a while.

**The Acting Speaker:** I want to thank the honourable member for his participation. Further debate?

**Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East):** I'm pleased to rise today to speak just briefly on Bill 6, An Act to amend the Regional Municipality of Durham Act. When we look at some of the changes that have taken place across the province with regard to boundary changes, negotiations going on with regard to changes of municipalities and name changes, in Simcoe county at the present time all the county boundaries are changing and each one of these municipalities has to pick another name.

There is some confusion with regard to when you make name changes. I know you yourself, Mr Speaker, had a change made in the riding that you represent, I believe, by adding another name to it or something to that effect. When we look at these, there's no easy solution to the problem, because whatever you want to do, there are always a lot of people who object to it. I understand that in this case there were a lot of people who objected, although the vote was decisive that they did want the name changed from Newcastle. When I've talked to some of the people in that area, they agree with this bill. They want the change made because it's been an ongoing problem for many years.

Our party agrees with this bill. My friend Mr Mills has brought it forward. We're pleased that it's happened. But there's one thing they don't want to forget, and that is some of the heritage and history that's gone on in those small towns, because it's important that we keep that. Some 200 years ago—we're celebrating this year—John Graves Simcoe first came and developed the first Parliament, so we've got to look at the history of

this province and of those small municipalities. We should not forget them.

I have a bill before the Legislature which I hope to bring forward this fall. It's a heritage bill. I'm looking to the third Monday of February as a holiday where we will stop and reflect on the past, think of the future and reflect back on the heritage we have. This is all part of it. I know there'll be a history done in the town of Newcastle. They will want to make sure that Darlington and Clarke and all those municipalities that were established there at one time by those names will continue.

When we look at the county of Simcoe, this year it's celebrating 150 years. In the 150th year, there are going to be approximately 16 municipalities that will be changing their names. When we look at the name changes, we also want to remember the heritage and the history of all these municipalities that were established many, many years ago, and make sure that it's documented and kept in a form that our ancestors and our grandchildren will see back in the history of this province when it was first established. I want to thank Gordie for bringing this bill forward.

**The Acting Speaker:** I thank the honourable member. Further debate, the honourable member for Muskoka-Georgian Bay.

**Mr Daniel Waters (Muskoka-Georgian Bay):** I rise today to speak on the private member's bill by my colleague the member for Durham East, Mr Mills. The bill is An Act to amend the Regional Municipality of Durham Act. The purpose of the act is to change the name of the town of Newcastle—we've heard this—to the municipality of Clarington.

As you may recall, the member for Durham East introduced a private member's bill last spring on the subject of British pensions for former British residents. This was a bill that was of great interest to the people it affected. In fact, it was the first time ever that I have seen all of these galleries around here full in private members' hour. It was such a good bill that Mr Mills's office received inquiries from the government members in British Columbia and indeed in the federal government.

This new bill is also very important to the people it touches. It touches the very identity of their community. The member for Durham East is a member who always strives to lend a hand to as many people as he can. These two bills are an indication of this.

In 1973, through the Regional Municipality of Durham Act, the town of the municipality of Newcastle was created, comprising the former towns of Bowmanville, the village of Newcastle, the township of Clarke and the township of Darlington. On November 12 in the year 1991, the people of the town of Newcastle voted in a referendum on the question, "Are you in favour of

retaining the name, 'the town of Newcastle?'" A majority of the voters responded that they did not want to keep that name.

It was at that point that the council established the procedures to change the name and the public process started. Believe me, it was, as the member from Durham stated earlier on, a very democratic system, one that the town council and the regional council should be very proud of, of how they dealt with this. Over 1,300 responses were received by the committee and the committee picked six finalists. From that it went on, and at the October 26 council meeting, the name change to the town of Clarington was put forward, as chosen by the local residents.

In addition to this, throughout the consultation process, the name-change committee became aware of a great deal of confusion regarding the municipality's status, since Newcastle was referred to as a town. The name-change committee saw this as an opportunity not only to choose a new name, but also to clarify the status of this community. They went back to council, council worked on it with them and hence we now have a bill put forward to change it all to the municipality of Clarington, which is what the people of the area want.

Therefore, I wish not only to congratulate her worship the mayor and the council, but also Mr Mills for bringing this forward, because truly it is an act of democracy and that is something we should all applaud.

1150

**The Acting Speaker:** I wish to thank the honourable member for his participation. Further debate, the honourable member for Kingston and The Islands.

**Mr Gary Wilson (Kingston and The Islands):** I too am pleased to be able to support my colleague the member for Durham East on this bill. I think that he and other members have outlined very thoroughly the elements that have gone into consideration of this name change, that already it has been said that there has been debate within the community itself and then a mechanism set up to look at the replacements. I think that we'd all agree that this is a very democratic and reasonable approach to the name change.

However, I do want to speak to the issue of what it means to change a name. We speak of a personality of people, of course, which is what the term comes from, but we also refer to areas or cities having a personality. Apparently, my colleague the member for Scarborough East tells me, in England there is no problem referring to Newcastle upon Tyne and Newcastle under Lyme, and these two have enjoyed the same name or a similar name without that kind of confusion we have heard this morning has emerged in the member for Durham East's community.

They've arrived at this way of substituting the name, but of course, as has been raised, there is the issue of

personality or the character and what that means to change a name, much as we can think of changing our own name. This was borne in upon me at a very young age when the school I was attending, called Moneta, was changed to Flora MacDonald, which was quite a change, and at that young age I didn't understand why the change was made. All I knew was that it was something much different from what I'd been attending. But after I attended Flora MacDonald for a few years, the identity of that name sank in and I was proud to be a member of that school.

I want to assure the member for Durham East that he can look to our area for guidance in this matter of how to cope with the change in name. After all, we've been in existence over 300 years and have gone through a couple of changes ourselves. When the area was first settled it was called Fort Frontenac, the area of habitation. A few years later it became Cataraqui, the name to designate that area, which I'm told by the members of the Cataraqui Friendship Centre is a native term referring to limestone. So again that's a physical feature that figures into the name.

The year 1788 was the first official designation of Kingston, and that is the name we know today, but if you look at Kingston it certainly has encompassed a variable history and a very rich history.

I was reminded of this yesterday when I attended the official opening of the Kingston literacy centre, where the people who were there to learn English as a second language came from all over the world. It's just marvellous to see that the richness of that is added to a community by this kind of experience. We heard songs from China and Russia in those languages, we saw t'ai chi from China, and Mexican singing. This was all in a very short space of time, but it just reminded us of the richness that we have in this world, and with the changes that are occurring globally, how we can take advantage of these changes.

Kingston at one time symbolized, I would say, a very particular way of looking at the world—a staid, say, conservative, militaristic background—but now it's developing within that name. It's coming to signify a different outlook on the world, one that I think will be very beneficial, not only to our own area but to the province and wider boundaries as well.

I'm pleased to speak in support of the motion, and I wish the new municipality of Clarington the best of luck.

**The Acting Speaker:** Further debate? The honourable member for Yorkview.

**Mr Perruzza:** Thank you very much, Mr Speaker. It's Downsview that I have the honour of representing.

**The Acting Speaker:** I apologize—for Downsview. *Interjection.*

**Mr Perruzza:** Absolutely. However, I know that the



riding of Yorkview is a very nice riding and it's well represented by my colleague Mr Mammoliti.

It's a privilege for me to rise today in support of Mr Mills's bill to change the name of Newcastle to Clarington. In the minute I have left to participate in this debate, I can't help but recall another debate in this Legislature where we were talking about renaming a particular riding. I remember the member for Bruce standing up that morning and delivering a very eloquent speech that talked about the signposts of history. Well, today I'm proud to be part of that movement in time where we make history.

I can't help but think that consolidating the towns called Newcastle under a new name is forthright and brilliant, and I can't help but think how Mr Mills is so forward in his thinking: a name that is totally and typically Canadian. I'm proud to speak of the new town of Clarington.

**The Acting Speaker:** The honourable member for Durham East has two minutes to sum up.

**Mr Mills:** The congeniality that's in the House this morning for my bill: The only thing I may suggest is I hope the Premier's watching, or someone important's watching, and maybe they will let me introduce every bill in the House and then we could get some business done here.

Anyway, that jovial talk aside, I'd like to thank the member for Brant-Haldimand, the member for York Mills, the member for Durham-York, the member for Kingston and The Islands, the member for Muskoka-Georgian Bay, and last but not least, the member for Downsview for their kind comments in the support of this name change.

I'd just like to bring to your attention a comment that the member for Brant-Haldimand brought up with respect to the term "municipality." I can just read from a letter from the Minister of Municipal Affairs. It says: "With respect to the possibility of not including the term 'town' in the new name in favour of perhaps a more generic term such as 'the municipality,' I've discussed this suggestion with a number of people in the ministry. There does not appear to be any significant concern, provided the choice does not come into conflict with any current legally defined term such as 'district municipality.'" So I hope that answers the member's query there.

I think the mayor and the council should be commended for this positive thing they've done. It's not easy to do things, to change traditions, in face of lots of people who don't want it. You know, we're all faced, myself too, with people saying, "Well, you go through with this and we won't vote for you any more," but that is what politics is all about. Politicians have to make decisions for the best of their community. The mayor and the council have taken that decision upon them-

selves. I'm pleased also to be in the House today, this further step to the next tier of government, to do that on behalf of everyone whom I represent in Durham East.

**The Acting Speaker:** The honourable member for Simcoe East on a point of—

**Mr McLean:** A point of personal privilege, Mr Speaker: Mr Mills mentioned everybody's name but mine and I thought he should remember that I was for it.

**The Acting Speaker:** It's not really a point of anything.

**Mr Mills:** Mr Speaker, I have a long-term friendship with the member for Simcoe East and I'd be very upset to not mention him, but it's a fact that he was not on my list when I wrote it. He jumped up unexpectedly, but I recognize him.

**The Acting Speaker:** Thank you. We will now proceed with the two ballot items that were dealt with this morning.

#### TERANET INFORMATION DISCLOSURE ACT, 1993

##### LOI DE 1993 SUR LA DIVULGATION DE RENSEIGNEMENTS CONCERNANT TERANET

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve):** Firstly, we will deal with ballot item number 3, the second reading of Bill 3, An Act to provide for Access to Information relating to the affairs of Teranet Land Information Services Inc, by Mr Tilson, the member for Dufferin-Peel.

Do we have any members opposed to having a vote on this ballot item? If so, please stand. Seeing none, we will now deal with ballot item number 3.

All those in favour of Mr Tilson's motion, please say "aye."

All those opposed, please say "nay."

In my opinion, the nays have it.

Call in the members: a five-minute bell.

The division bells rang from 1159 to 1204.

**The Acting Speaker:** Would all members please resume their assigned seats. I want to remind all members that we are dealing with ballot item number 3 by Mr Tilson, the member for Dufferin-Peel, Bill 3, An Act to provide for Access to Information relating to the affairs of Teranet Land Information Services Inc.

All those in favour of Mr Tilson's bill, please rise and remain standing until identified by the Clerk.

#### Ayes

Arnott, Bradley, Brown, Caplan, Cleary, Cordiano, Cousens, Cunningham, Curling, Daigeler, Drainville, Eddy, Eves, Jackson, Johnson (Don Mills), Mammoliti, Marland, McLean, Perruzza, Poole, Rizzo, Runciman, Ruprecht, Sterling, Stockwell, Tilson, Turnbull.

**The Acting Speaker:** All those opposed to Mr Tilson's motion, please rise and remain standing until identified by the Clerk.

### Nays

Abel, Bisson, Cooper, Duignan, Farnan, Frankford, Haeck, Harrington, Hope, Huget, Johnson (Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings), Klopp, Lessard, Malkowski, Martin, Mills, Morrow, O'Connor, Waters, White, Wilson (Kingston and The Islands), Wood.

**The Acting Speaker:** The ayes are 27, the nays are 22. I therefore declare the motion carried. The honourable member for Dufferin-Peel.

**Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel):** I move that this matter be referred to the standing committee on administration of justice.

**The Acting Speaker:** Do we have agreement that this matter—No. We now have to establish if there is a majority of members wishing to send this bill to the committee of justice. Those in favour of sending this bill to the committee of justice, please rise and we will have the Clerk conduct a count.

All those opposed to sending this bill to the committee of justice, please rise and remain standing for a head count.

I've been told by the Clerk that we have a majority in favour of the bill going to the committee of justice. It is therefore so ordered.

### REGIONAL MUNICIPALITY OF DURHAM AMENDMENT ACT (NEWCASTLE-CLARINGTON), 1993

### LOI DE 1993 MODIFIANT LA LOI SUR LA MUNICIPALITÉ RÉGIONALE DE DURHAM (NEWCASTLE-CLARINGTON)

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve):** We will now deal with ballot item number 4, a motion by Mr Mills for second reading of Bill 6, An Act to amend the Regional Municipality of Durham Act.

All those in favour of Mr Mills's motion, please say "aye."

All those opposed, please say "nay."

In my opinion, the ayes have it.

**Mr Gordon Mills (Durham East):** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I'd like to, for the purposes of the record of Hansard, state that this bill was unopposed.

**The Acting Speaker:** The motion is carried.

This bill is ordered for committee of the whole House.

It being past 12 of the clock, this House stands adjourned until 1:30 of the clock this afternoon.

The House recessed at 1211.



## AFTERNOON SITTING

The House resumed at 1330.

## MEMBERS' STATEMENTS

CONSEIL SCOLAIRE DE LANGUE FRANÇAISE  
D'OTTAWA-CARLETON

**M. Bernard Grandmaître (Ottawa-Est) :** Monsieur le Président, j'aimerais encore aujourd'hui vous donner, et au gouvernement, en particulier au ministre de l'Éducation et de la Formation, des nouvelles de la population francophone de l'Ontario.

Depuis plus de deux ans maintenant, la section publique du Conseil scolaire de langue française d'Ottawa-Carleton est en tutelle. Je crois que nous pourrions discuter pendant longtemps des raisons qui ont amené le gouvernement à imposer la tutelle. Il m'apparaît, par contre, très clair que cette tutelle ne règle aucun problème. La meilleure preuve de cela est que la section publique continue de s'enliser dans des problèmes financiers.

Je me permets de vous rappeler que la tutelle doit être vue comme une mise en veilleuse, pendant une courte période de temps, des droits démocratiques des parents en vue de régler une situation de crise financière ou autre. Dans le cas qui nous préoccupe, rien n'a été réglé. Les parents se demandent à quoi les conseillers scolaires qu'ils viennent d'élire peuvent bien servir. Ils se demandent quelle doit être leur relation avec le tuteur.

Monsieur le ministre de l'Éducation, nous faisons face exactement au même problème qu'il y a deux ans. Ne serait-il pas temps d'accorder un peu de temps à la section publique du Conseil scolaire de langue française d'Ottawa-Carleton et d'essayer de trouver une vraie solution à ses problèmes ?

## LIVING ARTS WEEK

**Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South) :** In anticipation of Mississauga's new Living Arts Centre, the Mississauga Arts Council, together with Square One Shopping Centre, Eaton Sheridan Place and Erin Mills Town Centre, has dedicated April 23 to May 1, 1993, to be Living Arts Week.

This celebration of Mississauga's cultural vitality is an example of how the arts can thrive when arts organizations, businesses and government work together. Funding for Living Arts Week comes from the three malls, the Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Recreation and the city of Mississauga.

Living Arts Week special events include a concert by the Mississauga Symphony Orchestra, dance demonstrations, musical performances by several ethnic groups, a demonstration by celebrity painters, a seniors day featuring the talents of our seniors and the presentation of four arts films at the Dollar Cinemas.

I would like to express our community's deep apprec-

iation for the tremendous efforts and vision of Bruce Heyland, chair of the Living Arts Centre. Under Mr Heyland's leadership, the Living Arts Centre has acquired talented administrative staff and is coming closer to reality through successful operational planning and fund-raising.

I encourage the members of the Legislature and everyone who shops in Mississauga to visit Square One, Eaton Sheridan Place and Erin Mills Town Centre this week. Come enjoy the marvellous displays, demonstrations and performances which showcase the artistic talents of Mississauga's diverse population.

## PLANT CLOSURE

**Mr Stephen Owens (Scarborough Centre) :** On May 1 the General Motors van plant will be closing after over 40 years of service in Scarborough. When the plant opened in 1951, it manufactured Frigidaire appliances. It later produced parts for the GM auto industry under the Delco name. It was then retooled as the GM van plant to begin production in 1972.

Almost 3,000 jobs will disappear with this closing. This number does not include the thousands of other spinoff jobs that will be affected, like truck drivers, like parts manufacturers, like retail workers. The economic impact will be catastrophic to Scarborough and indeed all of the greater Toronto area.

The personal impact has an even greater effect. Many workers have worked their entire work lives there. Families are torn apart as workers must search other communities for job opportunities and as the stress of unemployment takes its toll.

The responsibility for this devastating closing rests on the shoulders of the federal Tories and their ill-conceived free trade agreement. Already in Ontario tens of thousands of manufacturing jobs have been lost under the free trade agreement, and if NAFTA, the North American free trade agreement, goes through, thousands more will be gone.

This Saturday a rally in support of the Scarborough van plant workers will be held in front of the plant at 1901 Eglinton Avenue East, just east of Pharmacy Avenue, at 1 o'clock in the afternoon. I know that many of you will want to show your support. This plant is located in the provincial riding of Scarborough West, and I know that Anne Swarbrick has been working tirelessly, as the member for Scarborough West, to help bring this to a more positive resolution. Unfortunately, the federal Tory trade policies have made that an impossibility.

I know that you'll want to—

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner) :** The member's time has expired.

## LONG-TERM CARE

**Mr Frank Miclash (Kenora):** On a number of occasions I have stood in the House to bring to the attention of this government the need for an extended care facility in Dryden.

I've pointed out the implications of having a facility some two hours away, the separation that this brings to families and the hardships and heartache that follow. Residents of Dryden see the rules of long-term care changing on a daily basis and actually have come to the conclusion that this government is out to make the whole issue complicated enough that the people of Dryden will eventually give up their fight for a home to keep their elderly in the community.

Mr Speaker, I can certainly tell you and tell both the Minister of Community and Social Services and the new Minister of Health that this is not the case. Ministers, the administration of Patricia Gardens has just received news that changes are being considered in regard to the services that it offers. They have been told that their designation may become a supportive living facility. Common sense only dictates that such a move will only increase the need for an extended care facility, and I urge both ministers to become involved in this planning to ensure that the needs of Dryden's seniors are met. The citizens of Dryden deserve no less.

I have developed a package for both the Minister of Community and Social Services and the Minister of Health relating some of the issues that have been involved up until today on this issue.

## WASTE MANAGEMENT

**Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East):** My statement's for the Minister of Municipal Affairs. It concerns Bill 7, An Act to amend certain Acts related to Municipalities concerning Waste Management.

Minister, your NDP government and the former Liberal government appear to delight in playing games of give and take with municipalities across Ontario when it comes to the issue of waste management. In 1989, the Liberal government passed an act to amend the Municipal Act, which gave municipalities power over waste management and directed them to establish waste management plans. Just two years later, this government gave the Environment minister power to unilaterally dictate waste management procedures that had traditionally and legally been overseen by municipal governments.

Now the same government is tossing a bone back to the municipalities in the form of Bill 7, which gives them a semblance of legislative authority to implement programs and strategies geared towards waste reduction. Unfortunately, Bill 7 is just one more example of the NDP government's practice of downloading new programs without providing any necessary funding.

Your government's unacceptable practice of increas-

ing the number of mandatory programs while reducing financial contributions is backing municipalities into a pretty tight corner where they will be forced to cut existing services and raise taxes.

On the same note, the cuts in the conservation authorities—\$138,000 in the Nottawasaga Valley Conservation Authority—are a matter that you're not taking full responsibility for.

## CULTURAL EVENTS

**Ms Jenny Carter (Peterborough):** On Friday, April 16, I attended in Peterborough the world première of *Ernest*, a musical adapted from the play *The Importance of Being Earnest* by Oscar Wilde.

I want to heartily congratulate the Peterborough Theatre Guild on this production. The music by Bryan Jackson and the lyrics by Janet Fridman were excellent. Director Gillian Wilson and all her production staff did a wonderful job. The cast was superb. The choreography, lighting and set design were all well done. The fine piano accompaniment by Susan Taylor provided the finishing touch.

The Peterborough Theatre Guild is hosting the Theatre Ontario Drama Festival this year, from May 19 to 23. There are five entries from the Theatre Ontario Drama Festival. Companies will be coming from Ottawa, Thunder Bay, North Bay, Port Perry and Elmira.

A highlight of this event will be a visit of the Yokohama Theatre Institute from Japan, which will stage a performance. This is a return visit, as the theatre guild took Bea Quarrie's production of *Hedges*, written by Peterborough's Dave Carley, to Japan in 1990.

The theatre guild sets a high standard of dedication and achievement. Thanks and congratulations to all those involved.

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## TRUCKING INDUSTRY

**Mr Hans Daigeler (Nepean):** On Tuesday the Minister of Transportation said in this House that he wanted to weigh carefully all aspects before reintroducing the Liberal bill to allow longer trucks in this province. He said he didn't want to make a hasty decision.

Well, the minister has had two and a half years to make up his mind, and while he has been dithering for years on end, 200 trucking firms went bankrupt in 1991. Last year 188 freight companies closed in this province, with a significant job loss for Ontarians. It's obvious the trucking industry in this province is hurting; it's hurting badly.

My concern and the concern of the Liberal Party is for jobs. How can we help Ontario business people compete internationally and thereby protect and increase jobs? Longer trucks are used almost everywhere in North America. They will save Ontario shippers \$100



million a year, making them that much more competitive with US firms and other firms in this country.

Minister—and it's unfortunate he's not here—

*Interjection.*

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** The member for Algoma.

**Mr Daigeler:** —you have a golden opportunity to save jobs. You have a golden opportunity to help an important sector of the economy without cost to the taxpayer. Introduce legislation now that will put Ontario trucking companies on a level playing field with other provinces and states.

#### BUSINESS IN ONTARIO

**Mr Cameron Jackson (Burlington South):** On Monday of this week, the Premier responded to a question from my colleague the member for Markham by quoting out of context the words of Ron Foxcroft, the president of Fortron International Inc, the creator of the Fox 40 whistle and one of Ontario's most outstanding business success stories of the last five years. The Premier said that Ron Foxcroft was returning one of his companies to Ontario after a year's absence because of the better business environment in this province and the Premier suggested that this was the result of his labour bill, Bill 40.

On behalf of Mr Foxcroft, I should like to set the record straight. A year ago, Ron Foxcroft established a new company in Tonawanda, New York, where he was warmly welcomed. This he did precisely because of the NDP's labour legislation and at a time when public support for the NDP was still holding. He did not move any of his other highly successful companies from Ontario.

Ron is moving back to Ontario now because he believes: "The NDP government in Ontario is finished and Bill 40 will be repealed by 1995 as promised by Mike Harris, leader of the PC Party of Ontario. Bill 40 has discouraged investment and created a bigger wedge between business and labour."

This is hardly a glowing endorsement of Bob Rae's labour legislation or his record of management of Ontario's economy by one of the leaders of Ontario's business community. According to Mr Foxcroft, why should companies doing good for Ontario be run out by Bob Rae? Companies should remain here to drive out Bob Rae.

#### TENANTS

**Ms Margaret H. Harrington (Niagara Falls):** I wish to tell the people of Ontario about a very exciting and much-needed process that is happening right now across Ontario. This process is called Planning Together. It is the bringing together of tenants of Ontario Housing Corp with the local housing authority and community agencies for the purpose of involving tenants in decision-making and management of their

homes. This is a process of changing attitudes, and that is never quick or easy.

Since September many, many meetings have been taking place across Ontario to answer a set of questions given to each housing authority by our Ministry of Housing. Mr Speaker, I want to tell you about a meeting in Niagara Falls last week. About 60 people were involved, all having their say on the issues, such as safety and security; eliminating discrimination, racism and harassment; tenant placement and selection. I was very proud of what was accomplished, the very realistic solutions that were presented.

I want to publicly thank all of those who were involved in the subcommittees, as well as coordinator Jenny Rossi, authority chair Ron Gibson, manager Ed Fortier and all of those people.

I thank these people because I know this is an extremely difficult process, taking patience, listening, trust and caring. It is especially difficult in this economic climate, but we can't say it can't be done because of money. With determination and a clear goal in mind, we can work together to give people more say in their lives.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Statements by ministers. The Minister of Environment and Energy.

**Hon Bud Wildman (Minister of Environment and Energy):** Last week, I announced in this House that Ontario has passed its—

**Hon Shirley Coppin (Minister without Portfolio in Culture, Tourism and Recreation):** Mr Speaker, on a point of order: I wonder if I could have unanimous consent to make a statement about the passing of a former member of this Legislature.

**The Speaker:** Is there unanimous consent? Agreed.

ARTHUR C. JOLLEY

**Hon Shirley Coppin (Minister without Portfolio in Culture, Tourism and Recreation):** I rise in this House today to mark the passing on Saturday, April 24, 1993, of Mr Arthur C. Jolley, Progressive Conservative member of the Ontario Legislature from 1953 to 1959. Mr Jolley, MPP for Niagara Falls riding, was first elected to the provincial Legislature in a by-election on October 26, 1953. He went on to retain his seat during the 1955 general election and served until his defeat in 1959.

A building contractor and partner in Jolley Construction Co with his brother Leonard, Art served four years in the Canadian Armed Forces and served four years on Niagara Falls city council.

Art's involvement in Niagara Falls community life included membership with the local Kiwanis, the Masonic Order and Clif-Lodge.

Arthur Jolley's interest in his community went on long after he ended his political career. I remember with fondness the kindness and encouragement he extended

me as a first-time member of this Legislature and in the years since my election as Niagara South MPP in 1990.

His friendship and good humour were matched only by his willingness to share his experience and his knowledge. For that, I will always be grateful.

I will miss Arthur C. Jolley. Whenever you spoke to Art, he always made you feel you were in the right place. I think that's a wonderful comment on a wonderful man who served his province very well.

**Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines):** It's my pleasure, on behalf of the Liberal Party, to rise in the House to pay tribute to the late Art Jolley. He's listed in the book of course as Arthur Jolley and is listed, I guess, in the plaque outside that mentions the names of the legislators as Arthur Jolley, but anybody who knew him always knew him as Art.

Some of the legislators who sit today may have noticed a jovial, friendly individual who once in a while stopped in to the legislative dining room and made a point of chatting with members of all the different parties. That was Art Jolley.

He was able to attract support from people not only of his own party, the Progressive Conservative Party, but, I'm sure, many Liberals and New Democrats, and in his day it would be CCFers. Those without a political affiliation were attracted to Art Jolley because of his personality, because of his desire to serve his community, first of all on the city council in Niagara Falls and, subsequent to that, in the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

Art also had another special place for people in southern Ontario, and that place was on a radio station, CKTB, in St Catharines, where he was part of the Super Seniors Network along with Meagan and Don Hildebrandt. They hosted a program on Sunday mornings, right up until his recent illness, of music from the 1930s and the 1940s and the 1950s and sometimes even from the 1920s. There was a lot of, again, jovial talk about those days, and Art was the person who supplied much of the humour and much of the, I guess you would say, loving on that program.

He was enjoyed by all, and when we gathered, a number of us, a couple of years ago for his 80th birthday, there was an excellent cross-section of people in the community who remembered his service. He was awarded, by the way, the Canada 125 medal for his volunteer work, because beyond the Legislative Assembly where he served in an official capacity, Art Jolley was a person who was prepared to be part of his community in a volunteer way. Anyone who sought his assistance in dealing with government, or indeed with anything in our society, found that Art was most willing to be helpful.

To his family and to his many friends, I offer my condolences. Those of us in this assembly who have

met him remember Art well. He has served the people of this province and the people in the Niagara Peninsula appropriately. We will all miss him.

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**Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East):** I'm pleased to rise on behalf of the Progressive Conservative Party in respect to the family of Mr Jolley. The information that I have about Mr Jolley is the fact that he was a member much like myself, from what I've been told, who represents the people in the ridings, and that is what I have been told, that Mr Jolley was very forceful in that aspect when he was a member here from 1953 to 1959.

Mr Jolley's highlight of his life, I've been told, was the fun that he had with the super seniors on the radio program, the volunteer work that he did for the community and the many involvements he had with regard to the Fort Erie Municipal Housing Corp, the Kiwanis club and the Masonic Lodge that he was involved in.

In this Legislature Mr Jolley served on the committee of public accounts, the committee of municipal law, the committee of education and the committee on private bills. That's an indication to me that he fulfilled his duties also as a member of this Legislature.

On behalf of the PC party of Ontario, I would like to send condolences to Mr Jolley's wife, two children and his four grandchildren on behalf the people here.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** The kind and thoughtful remarks by the honourable members for Niagara South and St Catharines and Simcoe East will be sent to the family of Mr Jolley.

#### STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY AND RESPONSES WASTE REDUCTION

**Hon Bud Wildman (Minister of Environment and Energy):** Last week I announced in this House that Ontario has passed its first waste reduction milestone: We met our 25% reduction objective in 1992, largely due to the commitment and efforts of literally millions of Ontarians.

Today I address our next challenge, reaching the target of 50% reduction or more by the year 2000.

As part of the waste reduction action plan, I am introducing regulations under the Waste Management Act which will simplify approvals for recycling facilities and save money on waste disposal. By the year 2000, we will divert up to an additional two million tonnes a year from landfill in this province. That's approximately 200,000 fewer truckloads of garbage every year. These regulations will make Ontario a world leader in waste reduction.

The new 3Rs regulations become law in August. This will allow everyone time to study the regulations and requirements and prepare to comply with them. Regulatory measures include: blue box recycling, leaf and yard



waste composting and home composting programs for municipalities of more than 5,000 in population; annual waste audits, reduction work plans and recycling for large industrial, commercial and institutional waste generators; packaging audits, updated every two years, and packaging reduction work plans as well.

We have listened to the extensive input received on the Initiatives Paper No 1, which laid out our regulatory proposals 18 months ago. We consulted widely, with 434 organizations, industries and individuals. We've taken into account the ideas submitted during the Legislature's deliberations on the Waste Management Act. Our original proposals have been refined accordingly to provide built-in flexibility in the regulations.

For example, while all designated municipalities will be required to collect traditional blue box materials like newspapers, steel, aluminum, PET plastic containers and glass, they have options to choose other materials to recycle.

We are also giving longer phase-in periods to the regulations to accommodate northern Ontario communities which face much greater challenges in establishing cost-effective programs due to the long distances from markets for recyclables.

There are many in the public and private sectors who are already meeting the requirements of regulations voluntarily and successfully. We need to build on this voluntary action.

In the coming months we will be working towards a new and fair partnership in waste reduction which the province, municipalities, industry and commerce, and institutions, groups and individuals can build on. We will be pursuing mechanisms for ensuring that those who create products and packaging destined for recycling pay their fair share of the costs.

Many companies and institutions have embraced the 3Rs out of concern for the environment, but they also see that waste reduction pays dividends. Their operations become more efficient, their costs are reduced, their products and services are welcomed by a public that appreciates environmental concern by business and industry, and during this recession, many companies have cut their costs and become more efficient, and that has contributed to the success of the 3Rs program so far. Others have found new opportunities for products and services in the 3Rs that have produced economic opportunities and jobs.

Ontario's waste reduction initiatives are consistent with the government's 10-point plan to put Ontario back to work. They are investments in jobs, in people and in structuring a more sustainable economy. We will make our year-2000 target of at least 50% waste diversion in ways that benefit both our environment and our economic recovery. These regulations demonstrate that we are changing from a wasteful, throw-away society to

one that conserves resources for future generations.

#### EDUCATION PROGRAM EVALUATION

**Hon David S. Cooke (Minister of Education and Training):** I'm pleased to advise members of details of five measures my ministry is taking to improve our education system's accountability and the way it reports on results to students, their parents and the general public.

The people of Ontario are demanding accountability in education. As the Commission on Learning will be looking at wider reforms to promote accountability, the initiatives will certainly be relevant to the commission's work. We will keep the commission informed about these measures and the results.

The measures are the grade 9 reading and writing test; the development of test materials and activities for grades 3, 6 and 9 mathematics; draft provincial standards, which are sometimes called "benchmarks," for language and math; guidelines for student achievement profiles for students in grades 7 to 9; and a statement describing current provincial policies and programs dealing with evaluation of both students and the elementary and secondary education system.

The grade 9 reading and writing test is a curriculum-based test of reading and writing achievement in which all grade 9 students in both English and French-language schools will participate in the 1993-94 school year. This test has been developed through 18 months of consultation with educators. It includes two weeks of activity in which all grade 9 English and français classes will work on a set of test materials supplied by the ministry.

My ministry will set provincial standards for these tests. These will include standards for judging how well students can express ideas in writing, as well as use of grammar, spelling and punctuation. When the results are in, we will have an in-depth view of student achievement in important areas of reading and writing: where students are doing well, where they need help. From this, we will be able to judge what measures are needed to improve what we teach and how we teach it.

My ministry will return the tests to students and their parents, showing the students' ratings in terms of the provincial standards. We will also report the overall results for the province. Each school board will receive a report about its schools. We will work with parents to find the best way to give them information about the results and get them involved. As a first step, we will soon be sending a brochure about the test home with all grade 8 students, who will be writing the test in the next school year.

My ministry will work with school boards to make additional testing and assessment materials available for grades 3, 6 and 9 mathematics. We will continue to develop provincial standards, often called benchmarks,

in math and language for grades 3, 6 and 9. Revised mathematics and draft language standards will be available in the fall of 1993. We will work with school boards to provide guidelines for comprehensive achievement profiles for students in grades 7 to 9 by the spring of 1994. An achievement profile will be a detailed record of the student's work. It will provide students, parents and teachers with more information than the traditional report card. Parents and students will be encouraged to contribute material to the portfolio.

Grades 7 to 9 have been chosen as the starting point for this measure because of their importance as the transition years, the time when a student moves from elementary school into high school.

1400

Individual teachers, schools, boards and associations are constantly developing new and effective evaluation and reporting practices. The ministry will ensure that information about these best practices is made available to school boards and teachers throughout the province. The ministry will also produce a statement to describe what the province is already doing to monitor the education system and student achievement. The statement will also list current provincial policies on evaluation.

The announcement of these five measures is timely, as this week 5,000 Ontario students are participating in the national School Achievement Indicators Program test in mathematics. As part of Ontario's strategy to determine how effective our schools are, we will support regular national testing. I will be pursuing an evaluation strategy with all provinces and territories in my role as chair of the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada.

Ontario has a diverse student population. In the design of these five initiatives, every effort has been made to ensure that this diversity has been recognized and taken into account. Letting students, parents and taxpayers know how our schools are doing is a key step to rebuilding public confidence in elementary and secondary education. As well, ensuring students master more than the basics in preparation for their future is a key part of this government's plan for economic recovery in our province.

The grade 9 reading and writing test and the four other initiatives I have described all contribute to the achievement of these goals. I thank all the people and organizations who have contributed to the development of these initiatives over the past 18 months.

Emphasizing education and training is one of the 10 points in our government's plan to put Ontario back to work. Another part of the plan, controlling the provincial debt, is receiving considerable attention these days. I think it's important to remember that those measures to control the debt are what allow us to continue our strategic investment in the future. Those measures allow

us to continue to sustain essential services such as education, and to take the steps we need to improve them.

I ask all members to give their support to these measures.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Statements by ministers? Responses, the official opposition.

**Mr Charles Beer (York North):** The events of this week concerning members of this assembly are not ones which, frankly, make any of us feel very good about who we are as legislators and what we do in this place.

I begin my response to the Minister of Education's statement in this way because I believe so strongly that we must revitalize our Legislature and its committees to make them relevant to the issues that are of real concern to the people of this province.

In this place, it is surely our duty and our responsibility to debate the issues of the day, to debate vigorously, to debate intelligently, to debate rationally and, yes, to debate with passion, but we must ensure that public issues are clearly and truly joined.

The issue of the future of our education system is one of the most critical issues we face. The question of testing must be a key component of any sound educational policy. It is for this reason that we welcome—albeit cautiously, because many questions remain—the minister's statement today. He has taken a step in the right direction. We encourage him to be emboldened by this step and to take others, many others.

Testing is not an end in itself. It is part of a much broader system of student evaluation. That evaluation process must be meaningful to the student, to the parent and to the teacher.

I commend to all members an article in the latest edition of the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario Newsletter by Ms Jean Hewitt, superintendent of schools for the London Board of Education. Ms Hewitt sets out four critical areas that need to be addressed in looking at educational reform. I submit that they are fundamental in reforming our methods of testing, of evaluating students.

She asks: What kind of student are we hoping to graduate from our schools? What is the image of the learner? What knowledge, skills and attitudes should be fostered in order to produce this type of graduate? What should the curriculum be? How should students be taught? What should the learning environment be like? And how will we know if we have been successful in meeting these expectations? What measures of quality assurance are to be used?

As we answer these questions, I believe we will design the most effective evaluation process for the future. Simply put, we need content standards, performance standards and school delivery standards. The



minister's statement indicates that we may be starting this vital journey, but questions remain.

What will be done to help students reach new standards? What will be done to strengthen initial teacher training programs? What will be done to provide a level playing field for Ontario children who come from broken homes, who come to school hungry, who have been physically or sexually abused? And finally, Minister, how do you rationalize these questions with the actions of your government this past week which put more kids in every classroom and reduce the resources for learning?

It is very important that the minister involve parents in this debate. This week we have had a number of groups of parents at Queen's Park with strong concerns about the quality, the excellence, of our system. Their voices must be heard.

In addition, educators, trustees, teachers, those on the front line, must be heard. Professional competence in the teaching profession must be brought into this debate—they are allies, not enemies—and we must not forget the students themselves. Too often, we forget to ask them what they think. We dare not forget this time.

The minister's statement today will, I suspect, be greeted in the broader community with guarded optimism but also with nagging cynicism. His actions will speak. We will work with him and with the parents, teachers and students of this province to ensure that our system is one of the best in the world.

#### WASTE REDUCTION

**Mr Steven Offer (Mississauga North):** I rise to respond to the statement made by the part-time Minister of Environment. The minister today announces mandatory blue box recycling, leaf and yard waste composting and home composting programs for municipalities of more than 5,000 people. The minister indicates that these programs will be mandatory for all municipalities in this province within one year and in northern Ontario in two years.

The minister must understand that a blue box program is not just a blue box in front of a home, that there is the requirement for specialized trucks, that source separation facilities must be constructed, that a myriad of other costs are incurred by municipalities. The question today is, who pays for that announcement?

Last week, Mr Minister, you said that your government doesn't have any more money, and in fact you took away grant money from municipalities. The municipalities say they do not have any more money. They have been stretched to the bone.

Today you announced that the municipalities must obey your directions. While we support the blue box program, support reduction of waste to landfill sites, we ask, where is the rest of the minister's statement about where the municipalities are going to get the funds in

order to implement your directions? You have an obligation to respond to those municipalities. You should have done so today.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** The member's time has expired. Responses, third party.

#### EDUCATION PROGRAM EVALUATION

**Mrs Dianne Cunningham (London North):** It's with a great deal of pleasure that I respond today. I think in this place called democracy it's encouraging to see a minister listen carefully and respond to some of the good advice that's given to him from time to time by members of the opposition. So I'm going to take some credit today and tell him I'm glad he's read this Blueprint for Learning. I'm thrilled that within the first 10 sentences in this release today, he's used two words that are so important to the public of Ontario, to schools, to students and parents: "testing" and "accountability." Congratulations. I know this is just the beginning for this minister. He's got lots more work to do.

**Hon David S. Cooke (Minister of Education and Training):** It's irrelevant.

**Mrs Cunningham:** First of all I'd like to say that the fact that he is choosing to test in grade 9 next year—there is a bit of criticism. He knows about that. Why did he use nutrition? Perhaps he should have been looking at Canadian history, geography, perhaps literature. He says it's irrelevant.

It's just a little statement I'm making on behalf of the public that asked the question. I think if we're going to test we could be using something that is extremely relevant to the students.

What I want to talk about are the benchmarks. If indeed the minister is saying that he is not going to look at The Common Curriculum and he's not going to change that document, then we will have made no progress. We need a core curriculum, as he well knows, in every single subject, especially mathematics and science first—I agree with him—with regular testing on the basic criteria that we expect from our young people: What we are teaching them? Did they learn it? Were they successful, and what are we doing about the ones who weren't? Are we providing the remedial attention that is necessary?

We know that one of the real reasons we're not competitive in Ontario is because we'd rather focus here on activity and process rather than educational outcomes, curriculum development and implementation, which are fragmented and differ from board to board and school to school, and accountability mechanisms right now are virtually non-existent.

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This minister is saying he understands that, but in order to be competitive we have to have a common curriculum right across the province of Ontario and we

need leadership from this ministry. In 1983, in the second international mathematics studies, Ontario grade 8 students knew less math than similar students in British Columbia. In 1985, in the second international science study, Ontario students knew less science than students in the western provinces. In 1988, in the international assessment of educational programs, with British Columbia, Quebec and New Brunswick, Ontario 13-year-olds knew less mathematics than students in Quebec, BC and English-speaking New Brunswick. In 1991-92, Ontario participated for a second time, and this time Ontario 13-year-olds came in dead last in math knowledge, behind all other provinces.

The other provinces do have a common core curriculum. We should be associating with them and discussing with them. I've just found out that the minister is going to be the chairperson of the ministers of education across Canada. That's wonderful. I wish him the best of luck. We're on his side.

#### WASTE REDUCTION

**Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel):** I'd like to respond to the comments made by the Minister of Environment and Energy. I think we all agree on the whole principle of what you're trying to do to encourage recycling, all the problems that are associated with that throughout the province of Ontario. The difficulty is that you've been rather vague on how we're going to pay for all this. I know that's been said. And of course you got us into the Interim Waste Authority, and the minister responsible for municipal affairs didn't even know that was his responsibility, let alone how much it's going to cost.

**Hon Bud Wildman (Minister of Environment and Energy):** It's mine.

**Mr Tilson:** Well, whoever it is. The difficulty is, you have no idea what this is going to cost—

**Hon Mr Wildman:** It's mine.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Would the minister take his seat, please.

**Mr Tilson:** —you have no idea as to who's going to be responsible for comparing the many reports. You have no idea as to who's going to enforce the regulations. Well, I have an idea. Yes, of course you know who it's going to be. It's going to be the municipalities and ultimately the taxpayers who own property in this province. Your Treasurer has bankrupted the province, and now you're going to bankrupt the municipalities. If you get us into these things, you should be able to have some vague idea as to how we're going to pay for it. You promised to us, or the former minister promised to us, a discussion paper on financing the whole issue of waste management prior to Bill 143.

**Hon Mr Wildman:** It's coming.

**Mr Tilson:** Well, you say it's coming, and then you keep introducing and passing bills. Bill 7's been intro-

duced. I don't know how you're going to implement Bill 7. You have no idea how you're going to pay for any of these things.

**Hon Mr Wildman:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: To clear up any confusion, the responsibility for the IWA rests with my ministry.

#### MEMBER'S COMMENTS

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Point of privilege, the member for Guelph.

**Mr Derek Fletcher (Guelph):** Mr Speaker, I rise on a point of privilege. Yesterday in the House I rose to make—

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order. Would the member for Guelph take his seat, please. A point of privilege is being raised. I need to hear it. The member for Guelph.

**Mr Fletcher:** Thank you, Mr Speaker. Yesterday I rose in the House to make a statement about comments that were made by the member for Mississauga East. I feel that my integrity and the integrity of many of the members has been compromised by a statement that was made by the leader of the Liberal opposition when she said that these comments were divisive and inflammatory remarks about the Serbs. If they were divisive and inflammatory on April 28, they were divisive and inflammatory in 1991; they were divisive and inflammatory on March 11. For the Leader of the Opposition to say that she did not make a deal at the Liberal convention—

**The Speaker:** What's the member's point of privilege?

**Mr Fletcher:** —she's lying to the people of Ontario when she's saying that she did not make a deal with this member to make sure that he would not be disciplined, unless it was raised in the House. That's what's happened. She has only disciplined this member because—

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order. I don't believe that the member has a point of privilege. It is time for oral questions.

#### ORAL QUESTIONS

##### WILL FERGUSON

**Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition):** My question is for the Premier. Premier, the charges that were laid this morning against Will Ferguson are the latest developments in a scandal that has just kept building. Your own credibility, Premier, has been shaken by this Piper-Ferguson affair, which involved both a member of your caucus and members of your own staff. Premier, since this matter first came to light, we have been asking you to deal with the issue, to deal with Mr Ferguson, to deal with the Grandview survivors. My caucus has asked you no less than 23 questions, made a number of statements and brought



one resolution, to no avail. Your response, Premier, has been to refuse to order an inquiry into the matter, to suppress release of a report into the abuse at Grandview school and to close your eyes to the events taking place in your own office. Premier, you refused to act even when Will Ferguson admitted that he had orchestrated the smear campaign against Judi Harris, one of the victims of Grandview, who was also the individual who brought forward the allegations against Mr Ferguson.

Premier, my question is to you, and I ask you, why was a breach of trust, this breach of integrity which Will Ferguson admitted to, not sufficient reason for you to act? Did it take charges being laid for anything at all to be done?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** On reflection, I'm going to refer this matter to the Attorney General.

**Hon Marion Boyd (Attorney General):** It is very unfair for the Leader of the Opposition to suggest that nothing has been done. This is the government that initiated the police investigation of the situation at Grandview. This is the government that has protected the integrity of that investigation and of its prosecutions. We will continue to do so.

What has amazed us throughout this process is that our colleagues in both opposition parties have refused to understand that discussion in this place could jeopardize the integrity of the legal process and that it is absolutely necessary for us to take very seriously the fact that there is a criminal process that is under way. That process is going along with the full cooperation and support of this government, and it will continue to do so only so long as there is no interference with that process.

**Mrs McLeod:** My question was for the Premier, and my question was not about the issue of law, which I appreciate the Attorney General can respond to. My question was about the issue of ethics and integrity, which is quite separate from the issue of law and which only the Premier could respond to.

Since the Premier has seen fit to refer a question to the Attorney General, I will attempt to direct my supplementary into an area which perhaps the Attorney General can respond to on behalf of her government.

The Attorney General will be well aware that the charges against Mr Ferguson relate very directly to the allegations of sexual abuse at the Grandview school, to the experiences which have permanently marked the lives of the survivors. Those survivors, Minister, as you know well, have asked that the government release the 1976 report into the sexual abuse at the Grandview school. You are also aware that the privacy commissioner has said that the release will not jeopardize police investigations. You are also aware that last week the Ontario Divisional Court upheld the commissioner's decision and ruled that the report be released.

The survivors have asked for the release of this report. The survivors need some sign that your government cares about them. Yet you have done nothing but stand in the way of their request and suppress release of the report. Time and time again, we have asked you to release it, and now today, again, I ask, will you not reconsider your decision to throw roadblocks in the way of the Grandview survivors? Will you simply now release the report?

**Hon Mrs Boyd:** The Leader of the Opposition is quite right that the privacy commissioner, at a time before any charges had been laid in this particular case, did make a ruling that the severed report could be released. We have consistently objected to that on the grounds that the release of that report might jeopardize the criminal investigation and the prosecution of those who have been charged. It is extremely important for us to understand that the privacy commissioner does not have the information about the investigation, what is being looked at, how it is being looked at, what the issues are, and did not have that information at the time that decision was made.

A decision has not yet been made whether to seek leave to appeal. We are awaiting the oral reasons for the decision. When that decision is made, we will certainly be prepared to let the opposition know that we have taken action one way or the other.

The other thing that the Leader of the Opposition needs to be aware of is that there is a mechanism under the Criminal Code, under section 490, which enables the victims to access their records that have been seized in the police investigation, records which they have been seeking for some time. We have almost completed a protocol with counsel for the victims which will enable them to do so. We are not attempting to block their access. We have been working on the protocol since December.

It is in the interests of everyone that we follow those processes that are allowed under the Criminal Code and ensure that we are very, very aware at all times of maintaining the integrity of the criminal process.

1420

**Mrs McLeod:** Let me again attempt to put back on the table the issue, which we believe is not the issue of law but the issue of ethics and integrity. Because this question, again, has been referred to the minister rather than being dealt with by the Premier, I will have to ask the minister to respond not as Attorney General but as minister responsible for women's issues, because, Minister, at the same time that your government has been fighting to suppress release of the Grandview report, you will know well that there has been an orchestrated smear campaign against Judi Harris, one of those survivors, one of those victims, and that that smear campaign was orchestrated through Will Ferguson, with the complicity of John Piper, the Premier's

own friend and adviser, and involving we don't know who else in the Premier's office.

There is no doubt about that question, Minister. There is no cushion of law; there is no question of investigation here. The member himself has admitted it.

Over and over again we have asked your Premier and your government to order an inquiry into this aspect of this situation, into the Piper-Ferguson affair and who all was involved in it. So I can only ask you today, as minister responsible for women's issues, as the minister who surely is concerned about the Grandview victims and therefore concerned about the way in which this whole affair has been managed, will you not urge your Premier today to order that all-party investigative inquiry into the Ferguson-Piper scandal and let this matter be dealt with finally?

**Hon Marion Boyd:** I would not be doing my duty as the Attorney General of this province if I were to give that kind of advice to the Premier of this province. It would not be appropriate for this matter to be referred to a public inquiry in the middle of a criminal investigation, which now involves one of the parties. The Leader of the Opposition must be well aware of that.

I certainly am delighted to have an acknowledgement from the Leader of the Opposition of the concern that we have for the victims, and I would just say to the member that this concern is kind of latter day in the sense of both opposition parties. After all, who was the government in 1976 when this investigation first happened? Who was the government from 1985 to 1990 and what did it do about this situation? We are the only government that has had the courage and the strength to go through with this process, and we intend to do it properly so that the victims of Grandview are treated and have their day in court.

#### LABOUR RELATIONS

**Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition):** Mr Speaker, my second question will be to the Premier on a different issue, and I can appreciate the discomfort he must be feeling with the response he's just heard. He knows what the issues are in that last question.

Premier, I will turn to another issue, and that's the issue of the social contract talks which began today. You know that organizations representing municipalities and school boards and social service agencies have said that they don't have the authority to negotiate on behalf of their members in these talks. You know that the leaders of Ontario's public sector unions, who represent 900,000 workers, are boycotting the talks. School boards, municipalities, social service agencies say they can't negotiate the government's proposals. The unions say they won't negotiate the government's proposals. The question is simple, Premier: Exactly who is Michael Decter negotiating with today?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** There are a range and a variety of people who are at the tables today, a range of groups of people who are actively involved. There are a number of interests that are represented directly and there are a number of observers who are attending to see the progress of the talks.

I was encouraged yesterday—I don't expect the honourable member to raise this to public attention, but in fact one of the union leaders, who has previously been quoted as saying some very negative things towards the general approach, is quoted in today's Toronto Star, a well-known journal of record, as saying that there is real work going on in terms of an alternative package and in terms of proposals which are being put forward. I think this is a realistic approach that's being taken by a great many people.

I've been struck by the number of ordinary people who have responded and say that they do see the logic of what we're proposing: that people give up a bit of time without pay, that there be an agreement to a three-year extended period in which there will be a real pay pause, that we will have some understanding of the need for restraint within the public sector, and that with that and the government's commitment to continue the reform, there will in fact be real grounds for optimism about the prospects for recovery in the whole of the economy and the prospects for—

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Could the Premier conclude his response, please.

**Hon Mr Rae:** —an even more efficient and effective public sector.

I remain much more optimistic than the Leader of the Opposition. I would say to her very directly that I think this enterprise is worth undertaking, that's it a worthy effort, that it's worthy of the best efforts of the people in the province of Ontario, and that it's worthy of the best efforts of this government, and that's precisely the approach we're taking into these discussions.

**Mrs McLeod:** To refer, in answer to my question, to a number of people at the table discussing a number of issues is hardly the most specific response in describing what is happening in this enterprise, which in fact is the most unprecedented redirection of the collective bargaining process that we have ever contemplated. Premier, it is for that reason that I am attempting to understand exactly what it is, again, that you believe is happening or is supposed to be happening at those tables today.

Premier, the public sector unions will be drafting their own deficit reduction counterproposals, and according to press reports, you've said that you welcome this development. You call this the process of negotiation. But I can tell you that out there, there is mass confusion, Premier, inside government and among schools and hospitals and municipalities, about exactly



what is to come, when it might be finalized, when it might take effect.

So, Premier, if you cannot help us understand just who Michael Decter is negotiating with, perhaps you can tell us more specifically exactly what it is that he is negotiating. What does Michael Decter have on the table for today's talks?

**Hon Mr Rae:** Mr Decter has on the table for the talks—as do the various teams that are looking at the different sectors, that are discussing with the parties who are involved in those sectors in education and universities and colleges, in the public sector, in the government itself—a range of options and alternatives which have been set forward very clearly and set out very clearly in the social contract proposals which were released by the government on Friday, the social contract proposals which are very much based on openness and accountability, on restructuring work, reskilling workers and establishing partnerships for capital investment, reforming the framework for collective bargaining, and the kinds of financial proposals that I've put forward and tried to explain to the leader in the answer to her first question.

This government has been, I think, very straightforward, very creative in dealing with an unprecedentedly difficult financial situation. I think the people of the province of Ontario have a whole lot more respect for that than the kind of negative gobbledegook they're hearing from the Leader of the Opposition day in and day out on this issue.

**Mrs McLeod:** Well, Premier, perhaps I can be even more specific in my question so you can continue to help me understand exactly what is happening.

Premier, I think you would at least agree that when these discussions are concluded, in what you hope will be about two weeks' time so the Treasurer has some direction for his budget, it's very likely that the unions' ideas on how to shape this social contract are going to be considerably different than the government's proposals.

You have indicated, Premier, as the talks begin, that you are prepared to consider the counterproposals, but the unions have said they will not negotiate at all unless the \$4 billion in cuts already announced by the government is put back on the table. Let me ask you very specifically, Premier, very directly: Is the government's expenditure control package that was announced last Friday on the table, and if it is, Premier, are you giving the unions the power to negotiate the government's expenditure control plan?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I would love someone to perhaps ask the Leader of the Opposition whether she supports the idea of negotiating or whether she'd prefer to act unilaterally. If that's what she's talking about, let her say. Is she in support of the idea of negotiating or does

she support the leader of the third party in his proposal that we simply impose legislation, bang, bang, bang, as he said? "Bang, bang, bang," was what the leader of the third party said. I have no idea what the position of the Liberal Party is. It changes day to day, it depends on who's asking the question and it has nothing to do with the alternatives that are in fact in front of us today.

1430

I would say to the honourable member that the government has set forward its expenditure reduction plan, we've put forward our social contract proposals and we are prepared to listen to whatever counterproposals are made. The decisions on the expenditure reduction have been taken, but I can say to her very directly, as I've said outside to people who have asked me the same question, of course if somebody has another suggestion or another proposition, it would be a very foolish government that refused to listen to concrete, practical suggestions, from whatever quarter. The only trouble is that we haven't had any concrete, practical suggestions from one quarter, and that's the Liberal Party that's now in opposition.

#### ONTARIO ECONOMY

**Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing):** My question is to the Premier. Yesterday, Premier, the Minister of Finance told us that he is open to suggestions from the public sector partners, from the unions. I believe he's been quoted, and you have, as saying you're open to suggestions from anybody, anywhere in the province as to how you can help reduce the deficit, get spending under control, as to how you can help downsize the cost of government.

Premier, to me, your deficit target, you and the Treasurer have a goal of \$4 billion in program cuts and revenue enhancements. I believe there's been a category there of \$2 billion cuts in cost in salaries, but there has been \$4 billion roughly either revenue enhancements—and the Treasurer's nodding, Premier—or in program cuts.

Now, you've broken that \$4 billion down about \$2 billion and \$2 billion: program cuts, tax hikes or sale of assets. Let me ask you this, Premier, since you're open to advice, if we, or the public or the public sector partners or the social contract partners, can find more than \$2 billion in spending cuts, would you not then agree that to meet your deficit targets there would be no need for revenue enhancements or no need to hike taxes by that same amount of cuts beyond the \$2 billion that would be necessary? We could meet your targets that you've set that are essential for Ontario, and the more cuts that could be identified and found—

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Would the leader conclude his question, please.

**Mr Harris:** —the less the need is for that same amount of taxes. Would you agree with that, Premier?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** I think the answer to that clearly would be we'd be prepared to entertain any practical proposal from the Conservative opposition. I do, however, think that it's important for him to realize that when he looks, for example, at his federal colleague—and we all look to our federal colleagues for advice from time to time—I would say to the leader of the third party that it's important for him to know that I think if he looks at what Mr Mazankowski did in Ottawa, and I think if you look at the experiences in the United States and if you look at the experiences in the other provinces, Mr Mazankowski's is in a sense the counterfactual. He said, as a matter of almost religious philosophy, a matter of almost theological conviction, that he doesn't think that anything can be done on the revenue side at all or should be done.

As a result, I think we see that basically the federal government has had to give up in terms of where it is at on the deficit situation. They basically wrestled it to the ceiling and have had to abandon the struggle. We're not prepared to do that. We're not prepared to do that.

So I would say to him we believe that increased taxes, to use the very direct phrase, we believe at this point certainly that increased taxes are a necessary part of the overall strategy that is in fact going to really deal with this problem and set us on a path, a much clearer path, to recovery and keep the momentum for recovery going, because we do believe that the size and growth of the deficit is acting against the interests of long-term recovery in the province, because we believe, if I can quote Mr Mazankowski—

**The Speaker:** Would the Premier conclude his response, please.

**Hon Mr Rae:** —that extended deficits are not taxes avoided, they are simply taxes postponed. I don't believe that this is a time for postponement; I think this is a time for reckoning and a time for us to get on with the job, which is what we intend to do.

**Mr Harris:** I appreciate the Premier and the Treasurer read our booklet put out three years ago that today's deficits are tomorrow's taxes, and so we agree and we're quite delighted to hear you saying the same thing now. It shows us too that these education programs we put out are being understood by Ontarians, including you. We're thankful for that.

The advice you get for your federal counterparts, since you brought it up, that would just confirm to me that you're on the right track if the federal NDP are opposed. However, you have said, and I appreciate, you're quite willing to accept help from all areas as to where spending can and should be cut. For example, I would like now to give you some help.

I have a memo here dated March 19 from the Ontario Housing Corp. Premier, just over one month ago, the Ontario Housing Corp board, which you've now stacked

up with your appointees, passed a resolution to approve up to a 5% increase in wages for 1993 for all management and excluded staff earning up to \$63,000 a year.

Premier, can you explain to me, why would an agency of your government, at a time of restraint, at a time when you have said—non-negotiable, by the way, you said—we must find \$2 billion of cuts in the costs of wages to the civil service, be allowed to provide for increases of up to 5% just one month ago?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I've just been prompted by all sides here, and they reached their very quick consensus that that number is completely out of line. If I can use a phrase, it is quite simply not the policy of the government and would not have the support of the government. That's the kind of increase which is completely out of line with the direction and with what's going on in the real world.

If we have to keep on, through the social contract discussions and other ways of getting people to recognize and wake up and smell the coffee in terms of what's happening, we will do that. Obviously an increase of that kind in the current economic climate would be quite absurd.

**Mr Harris:** It has already been approved and was, in the minutes that I am releasing today of the March 19 meeting, 2% across the board, up to 3% in merit pay.

At the same meeting, the Ontario Housing Corp also approved a directive ensuring that any unspent money across the categories, any unspent contingency money that it has should be spent before the year-end so that it wouldn't lose that money, exactly the kind of thing I have been trying to put a stop to that has been happening, as you would say, in this government through 42 years of my party, the Liberals, and two years of your party, exactly the kind of thing that you are trying to put a stop to.

As well, they approved to take the contingency funds, to try to exhaust them, \$204,000 for workshops, trading sessions for board members—that's conferences for the political appointees—\$270,000 out of contingency funds for staff education programs, trying to, it looks like, get all the contingency funds spent towards the year-end, 5% pay hikes.

Premier, this is one of 510 agencies, boards and commissions in this province. Clearly they haven't got your message of restraint. What are you prepared to do to roll back these outrageous increases that are going on in at least one of the 510? What are you prepared to do to make sure that in all of them, in areas such as these that we can downsize more, we can cut some of this expenditure so there will be no necessity—

**The Speaker:** Could the leader conclude his question, please.

**Mr Harris:** —to have to hike taxes?



**Hon Mr Rae:** I think the honourable member has done a public service by raising this issue. I'll say to him very directly that I think—

*Interjections.*

**Hon Mr Rae:** I say that without hesitation. I think in fact that kind of attitude on the part of public bodies is quite inappropriate. I think it's out to lunch. I think it reflects an old attitude that has got nothing to do with the way the things are and the way things ought to operate.

I can simply share my concern with the honourable member, say to him that obviously we will deal that issue, we will deal with that board and we will deal with that attitude. I think that attitude is wrong; I think it needs to change. I want to express my appreciation to the honourable member for bringing it to our attention.

**The Speaker:** New question.

**Mr Harris:** Thank you very much, Mr Premier. I commit to try to find up to \$2 billion so there won't be any necessity for revenue enhancers, and we're committed to finding that before the budget. So we'll just keep doing this right up till budget day.

1440

#### LABOUR RELATIONS

**Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing):** My second question is to the Premier as well and this is regarding the delays, if you like, or the lack of progress at the Royal York this morning. The Premier should know better than anyone the way the bargaining process works. He likes to describe my call to level the playing field as not negotiating. I like to call it levelling the playing field so meaningful negotiations can take place.

He should know that it is in the best interests of the unions to delay; that's a well-thought-out tactic. The longer they delay, the longer they put off taking a pay cut. So as long as possible—we know that's part of the tactic. Every day it takes to settle the social contract, we're running up the public sector wage bill even further.

Premier, I think you would agree with me, we're now in fiscal 1993-94. Every day that goes by then is one day less to get the \$2 billion in cuts the Treasurer says are essential. That means the cuts will have to be even deeper if we're going to meet the target that you say is essential for Ontario to prosper.

So I would ask you this, Premier: As the fiscal year slips away, as every day goes by, how much time are you willing to give the process? What is the deadline beyond which you're going to fritter the whole year away and we'll be into another year to try and recoup some of these costs?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** The member was going on very strongly, I thought, till his last sentence, and then, I must confess, he fell into the rhetorical trap which leaders of third parties often fall into.

I would say to him, the general issue which he's describing is one of which we're well aware. The general issue that he is describing is one which is in fact described in the proposal that Mr Decter put to the various teams last Friday. Let's realize that this whole proposal, in concrete terms, was put to people simply last Friday. It states very clearly, point 5—again, this document is released publicly; nothing new here—"May 5, the Minister of Finance is updated on progress towards a social contract."

I want to say to the member, we are following this very clearly. That's why we started the discussions today. The discussions are under way. They were not postponed because of what some people were saying needed to happen. We said, "No, we're proceeding," and that's why we've indicated very clearly that's the case.

The member then goes on to this thing, "Are you going to fritter the whole year away?" I would say to the honourable member, obviously not. There are time realities and time constraints which we're all working within; we all understand that. I don't think it helps for me to draw that line here, except to say that the Treasurer needs to be informed continually with respect to the progress of the negotiations.

**Mr Harris:** I'm pleased to know there is a line, but you just don't want to tell us when it is. I don't know why that is, because the unions want to drag it out as long as they can. Clearly it won't be all year, so it falls somewhere between December 31 and today, and you know what it is but you won't tell us.

Let me move on to the next tactic that unions use. In order to try to get their way in negotiations, unions often use something called, "If we don't get our way, we'll strike," and the unions have threatened a general strike. They've said, "We'll walk out, we'll strike." That's a tactic; we all know that. They also know, though, that you have something to level the playing field. It's called "If it goes on indefinitely, we will legislate." So you've countered their threat of strike by saying, "Okay, we'll meet whenever you want."

Premier, to show the kind of leadership that we need, you have to let them know that you are just as tough as they are, just as strong as they are, just as determined as they are. You need to do that. To do that, you must set a timetable, you must set out a date. You've done that now. You must tell them what it is. Then, Premier, you must show them you're prepared to legislate. Then you can get meaningful negotiations on a level playing field.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Would the leader place a question, please.

**Mr Harris:** Are you willing to do that, Premier?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** Where were you during the accord negotiations? I don't remember your playing a role then.

I would say to the honourable member that I guess where I differ with him—and I do differ with him, and to this extent. The suggestion, for example, that's it's useful or constructive for governments to get into the language of "You do this and we'll do that and you do this and we'll do that"—we don't have to do that. It seems to me that governments have a job to do to get a settlement, to get this thing under way and to do it in a constructive and positive way. I'm not going to react to every rhetorical statement that's made by people who are negotiating on the other side. We don't need to do that. We have far more confidence and far more serenity about the direction that we're taking than to have to respond in the kind of way that the leader of the third party is suggesting.

**Mr Harris:** Let's be clear: The Premier acknowledged there has to be a deadline, and he has one; he's just not going to tell us or the unions what it is.

Premier, you know you have the support of the public. You know you have the support of at least my party in the Legislature in making these tough decisions that have to be made. Taxpayers know that we need to re-evaluate what government does, how it does it, what it can deliver and what it cannot. They also know we can't wait any longer before we downsize. Every day that goes by makes the problem worse, the deficit higher; it makes the cuts that we have to make deeper.

So, Premier, I'm calling on you to speak on behalf of Ontarians, to take a strong stand in these negotiations. You've said this: You've said that the cuts are not negotiable. There will be \$2 billion less in the cost of the civil service. Your Treasurer has said that is not negotiable.

**Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West):** And we are with you.

**Mr Harris:** And we are with you; that's right. Will you now also say that it is not an indefinite time frame, that there must be a settlement of this through negotiations by a certain time—

**The Speaker:** Would the leader place a question, please.

**Mr Harris:** —and, if not, you will legislate? Will you do that?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I can understand. I wasn't here yesterday—I was in Hamilton—and I read with interest the comments and questions he was raising—

*Interjections.*

**Mr Ernie L. Eves (Parry Sound):** You missed a good day, Bob.

**Hon Mr Rae:** Every day is a good day. When you're Premier, every day is a good day.

I would say to the honourable member this. I would say to him, the disagreement that I have with him—I mean, I can understand that, having said that he now

supports the general direction of some of what we're trying to do, he now has to kind of clear out some turf for himself, so the only area of turf that he can clear out for himself is to say: "I'm going to posture in an even more macho way. I'm going to inflate the rhetoric to another point and I'm going to draw all kinds of lines in the sand and I'm going to show that I can be even tougher than the alternative."

I would say to him: We don't need threats and counterthreats. We don't need inflated rhetoric. What we need is a process of genuine negotiation. That's what we're entering into. I think the people of Ontario understand and appreciate the resolve that this Minister of Finance has shown facing the most difficult economic situation and fiscal situation that's being faced. I think they've shown he's got resolve. I think the courage and the resolve of the Minister of Finance is a far more eloquent statement than the kind of inflated rhetoric that we're now hearing from the leader of the third party.

1450

#### COMMERCIAL CONCENTRATION TAX

**Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North):** My question is to the Premier. Premier, on Monday, in this House, you indicated in response to a question put by the member for Markham that an Ontario businessman by the name of Mr Foxcroft, who had left the province apparently because of his concern over the impact of Bill 40 and taken his business to Buffalo, had returned to Ontario and, according to your version of events, he'd done so because he'd come to realize that it made more sense, Ontario is a better place to do business, it had a better workforce, and he was prepared to put his political rhetoric aside, just to quote some of your version of Mr Foxcroft's reasoning.

Today, Mr Premier, we have Mr Foxcroft's version of events. He is quoted as saying that he came back, all right, but he's back, to quote him directly, "because I now feel the Ontario New Democratic government is cooked. I feel they're done, they're out, and that I can tough it for two more years."

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Order. Would the member place a question, please.

**Mr Conway:** Mr Speaker, I would ask the Premier to take this opportunity of—let me put it properly. Premier, do you feel that you owe Mr Foxcroft, if not an apology, at least a clarification?

**Hon Mr Rae:** It's nice to be able to respond to the honourable member. I wasn't suggesting that Mr Foxcroft was about to take out a New Democratic Party membership. What I was quoting from, and I will quote directly from the Hamilton Spectator, another journal of record, March 23, 1993, and I'm quoting from the Hamilton Spectator precisely:



"When I got control of my emotions"—he's referring to his emotions, which I don't deny at all, his opposition to Bill 40—"what I said was, 'That's not me.' It's not my personality to complain."

"Since the move, Mr Foxcroft has also learned that it's cheaper to produce in Canada, even though real estate taxes are \$200,000 more and hydro is \$100,000 more, Mr Foxcroft said."

I'm quoting from Mr Foxcroft's quotation in the *Hamilton Spectator*: "What we found is real estate taxes and hydro are cheaper, but all other costs are in American dollars. In Hamilton, you have a more reliable workforce, there's more of a team effort, and all costs are in Canadian funds. You have a 28 per cent advantage on the exchange."

"If you do 80 per cent export in the US, one finds a big advantage to do business in Canada."

That's what Mr Foxcroft said. I feel that in responding to his question and in responding to comments, I was quoting directly, certainly in terms of what Mr Foxcroft was saying in the *Hamilton Spectator*, and what he was saying now.

Mr Foxcroft may regret that a New Democratic Party Premier would refer to the fact that a hardheaded economic approach leads one to the decision to invest in Ontario. I can only say to him that I was not saying—I wouldn't dream of saying—that I think Mr Foxcroft is a supporter of mine. All I'm saying is that his actions speak very clearly to the underlying economic advantages of doing business in Ontario, and I would hope the honourable member would agree with that.

**The Speaker:** Would the Premier conclude his response.

**Hon Mr Rae:** I would hope he would agree with that.

**The Speaker:** Supplementary.

**Mr Conway:** Mr Speaker, my supplementary—

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Mr Conway:** Well, I always think the worth of the word of the Premier of Ontario is important, particularly as we head into the very sensitive issues around the social contract. I think the people of Ontario want to believe their Premier, want to believe that he talks—

**Hon Gilles Pouliot (Minister of Transportation):** You're skating, Sean.

**Mr Conway:** Well, I want to be very, very clear about this.

My supplementary, since we have all heard what Mr Foxcroft has said today, and he has said very clearly that he came back to this province in spite of, not because of, the Rae government. It is also clear that the Premier has not spoken to Mr Foxcroft, who had said

that the Premier has twisted—Mr Foxcroft has said, he has said; not that the *Hamilton Spectator* has said that he has said, but Mr Foxcroft has said himself that the Premier has twisted what he said.

My supplementary is a very simple matter: Since the Premier is an honourable man—

*Interjection.*

**The Speaker:** Order, the member for Cochrane South.

**Mr Conway:** —will want to do the honourable thing, will he undertake to, this day, call Mr Foxcroft to explain to him what the misunderstanding was and to give Mr Foxcroft the benefit of the Premier's rationale for his comments on Monday?

**Hon Mr Rae:** If you look at page 264 of *Hansard*—and I challenge the honourable member, since he now turns in every area—when you look at that, when you look at what I've said, when you look at what Mr Foxcroft has said, I think what's taken place is truly a tempest in a mouth guard. It is not in fact an issue that is going to be responded to except to say: "What we found is real estate taxes and hydro are cheaper, but all other costs are in American dollars. In Hamilton, you have a more reliable workforce, there's more of a team effort, and all costs are in Canadian funds." That's exactly the tenor and the import of what I said a couple of days ago. I think in fact the record speaks for itself.

GAMBLING

**Mr Ernie L. Eves (Parry Sound):** I have a question of the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations. Since it's the first question I'm asking her in this new capacity of mine, I'd like to make it as simple as possible. I want to read the minister a quote:

"Gaming doesn't come cheap and I have to agree with a lot of critics on that. It brings crime, it brings prostitution, it brings a whole lot of things that maybe areas didn't have before. There's a big cost to pay."

Madam Minister, making this question as simple as possible, who said that: (a) Dennis Drainville, (b) Steven Langdon, (c) Donald Trump, (d) Bob Rae before he became Premier?

**Hon Marilyn Churley (Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations):** I'd like to congratulate my new critic for turning the House into a fun place to be today. As everybody knows, I am a bit of a party animal, so I appreciate the question today. I think, though, he's going to have to be just a little bit clearer. I'm not quite sure if I got the question properly.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Supplementary.

**Mr Dennis Drainville (Victoria-Haliburton):** I thank the honourable House leader of the Tories. I'd like to address my supplementary to the same minister and say, we heard on April 4 in the broadcast between Robert Scully of the CBC and Donald Trump that Mr Trump was saying basically the things that I have said

in this House before, and that is that there will be significant social problems, there will be increased crime and that the people of Windsor will not benefit from this project.

Minister, how can you ignore the statement of Mr Trump, who is an experienced casino operator, someone to whom you are looking to bid on managing the casino in Windsor? If you wouldn't take my advice, why not take the advice of your friend Mr Trump, who says the casino will be a disaster for the city of Windsor?

**Hon Ms Churley:** The short answer is that we are listening to a lot of people's advice, including the law enforcement community here in Ontario and, in fact, the international police community, who give us a somewhat different version. So we are taking into account the advice that has been given to us by the law enforcement community, and as the member knows, if the regulatory and enforcement aspects are taken care of up front, in fact a casino can be crime-free.

1500

#### HIGHWAY LITTER

**Ms Christel Haeck (St Catharines-Brock):** My question is to the Minister of Transportation. I've recently had a letter from a constituent with regard to the condition, the state of litter, along the Queen Elizabeth Highway. This is not the first time, but there is definitely a very clear concern in my riding about the state of the highway, even Highway 406, which I know the member for St Catharines also knows.

I'm wondering, in light of the fact that this is a situation that we have to deal with, if we can take the advice of other jurisdictions and possibly some of the citizens in looking at an adopt-a-highway plan, I guess it is, which is in place in some other jurisdictions. What transpires is that signs are along the road indicating that, say, a municipality or a community group has adopted this section of highway. In light of the fact that this is civic beautification week in St Catharines, I'm wondering if the Minister of Transportation can give some hope to my constituents in the peninsula indicating that he would consider this type of program.

**Hon Gilles Pouliot (Minister of Transportation):** During this particularly difficult time of restraint where no one escapes, at Transportation we had to make very difficult choices, one being a bit of a choice between winter maintenance—and in no way would we wish to jeopardize winter maintenance, for it is directly related to safety. Consequently, because of fewer dollars, we're not cutting the grass as often as we did yesteryear.

We made another difficult choice: We're fixing potholes for the safety of motorists. We're not picking up the litter as often as we had in the past years. So there's less money in the pot. Winter maintenance is not compromised. We're cognizant of the need to be more judicious.

In terms of the adopt-a-highway program, I'm pleased to report that this successful endeavour is now completing its second year. It's working well. We have to ensure the safety of motorists, of the public endeavour vis-à-vis the safety of motorists and also—

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Could the minister conclude his response, please.

**Hon Mr Pouliot:** Donnez-moi un moment pour que je puisse répondre à la question, Monsieur le Président. Elle vient me demander une fois par mois.

This kind of question cannot be answered by a simple yes or no. It's not that easy.

**The Speaker:** I ask the minister to please take his seat. The minister should know that if he has a detailed response, he may wish to avail himself of tabling a detailed response. I would ask the minister to be succinct in his reply, and if further details are forthcoming, perhaps he would table them.

Supplementary?

**Ms Haeck:** I still need to know, will the minister give me the adopt-a-highway plan? Please, Mr Minister.

**Hon Mr Pouliot:** With the highest of respect, I never thought that my original response would necessitate, would require a supplementary. I want to thank you for your timely intervention, Mr Speaker.

We will ensure the safety of volunteers. We're working at implementing a program province-wide, and the sooner the better. The point is very well taken. Our apologies for the restraints, but we're right on top of this very important subject, and things should improve with the participation of more and more volunteers.

#### EDUCATION PROGRAM EVALUATION

**Mr Charles Beer (York North):** My question is to the Minister of Education and Training. Minister, I'd like to explore, if I might, some of the issues you raised in your statement which, as we have all indicated, is a step in the right direction.

But I wonder if you could help us. In a couple of the documents which you released today, in one there's this question set out: How will the standards for student performance be developed?—I assume the provincial standards. It says: "The standards will be based on the outcomes described in Ontario's new curriculum guide, The Common Curriculum: Grades 1 to 9."

In addition, in a backgrounder called Accountability in Education put out by your ministry, it states: "The Common Curriculum outlines the general results expected. Provincial standards state the range of acceptable performance for that result. There are many ways of finding out whether a child knows or can do something. Teachers and parents can use many different methods to measure students' success against the same standard."

My question, Minister: The critical issue here is how



we go about defining the provincial standards. How, exactly, are you defining provincial standards? What now is the status of The Common Curriculum, which both you and the Premier have indicated you have some concerns about? And how do we know that the standards that are being established and against which we're going to judge the tests are indeed standards that measure with other jurisdictions, whether in this province or in other countries?

**Hon David S. Cooke (Minister of Education and Training):** The status of the curriculum documents at this point is that the beginning of implementation is this fall. What I tried to indicate, because there has been concern expressed by members here and by people throughout the province, is that the outcomes, as defined in the curriculum documents, were not precise enough.

I'm not an expert in the field, but when I went through them, I had to agree that there were some difficulties. But we had to go ahead with the fact that the existing curriculum documents had been there for many years. I think you would agree that even with some of the difficulties with the curriculum documents, they're better and they're moving in a direction that most people have supported and that it was better to proceed than not to proceed.

So what I've indicated is that the documents, as distributed, will be implemented, but I want to work with parents and teachers and the experts in the field to make sure that the outcomes are more precisely defined.

So we've called it a working document. I, quite frankly, think that every curriculum document that comes out from the ministry should be a working document. You can't write a curriculum document and then leave it for 18 or 19 years and not change it, as was the case with the previous documents.

**Mr Beer:** Thank you, minister. I understand what you're saying, but I think you need also to understand that that response still is going to lead to a great deal of confusion in the broader public, in terms of documents it has seen, around exactly what is the status of The Common Curriculum and how parents can look at that document and relate it to the actual standards we're going to apply. I think that's something you're going to have to move on very quickly to ensure that the accountability you seek is there.

My second question then applies to those students who, during the testing that will go on beginning next year, don't reach the standards that we expect. There is nothing that I have seen in the documents released today, and in view of a variety of other things that have happened, the concern is, how are we—

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Would the member place his question, please.

**Mr Beer:** How are we going to ensure that those students will be able to achieve those standards? What

resources are you going to put into the classroom? What are you going to do in terms of teacher training to make sure that happens?

**Hon Mr Cooke:** The first step, at least on the grade 9 test, is to see exactly where the system stands and what the level of difficulty or the level of strength of the system is. I agree with you that as we go through this process, there's going to have to be, to the best of our ability and school boards' abilities, resources in order to assist students who are not at the standard that has been set or what the expectation is. So there are going to have to be the attempts to provide additional assistance to students.

I would remind you that already in Ontario we spend more money per student at the elementary and secondary levels than in any other jurisdiction in Canada, so perhaps some of these questions need to be answered in terms of reallocating resources and putting our dollars and our resources where they're needed in the system instead of spending them in the way that they are now.

1510

#### PUBLIC SAFETY

**Mr Robert W. Runciman (Leeds-Grenville):** I have a question for the Minister of Health. Minister, I'm sure you would agree that protection of women and children against dangerous sexual offenders must be a top priority of any government and that your ministry should be working with police to make sure this occurs.

On April 22, a dangerous sexual offender who was incarcerated in Kingston Psychiatric Hospital for buggery and indecent assault was released into the public at large.

Can I get a page here, please? I'm going to send over an uncensored letter from the Ministry of Health—take it to the Minister of Health, please—which explains this release, although I will not disclose the patient's name to the public.

Minister, could you explain whether you think that your ministry is acting in the public interest when the letter states that the Ontario Provincial Police and the Kingston police are not to be informed of this patient's release into the Kingston community?

**Hon Ruth Grier (Minister of Health):** Mr Speaker, I can't today respond to the question the member has raised. I'm not familiar with the matter he discusses nor any of the background. I will undertake to get more information and take the question as notice.

**Mr Runciman:** Well, we've expressed these concerns in the past, and we're talking about a policy matter here within the ministry, specifically the mental health branch of the Ministry of Health. What we have here is a notation on this report in terms of this individual's release into the community indicating quite clearly that the police are not to be informed.

I'm asking the minister about her own view on this

matter and the approach of her ministry in respect to the release of these kinds of individuals into communities across this province. This is a public safety issue, and I'm asking you, Minister, do you agree with that policy as it apparently exists within your ministry? If not, can we depend on your doing something, and when?

**Hon Mrs Grier:** The member has sent over to me a piece of paper which appears to come from the Ministry of Health. I'm not familiar with the background or the details on it or their accuracy, and I'm not able to give him an answer to his question today. I will undertake to do that at the earliest possible time.

#### DECENTRALIZATION OF GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

**Mr Pat Hayes (Essex-Kent):** My question is to the Minister of Economic Development and Trade. The decision to cancel some of the ministry relocations, and particularly AgriCorp in the city of Chatham, has certainly caused some uncertainty in those communities due to the fact that you're talking about the 180 jobs that may not be going there now; that was an estimate.

Also, the leader of the Liberal Party—I got this headline from the local paper: "AgriCorp Carrot Held Out to Chatham by Ontario Liberals." While the leader of the Liberal Party was down in Chatham trying to buy votes, of course she said, "Why not give the communities what they're asking for?" I guess she means at any cost. I think that's really what she means, as long as she can get her votes.

She said that she believed in this program and that it wouldn't cost very much to do this. What I'd like to ask the minister—

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: The allegation that was put in that particular manner should be withdrawn. It is unparliamentary.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** The member is really straying over the line. Could he rephrase the remark he made earlier and then also quickly place his question?

**Mr Hayes:** What it said in the paper was: Vote Liberal in the next provincial election and you'll get AgriCorp. That's in the paper, Mr Speaker, okay?

What I'd like to know from the minister is this: Some of these comments were made, and I'd like to know really what the economics would be—

**Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition):** Mr Speaker, I want it noted for the record as a point of privilege that the question about AgriCorp and our concerns as a caucus about the decision that this government made was a question that I asked first in this Legislature. I did not go to Chatham and raise it as a new issue. I asked—

**The Speaker:** The member will know it's not a point of privilege. It is, however, added information. Would the member please place his question.

**Mr Hayes:** I would like to ask the question. The question is that maybe the minister could tell me what the economic benefits of this would be to the province and also what the communities that are affected would have to do, the criteria that they would have to meet to be able to take advantage of the \$100-million economic development plan that this government has put together to help those communities that are affected by the recession.

**Hon Frances Lankin (Minister of Economic Development and Trade):** I'm pleased to answer the question. I too read that article with respect to the Leader of the Opposition's comments in Chatham around AgriCorp. I found them amazing. First of all, vote Liberal and you'll get these jobs; secondly, there's no cost saving to government because it's spending \$100 million on economic development anyway. The Leader of the Opposition is just wrong.

I say, first of all, that there were operating costs associated with relocating in terms of actually taking civil servants, their families, moving them down there, all the relocation costs, spousal counselling for jobs etc, and those costs are about \$50 million. Those are operating costs that will be saved. As well, with respect to the capital investments, there are significant capital costs for those buildings that will be saved. Out of that pool of money, we're taking a portion of that \$100 million.

The member asked the question with respect to what we're doing with the communities. We are going to be using that to invest in economic development initiatives in those communities that have been affected by the cancellation of the relocation.

My office has been in touch with the MPPs who represent those communities, from all sides of the House by the way, and additionally, the deputy and myself will be travelling to those communities, meeting with mayors and representatives of economic development commissions to try and initiate the kind of planning necessary to use that money wisely and to try and attract permanent private sector jobs to those communities.

In conclusion, let me just say that for the Leader of the Opposition to say that there are no cost savings, to say that it's good economic planning in these tough times to pay to take one job from Toronto and locate it in Chatham or anywhere else, as opposed to keeping those jobs here and using the money to create new employment there, I just don't understand her economic analysis at all.

#### MEMBER'S COMMENTS

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I just, by way of earlier private conversation, had asked if you would review the Hansard of the remarks of the member for Guelph. I make a formal request that you review those remarks for inappropriate language.



**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** To the honourable member for Bruce, I appreciate his bringing it to my attention. I must confess that there were a considerable number of other sounds in the chamber, such that I was not able to hear every word that was spoken. Obviously, if the member had said something which was unparliamentary, I would have immediately asked him to withdraw it had I heard it, but I will undertake to read Hansard and report back to you later.

#### PETITIONS

##### SHELTERED WORKSHOPS

**Mr Michael A. Brown (Algoma-Manitoulin):** I have a petition signed by hundreds of people from the riding of Algoma-Manitoulin.

"To the Parliament of Ontario:

"Whereas in June of 1992, the Minister of Community and Social Services announced a cutback to the funding of sheltered workshops of \$5 million, with \$2 million to be flowed to supported employment services in Ontario;

"Whereas the Manitoulin District Association for Community Living had its work-in-training budget cut in 1992-93 and is scheduled for an additional cut in 1993-94,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Parliament of Ontario as follows:

"That whereas no consultation between ministry and agencies took place, we strongly recommend that the ministry end any further cutbacks until such time as real community consultation with the stakeholders has taken place, allowing agencies an opportunity to analyse the impact of current and future cutbacks."

As I said, Mr Speaker, this is the second petition of this number of signatures and I gladly affix my name.

1520

##### ROLPHTON OPP DETACHMENT

**Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North):** I am pleased to present today a petition signed by hundreds, perhaps thousands, of people in the Deep River-Rolph-ton part of my constituency and gathered by Mrs Mona Waito of Rural Route 1, Deep River, which petition is concerned about the negative impacts the closure of the Rolph-ton OPP detachment office would have on all of the people and the services in the northeastern corridor of the county of Renfrew.

##### HYDRO PROJECT

**Mr Gilles Bisson (Cochrane South):** I have a petition here from, oh, approximately 800 people from the towns of Cochrane, Kapuskasing, Timmins, Iroquois Falls, all over northeastern Ontario. The petition is in support of the Northland project that is proposed for the community of Iroquois Falls. The Northland proposal would see the construction of a 150-megawatt co-generation station for the community that would be economic development that is much needed as well as

an increase in the tax base of that community, but more important, this particular project would help to sustain the long-term life of the Abitibi mill in Iroquois Falls that employs some 800 people. I support that petition and will sign my name to it.

##### POST-POLIO SYNDROME

**Mr John C. Cleary (Cornwall):** I have a petition addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to establish a post-polio clinic in the rehabilitation centre of Ottawa for the diagnosis, treatment and follow-up of patients and to disseminate information so that the estimated 1,000 known survivors in the centre's catchment area can receive adequate treatment and the medical profession be educated regarding this post-polio syndrome."

It's signed by 55 constituents of the Cornwall riding and I also have signed the petition.

##### GAMBLING

**Mr Wayne Lessard (Windsor-Walkerville):** I have a petition signed by many individuals from the city of Windsor opposed to casino gambling.

##### BRUCE GENERATING STATION

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"When discussing the future of Bruce A, to consider that the undersigned are in full support of the continued operation of all of the units at Bruce A. Furthermore, we support the expenditure of the required money to rehabilitate the Bruce A units for the following reasons:

"In comparison to other forms of generation, nuclear energy is environmentally safe and cost-effective. Rehabilitating Bruce A units is expected to achieve \$2 billion in savings to the corporation over the station's lifetime. This power is needed for the province's future prosperity.

"A partial or complete closure of Bruce A will have severe negative impacts on the affected workers and will seriously undermine the economy of the surrounding communities and the province."

I will just indicate, Mr Speaker, in addition to all of the signatories, this petition is supported by, among others, the Bruce Provincial Liberal Association, the Bruce provincial Progressive Conservatives and the Bruce NDP, as well as school boards and other organizations. The signatories to this petition come from the area of Garson, Sudbury, route 3, Sudbury, Wanapitei and other locations removed by some distance from the affected populations but understanding fully that the decision is of interest to the full province.

##### HYDRO PROJECT

**Mr Gilles Bisson (Cochrane South):** I have another

petition, again from northeastern Ontario, in support of the Northland cogeneration project for Iroquois Falls. This petition is signed by, I would say, about 600 people from the towns of Cochrane, Moonbeam, Iroquois Falls, Porquis Junction, Kapuskasing, Cochrane again, all over northeastern Ontario.

These people are signing this petition in support of the Northland proposal that is being proposed for the town of Iroquois Falls that would bring much-needed economic stimulus to that community and as well assist in the long-term survival of the plant at Abitibi-Price in order to help it reduce its bottom line by being able to purchase steam at a bit of a lesser cost and I sign my name to that petition.

#### BRUCE GENERATING STATION

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** I have another petition to the Legislative Assembly.

"Whereas there is a concern in Bruce county and neighbouring communities that the Rae government will refuse to do rehabilitation and general maintenance work required to keep Bruce A functioning efficiently; and

"Whereas a detailed technical report prepared by informed and objective people has already shown that the maintenance and rehabilitation work is not only cost-effective but profit-generating; and

"Whereas there is concern in Bruce county and neighbouring areas that Bob Rae will circumvent that study by using non-objective people to restudy the cost-effectiveness of the rehabilitation and maintenance expenditures;

"Therefore, we, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to accept the list of signatures on the attached document addressed to Bob Rae and require the Premier to guarantee a fair assessment of Bruce A maintenance and rehabilitation plans."

I assist in having this tabled with the House by signing the petition as well.

#### RETAIL STORE HOURS

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** I am busy today, sir. I have another petition and it is in relation to the proposal to amend the Retail Business Holidays Act. These particular signatures come from my area from a petition that was placed in the Sauble Pharmacy, and it is basically suggesting that Sunday shopping restrictions be preserved as under the former legislation rather than adopting the position of the proposed legislation, which is, we think, somewhere on the order paper some time, some day, somewhere.

#### BRUCE GENERATING STATION

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** I'm just barely finished signing this last one, but I wish to read another. As you know, we have some 15,564 signatures to a petition to the following effect, and I shall read one of those petitions right now.

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"When discussing the future of Bruce A, to consider that the undersigned are in full support of the continued operation of all of the units at Bruce A. Furthermore, we support the expenditure of the required money to rehabilitate the Bruce A units for the following reasons:

"In comparison to other forms of generation, nuclear energy is environmentally safe and cost-effective. Rehabilitating Bruce A units is expected to achieve \$2 billion in savings to the corporation over the station's lifetime. This power is needed for the province's future prosperity.

"A partial or complete closure of Bruce A will have severe negative impacts on the affected workers and will seriously undermine the economy of the surrounding communities and the province."

In addition to the people who have signed this, as I've indicated before, the councils in Bruce township, Huron township, Kincardine town, Kincardine township, Owen Sound city, Port Elgin, Ripley, Saugeen, Tiverton and other areas fully endorse this with the provincial Liberal association, the provincial Progressive Conservative association and the provincial New Democratic Party, which seems to be also separating itself from the current administration, I attach my signature to allow this petition to be deposited with the Clerk as a petition.

#### HYDRO PROJECT

**Mr Gilles Bisson (Cochrane South):** I have quite a few more of these. I have a petition from about 100 people from around the Iroquois Falls area, again, who write to support the Northland proposal in regard to a cogeneration project for that community.

As was said in the Legislature yesterday and today, this particular project would see the construction of a plant with some \$200 million of investment into the community that would create some much-needed construction jobs in the community of Iroquois Falls. Once that particular plant gets going, the plant would employ some 30 or 35 people on a full-time basis in that community with some very high skills that would be quite well suited to that community.

As well, that particular Northland plant would find itself in Iroquois Falls very well situated between the plant it already has in Cochrane and another plant it has in Kapuskasing and would fit nicely as a northern Ontario project.

I would affix my name in support of that petition.

#### GAMBLING

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

"Whereas the New Democratic Party has traditionally had a commitment to family life and quality of life for all the citizens of Ontario; and



"Whereas families are made more emotionally and economically vulnerable by the operation of various gaming and gambling ventures; and

"Whereas the New Democratic Party government has had a historical concern for the poor in society who are particularly at risk each time the practice of gambling is expanded; and

"Whereas the New Democratic Party has in the past vociferously opposed the raising of moneys for the state through gambling;"—that's changed, mind you—"and

"Whereas the citizens of Ontario have not been consulted regarding the introduction of legalized gambling casinos despite the fact that such a decision is a significant change of government policy and was never part of the mandate given to the government by the people of Ontario;

"Therefore, we, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the government immediately cease all moves to establish gambling casinos by regulation and that appropriate legislation be introduced into the assembly along with a process which includes significant opportunities for public consultation and full public hearings as a means of allowing the citizens of Ontario to express themselves on this new and questionable initiative."

I likewise put my name hereon to allow it to be tabled so that the New Democrats can reconsider their position on gambling.

1530

#### HYDRO PROJECT

**Mr Gilles Bisson (Cochrane South):** I have a petition here from the people of Porquis Junction and Connaught who are in support of the Northland project in Iroquois Falls. As said, that particular project would be a much-needed benefit to that community.

One of the things this project does is that it would allow the purchase of steam on the part of Abitibi-Price. That would mean to say they would have lower costs of purchasing that steam and overall reduce the cost of operation of that mill to make it more competitive on the paper market.

I affix my signature to that petition.

#### GAMBLING

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** There are a number of people who are concerned about casino gambling, and I have another petition. This happens to have been a petition that was separately sent. There's only one signature on it, but it comes with fully the same interest in having the New Democrats review their policy on casino gambling.

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the New Democratic Party government has traditionally had a commitment to family life and

quality of life for all of the citizens of Ontario; and

"Whereas families are made more emotionally and economically vulnerable by the operation of various gaming and gambling ventures; and

"Whereas the New Democratic Party government has had a historical concern for the poor in society, who are particularly at risk each time the practice of gambling is expanded; and

"Whereas the New Democratic Party has, in the past, vociferously opposed the raising of moneys for the state through gambling; and

"Whereas the citizens of Ontario have not been consulted regarding the introduction of legalized gambling casinos despite the fact that such a decision is a significant change of government policy and was never part of the mandate given to the government by the people of Ontario;

"Therefore we, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the government immediately cease all moves to establish gambling casinos by regulation, and that appropriate legislation be introduced into the assembly along with a process which includes significant opportunities for public consultations and full public hearings as a means of allowing the citizens of Ontario to express themselves on this new and questionable initiative."

I affix my name hereto.

#### HYDRO PROJECT

**Mr Gilles Bisson (Cochrane South):** I have a petition here from people from the community of Iroquois Falls, fine community that it is, in support of the Northland project proposal for the town of Iroquois Falls.

I must add that this community, along with Northland, has been working in good partnership with this government in order to try to bring this project to fruition for the benefit of both the community and the province of Ontario and Northland Power.

I affix my signature to that petition.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** The member for Bruce.

#### BRUCE GENERATING STATION

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** Thank you. You anticipated my need to introduce one more petition. As you know, 15,564 people have signed this particular petition, and I am advising that:

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"When discussing the future of Bruce A, to consider that the undersigned are in full support of the continued operation of all the units at Bruce A. Furthermore, we support the expenditure of the required money to rehabilitate the Bruce A units for the following reasons:

"In comparison to other forms of generation, nuclear energy is environmentally safe and cost-effective. Rehabilitating Bruce A units is expected to achieve \$2 billion in savings to the corporation over the station's lifetime. This power is needed for the province's future prosperity.

"A partial or complete closure of Bruce A will have severe negative impacts on the affected workers and will seriously undermine the economy of the surrounding communities and the province."

In addition to the people who have signed this, I again advise that this is fully supported by the Bruce Provincial Liberal Association, among other organizations and community activists in the Bruce county area, and I affix my name to allow this to be filed with the Clerk.

#### NOTICE OF DISSATISFACTION

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Pursuant to standing order 34(a), the member for Eglinton has given notice of her dissatisfaction with the answer to her question given by the Minister of Education and Training concerning the cost of promotional items for the Jobs Ontario Training program. This matter will be debated today at 6 pm.

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY

##### EDUCATION STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1993

##### LOI DE 1993 MODIFIANT DES LOIS EN CE QUI CONCERNE L'ÉDUCATION

Resuming the adjourned debate on the motion for second reading of Bill 4, An Act to amend certain Acts relating to Education / Loi modifiant certaines lois en ce qui concerne l'éducation.

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Government House Leader):** Just before we start the proceedings, I believe we have an agreement among the parties around the following arrangement for this afternoon: that the time between now and 5:40 pm be split evenly between the two opposition parties, and then at 5:40 the member for York East will have 10 minutes to wrap up and close off the debate on second reading; that at 5:50 all questions associated with second reading will be put, Mr Speaker, and it's my understanding that although you may not see five members for a division, we have agreed that there will be a division and that the vote on that division will be taken on Monday afternoon immediately following routine proceedings.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Do we have unanimous agreement? Agreed? Agreed. I recognize the honourable member for Simcoe East.

**Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East):** I welcome this opportunity to provide a few comments on Bill 4, An Act to amend certain Acts relating to Education. This piece of legislation is an unwieldy, anomalous bill that deals with 28 separate and unrelated changes to the Education Act. Sections of this bill were previously

introduced as Bill 125, which received first reading on June 13, 1991; Bill 20, which received first reading on May 26, 1992; Bill 88, which received first reading on October 22, 1992; Bill 114, which received first reading on May 30, 1991; and Bill 37, which received first reading on June 2, 1992.

All these bills pertaining to education have been introduced. These bills were never called for second reading; it is a clear indication of the public opposition that they received. It should also give everyone a pretty good idea about this government's approach to and lack of commitment to the education of our children in the province of Ontario.

The amendments contained in Bill 4 can be divided into three sections: amendments to correspond with recently enacted municipal affairs legislation, amendments related to special education programs and services and amendments that support new and ongoing ministry innovations such as junior kindergarten. Those were new initiatives.

The NDP government has adopted a new special education policy that requires all school boards to integrate exceptional pupils wherever possible into community classrooms at the request of parents. There are a number of amendments related to special education contained in Bill 4.

But I would like to take a moment to bring to your attention a very interesting letter that I received from Lisa Day of Orillia. Lisa wrote me about a group of people who provide educational services to individuals that she suggests are neglected by the government and the education system. Part of the letter is:

"The matter that I want to bring to your attention is concerning a group of employees that I feel nobody wants to be responsible for. These employees provide educational services to individuals that were neglected by the educational system. The employees that I am referring to are adult basic numeracy/literacy instructors, heritage language instructors and English-as-a-second-language teachers.

1540

"At the current time we are funded by the Ministry of Education. The Simcoe County Board of Education receives the funding and administers the grant. Although we are very grateful to the Ministry of Education and Simcoe county for their help, we find that we have been left in a precarious position. Most of us work full-time hours but we do not get sick days, paid vacation and any other benefits that are related to having a full-time position. Simcoe County Board of Education considers us as secondary, meaning if they do not receive the amount of grant money needed to run these programs they will shut them down. Thus we will never receive any sick days, paid vacation and other benefits because we will never be perceived as full-time employees.



"Since no ministry assumes responsibility for providing education for individuals that have special needs, our programs will always be considered secondary. We provide educational help to new immigrants, mentally handicapped, dual-diagnosed, mentally ill persons and individuals involved in the justice system. Because of this we seem to cover a broad basis of ministries which are as follows: Ministry of Education, Ministry of Correctional Services, Ministry of Skills Development, Ministry of Community and Social Services, Ministry of Employment and Immigration, Ministry of Health and Ministry of Colleges and Universities. We provide service to people involved in all of these jurisdictions and so no one ministry will assume ownership of our programs. Since the numbers of recipients have increased and the numbers on our waiting list have increased, our programs have had continual growth. It amazes us that no ministry values us enough to accept us as an important service being available. We help build self-esteem and proficiency skills, thus promoting independence that will allow these individuals to be contributing citizens to their communities. The system has failed them and us. We are the last opportunity for them to have independent and successful lives.

"We value our careers and find them very rewarding but we would like the government to realize the importance of the programs. As it stands now, we are floating with no ministry valuing us enough to take the initiative towards responsibility for providing these programs."

Lisa Day teaches at an occupational centre in Edgar. She has friends who teach in Huronia Regional Centre in Orillia and other centres across the province. These people seem to be forgotten in the education system.

I have a great deal of difficulty with amendments that would require school boards to operate junior kindergartens by August 31, 1994, with the Lieutenant Governor in Council having the power to allow a board to phase in the junior kindergarten requirement over a three-year period; that's by September 1, 1997.

I recently had the honour to present a number of petitions that were signed by hundreds of constituents in Simcoe East. These petitions were in response to junior kindergarten, the issue as proposed by the NDP government under the old Bill 88. I believe it's important for me to share the main content of these petitions with you again today:

"Whereas we, as citizens of the province of Ontario and residents of the county of Simcoe, object to the imposition of junior kindergarten by the year 1994;

"We would ask the Minister of Education to consider a moratorium of a duration of at least two years or until there is some obvious improvement in the economic climate of this country.

"Funding arrangements, as proposed in Bill 88, while of some value to taxpayers initially, will leave the

ultimate responsibility for all future funding with the municipalities, and many of these municipalities are already hard pressed to collect taxes as levied to date.

"We understand the proposed program may be of value to some. However, the majority cannot, at this time, afford any further tax increases."

As I said earlier, I had an opportunity to present a number of these petitions that contain the signatures of hundreds of people who are extremely angry at this government's ongoing policy of downloading costly programs. The people of Simcoe county are fed up, because they are taxed to the limit.

I do not believe the three-year phase-in period is really of any use to our beleaguered school boards in Ontario. I hope I'm wrong. But I do not believe that they will see an end to overcrowding and financial distress within the next three years.

These people are angry that Bill 4 downloads the costs on to school boards for junior kindergarten, enhanced special education programs and services, and the beginning of a universal child care scheme for three to five years. I find it distressing that we had the government introduce Bill 4, which downloads costs on school boards, and at the same time as this was happening, the Treasurer was announcing that \$635.6 million would be cut from the Ministry of Education and Training's budget: \$636 million cut from the Ministry of Education and Training budget. This includes a \$130-million deferment of operating grants and the cancellation of \$69.6 million in transition funding for school boards.

I believe the Premier and his Minister of Education should have paid attention, very much attention, when Mike Harris, MPP for Nipissing, the leader of the Progressive Conservative Party of Ontario, released the document *New Directions Volume Two: A Blueprint for Learning in Ontario*. The minister's announcement today even had a few words from this *Blueprint for Learning in Ontario*, and I think all educators and people across this province should have a copy. You can get that through our leader's office.

But if they had paid attention and if they had read the document before introducing Bill 4, they would have discovered the PC caucus's view on the issue of downloading on page 16, which reads:

"Above all, the provincial practice of mandating new programs without providing the necessary funding to school boards must end. By increasing the number of mandatory programs while reducing its financial contributions, the province has been forcing boards to either cut services or raise local taxes."

Are we not at the stage where we don't need any new programs, we don't need any new spending? Can we not say "Halt" to a lot of those extra costs that are being put on to the taxpayer?

If the Premier and his Minister of Education had read this document, they would have discovered my party's views on junior kindergarten on page 19:

"It is not clear whether junior kindergarten should be part of the elementary school system, or the child care system. This is a question that the Liberal government should have studied before introducing mandatory junior kindergarten and that the NDP should have reviewed before mandating it in all schools by 1994. A thorough evaluation and public discussion is needed to determine what is best for the child, parents and the community. Until then, junior kindergarten should remain a local option for school boards."

If they had read this document, they would have discovered that the PC caucus is recommending an overhaul and rejuvenation of Ontario's education system to increase opportunities for all Ontarians through excellence and accountability in our educational and training systems.

The government's aimless approach to education that is clearly shown with Bill 4 fails to recognize that our world is undergoing fundamental structural changes. New technologies and services are creating new challenges and increased opportunities. The future of Ontario's young people depends on their ability to take advantage of these new challenges and the opportunities that exist. Our education system must be prepared to assist our young people by equipping them with the skills and knowledge that they will need to meet the challenges of today and the ability to learn new skills and acquire more knowledge throughout their lives. Those are, to me, the challenges of tomorrow.

Mr Speaker, the Premier and his Minister of Education would have gotten a failed grade for introducing Bill 4, the Education Statute Law Amendment Act, and I would suggest that you keep them after school tonight and have them study New Directions Volume Two: A Blueprint for Learning in Ontario.

In wrapping up, I want to make it very clear what this bill is all about. They wanted to make the following amendments:

"For the purpose of determining school board rates under the County of Oxford Act, the District Municipality of Muskoka Act, the Municipal Act and the Regional Municipality Act, the definitions of 'commercial assessment' and 'residential and farm assessment' in the Education Act will apply...."

"The provisions related to the apportionment of the telephone and telegraph levies in regional municipalities and in the county of Oxford and the district municipality of Muskoka will be consistent with the provisions that apply to counties under section 379 of the Municipal Act...."

"The assessment update in the district municipality of Muskoka will be delayed for one year...."

"References to 'trainable retarded children' and 'trainable retarded pupils' are removed from the Education Act and the Ottawa-Carleton French-Language School Board Act. These pupils will be governed by the same provisions that apply to other exceptional pupils (subject to the amendments made by sections 44 to 47 of the bill relating to the Metropolitan Toronto School Board)...."

#### 1550

That is the essence of this bill and that's why many people have problems accepting the amendments that are placed here in Bill 4.

I'm pleased to have had the opportunity to have said a few words with regard to this bill. As I said before, I would suggest that they be kept here tonight after school so that they'll have a chance to read the book New Directions.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve):** Further debate?

**Mrs Elinor Caplan (Oriole):** I'm pleased to rise and participate in today's debate, which is on Bill 4, an omnibus bill, An Act to amend certain Acts relating to Education. It addresses numerous issues. What I'd like to do as I speak in principle to the issues that are related in this act, many of which I think could be considered as housekeeping and language—I believe there are also some very substantive issues, and since this is a debate in principle, Mr Speaker, I'm hoping that you will allow some latitude since this is an opportunity for all of us in this House to speak on the record about our concerns and our hopes and in fact the priority and imperative that we prepare today so that we can educate not only for today but for the future.

There are numerous issues affecting education in Ontario. To me, it's really our number one priority after we create an economy that will create jobs. My constituents in the riding of Oriole know that education is the key to preparing for the future. The students who are in our care in our education system here in the province are depending upon us to reform the education system so that it will be able to educate for the future and not simply try to hold the status quo, which is not an option in this rapidly changing world.

Before I begin, I would like to address one issue that I've already discussed with the Minister of Education and that I'm hoping he will consider as a part of this omnibus education bill, as a government amendment, at committee. It's on the issue of accessibility and my feeling very strongly that it's in the interest of our society, the public interest of our society, to ensure that all children in Ontario have access to an education that will open the doors for them and give them an opportunity for the future.

That's what my private member's bill, Bill 24, is all about. As members know, it was passed unanimously



during private members' hour in the House and has been referred to committee. It's been referred to the same committee that Bill 4, the omnibus bill on education, will be referred to. It's my hope that the government will consider a government amendment that will incorporate the principle in Bill 24 and achieve the goal as expeditiously as possible. It's not often that the government has the opportunity to do that, and I would encourage it to do that. I'd like to place on the record today a suggestion of how they can achieve that without having to incorporate all of Bill 24 as it exists today.

I want to tell the government and the Minister of Education and members of this House that after I tabled private member's Bill 24 I had an opportunity to speak with numerous educators, not only trustees but also directors of education and solicitors, lawyers who are experts on the Education Act. I asked for advice on how the concerns of the Ministry of Education, the concerns that it had around visa student fees, fees for students who choose to cross their educational boundary, many of the issues that Bill 24 raised that were, I think, legitimate concerns of the ministry.

At the time that I tabled that legislation I said that I was looking for the best advice that I could find. Once we had unanimous approval of the legislation we would find amendments that would solve the problems which were technical. But I said in that debate that we couldn't allow those technicalities to stand in the way of children being educated, with a society whose concern it is to make sure that we put those interests first.

I want to thank Mr Brian Kelsey. He is a lawyer who does a lot of work for the Metropolitan Toronto School Board. He offered me his advice and I'm going to place it on the record, and I will be, today, sending it over to the staff of the Ministry of Education in the hopes that these amendments could be incorporated into Bill 4.

I know that will require unanimous consent, because not all of these sections are mentioned in Bill 4, but I believe that if this was supported by the government, it would have unanimous consent and these amendments could be placed at committee. It's my understanding that that is possible, given the rules of the House, and it's my hope that it will be done.

The changes to Bill 24 which I'd like to see incorporated into Bill 4 would be to add subsection (3) to section 32, the following:

"(3) A person is deemed to be qualified to be a resident pupil for the purposes of subsection (1) and subsections 33(1) and (2) and section 40, and to be a resident pupil for the purposes of subsections 33(4) and 40(2), if the person's parent has his or her dwelling-place in a school section, notwithstanding that the person's parent is not a citizen of Canada or a permanent resident in Canada.

"(4) Subsection (3) does not apply to a visitor to Canada within the meaning of the Immigration Act (Canada)."

There would be a second amendment which would be added to subsection 49(7): clause (h) would add "a person within the meaning of subsection 32(3)."

I believe that those two amendments to this omnibus bill would achieve the goal of private member's Bill 24. It would ensure that all children who have a dwelling-place in the province of Ontario in a specific school district would be eligible to attend that school without fear.

I believe that the amendments that I'm proposing today and I'm asking to be considered at committee when it's discussing Bill 4 will achieve the goals which were responded to in a way which I believe was both non-partisan and, I think, forward-looking. Because we are all concerned about having the most- and best-educated population in the future. If we have children who are attempting to attend school in fear or we have children who are denied access to our school system because of the status of their parents, then we are visiting the sins of the parents upon those children, and the members of this Legislature unanimously said that it's not in society's interest to do that. We must protect those children.

Whether ultimately they end up leaving the country, they will leave better educated because of their time in Ontario schools. And if at some point in time their parents become Canadian citizens or their parents become legal landed immigrants, then in fact those children will not have been handicapped and disadvantaged because of their fear during those years when their status had not legally permitted them to attend our schools.

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The other point I want to make, and what I've heard from educators as I've discussed Bill 24, is that those children are presently in the school system today, by and large, so there's no additional costs that these amendments would bring. The difference is that these children today are in the school system and are fearful.

They are in some schools where the administrators take a "wink, wink, nod, nod" attitude, and sometimes those children are pulled out of one school and placed in another school out of fear and their education is interrupted in a way which is detrimental to them, detrimental to Canadian society and to Ontarians in general, because we end up with a child who has been hurt and disadvantaged. When we see our functional illiteracy rates and we see the problems that so many of our children are having and facing, surely, if we have a way of correcting that for those who are potentially disadvantaged, then I think it would be a positive step to see this enshrined in Bill 4.

I spoke to the minister about this and he said he's willing to consider it, and I believe that the amendments I'm suggesting will achieve that goal. I don't believe there'll be any cost, and I believe as well that it will ensure access to the Ontario system in an appropriate way and achieve the objectives that all members of this House agreed to when we debated Bill 24.

Access to education has always been a goal, but it's not just access to education: I think it's access to the best quality education that we can provide. One of the reasons I decided to enter public life was to do what I could, and my own belief is that an individual can make a difference in this House.

I was saddened yesterday when I heard another member stand in his place, a relatively new member, the member for Victoria-Haliburton, and express his frustration because he didn't believe he was able to effectively make a difference in a positive way as a member of the government caucus. That saddened me, because I've been a member of a government, I've been a cabinet minister, I've been a member of the back bench, served on numerous committees as a government backbencher, I've been a member of the official opposition now for the past two and a half years, and before that I had the opportunity to serve on municipal council in the city of North York for almost seven years, and my experience in public life has been that an individual really can make a difference in influencing public policy.

Certainly at the municipal level, it was without the partisan trappings. It was also without the caucus responsibilities that we have here at Queen's Park, but my experience at Queen's Park has been that I have tremendous satisfaction on a personal basis, because I believe that whether I've been a member of the government as a cabinet minister, a member of the governing party as a backbencher, a member of the official opposition, or just an ordinary member of this House, an MPP, I have been able to positively influence events; I have positively been able to influence government policy from both sides of the House.

The reason I make that statement as it relates to education is that I think it's important for us during this debate and discussion on education to remember that one of our goals is to encourage the participation of young people, those people who are presently, today, in our schools. One of the opportunities that I've undertaken over my years in public life has been to offer to go into the schools in my own riding, in a non-partisan way, to help to deliver the message not only that an individual can make a difference in public life and that public life is about public service, but also to share the knowledge that I have about how government works, whether it's at the municipal level, the provincial level or the federal level.

What I've found is that the administration in the schools, the teachers in the schools and the parents have

always been very happy about having that kind of discussion go on in their classroom in a non-partisan way, because those of us who have had the experience of public life, if we can share that in our schools, can, I think, enrich the education system very directly.

So I make the commitment again here today in this House that whenever a school in Oriole riding wishes to have me come in, in a non-partisan way, and help to share with the students my experiences and my knowledge both about how government works and how our political system works, I make that offer openly and sincerely. I've been doing that over the last number of years, and I believe that other members could make that kind of contribution in their own ridings, because it's very important. I know many of my colleagues go into the schools; the member for Scarborough North tells me that's something he does on a fairly regular basis as well.

I think it is important, because often people get quite cynical about what happens. They tune in to question period and they think that's what it's all about. It's important for us to share our experiences in a non-partisan way with the students and the teachers, so that they get to know us and get to better understand the environment in which democracy takes place.

I want to thank you for your patience, Mr Speaker. As I refer to Bill 4, I mention the concerns that I have, not just about accessibility, but accessibility to the highest-quality education we can provide in the province of Ontario. We know the world is changing very rapidly. I'd like to share with you, Mr Speaker, some of the beliefs I have about the things we can do here in this Legislature, through Bill 4 and, hopefully, other pieces of legislation that will come forward from this government.

I recently watched an old movie called *Educating Rita*. What I've watched in the last two and a half years from the official opposition bench has really been educating the NDP. They've come a long way. They began with their very first Minister of Education, who was opposed to any kind of accountability in the school system. The first minister was opposed to any kind of participation in national testing. Here today, in this House, we've seen the Education minister of the NDP admit how important accountability is to the students, to the teachers, to the parents, to the administrators and to the trustees. I want to say how much I support the need for that kind of accountability, but it's important how it's done.

We know that one of the reasons for the high priority being given educational reform in this province is that our times are changing, and they're changing very rapidly, both our social and certainly our economic realities. We have left the industrial age behind us. There are those who would say we are in the information age. The reports from economists and those who



are looking into the future would say that it's not only going to be a knowledge-based society, but it's also going to be a society that values ideas. So we have to respond within the education system. Even though we may not understand what kind of technology is going to be available a decade from now, we have to prepare our institutions and our school systems to embrace the kinds of changes through a positive form of accountability.

I notice that the term "quality assurance" has been used in relation to the education system. As one who advocated the beginnings of quality assurance programs—now called total quality management and continuous quality improvement—in the health system, I want to echo those words and say how important that kind of quality assurance is within our education system.

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We know that the future will require a different kind of schooling from what we see today, and I'd like to quote from that same article written by Jean Hewitt that our Education critic mentioned during question period, because I think it says it all, or a good part of it. I'm going to use it to sum up my remarks today. It says:

"While it is not possible to see what the final form of the new age will be, it is already apparent that it will require a different kind of schooling: a schooling which is responsive to the effects of technology, where there is an emphasis on life-long learning and where teachers provide all students with access to higher levels of literacy and numeracy. Education systems in this age, which has been called the information age, must not only ensure a quality of access but also be accountable for the quality of learning achieved by its students by providing an outcome-based curriculum for students. Nations which hope to stay economically viable in the information age must have creative, knowledgeable, self-directed citizens."

I would point out as well that the article states the importance when it says, "Specific attention is paid to the development of self-esteem, particularly for young women and students from visible minorities."

I would commend the article to those who have not read it. I believe these are many of the values which must be embodied in educational reform. I think the issues and the debate and the discussion that Bill 4 begins is just the beginning. These will be referred to committee. I hope to have the opportunity to say more about this.

It's my hope that my own amendment on access to education will be incorporated, but on behalf of my constituents in the riding of Oriole, I want to say that while I'm here in this Legislature, I will be a vigilant voice for the kind of reforms that will lead to students who are prepared to meet the challenges of an idea- and knowledge-based society in the future. We must find a way to do that cooperatively to include our teachers,

such a valuable resource; our parents, who have such an important stake; our school trustees and administrators, who often, I believe, are left out of the debate and discussion here at the province. Together we must dedicate ourselves to see that our students are the best-prepared that they can be, because we will be relying upon all of them to look after all of us in the future.

**Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham):** We're on to Bill 4, An Act to amend certain Acts relating to Education. It's an omnibus bill. It's a very, very important bill, and it's something I've looked forward to speaking to. I find it almost impossible, in order to address the areas that concern me and my community, to do to so in the time that's allotted. I just hope and trust that this House will refer the bill to committee and allow for enough debate that all groups and people who have concerns about it will have an opportunity to table those views, and that the Minister of Education will be open-minded enough to allow amendments to be made in those areas where it needs to be done.

It really is a tragedy that, as we are rushing through the 1990s into the next century, no one has stopped and said: Are we satisfied with what we've got? How can we truly improve the system of education so that the children, as they come out of school into university, into apprenticeship programs, community colleges or into the world—how good a job have we done, and is there a better job we could do? Are we in a position, as a group of legislators, to come together and develop an approach that's going to begin to give us some efficiency, to give us some excellence, to give us a return on our investment?

There isn't any doubt that the people of Ontario want the very best for their young people. If we're in a position to do more and do better for them, then we should be doing that. Unfortunately, the dread that I suffer is that we're scratching the surface: We tinker a little here and we touch something there, but we haven't put our hands around the massive problem known as education. I commend our own critic, the member for London North, for the marvellous work that she's done, with the member from Waterloo, in developing A Blueprint for Learning in Ontario. Our caucus has put on the record a number of the concerns we have. By far, it's only, again, a stake in the ground that begins to say, "At least here the Ontario Progressive Conservative caucus has something they can put their thinking on," and we've done that. We've gone back to a number of thoughts; we've brought out a number of new ones. We're saying, "There are things we can do," and I commend the leadership that's come out of our caucus that we've been able to at least put this document together.

We are missing the boat if we don't look at what's going on in the world of industry and business today

and realize that it's a time for leadership. When a leader is in control, that leader knows how to involve the people who are within that great army known as the people who are part of education, and you involve them in a way that they are able to contribute to the solution we're talking about. It's not just a talk-down, tell, tell, tell, type of situation; there is a way in which every school, every class, every teacher and even the students are taking part in this participatory process where we all have a sense of urgency to make education absolutely the very best in the province of Ontario.

I have to see an approach that says it's a team-building exercise. It's an opportunity for the very best to be tabled. It means staff all over the place are going to be working towards the resolution of this marvellous challenge to get value for our money, excellence in the classrooms, students who are prepared and equipped to go into the world to make something of themselves. That is our challenge, and somehow we're missing it.

We're missing it when we saw the announcements last week where the government came through with its proposed cutbacks in expenditures, and in those announcements it really puts the onus on the boards to say: "Hey, here's the money. You have to cut, cut, cut." I understand we have to do an awful lot of that, but what I would love to see is an approach in which the teachers and the boards are working with us on that and have a chance to really show us what can be done.

I have a number of concerns on this bill. The first one is the downloading of costs to boards of education. I served on the York County Board of Education when it was called a county system. Now it's a regional board but it's much the same, only bigger and more students and more money. That board now takes about 73 cents of every tax dollar that's collected in York region to pay for educational costs, and the separate school board is maybe 74 cents or 75 cents, so close to three quarters of all the tax dollars are spent on education.

When the province comes through with its recommendations in Bill 4, this again is going to add to the cost to the local ratepayers. Somehow or other, you, the government, have lost sight of who it is who pays. There is only one taxpayer in the province of Ontario, and that taxpayer is paying provincial, federal, municipal, regional, all those taxes—one person.

Why can't we somehow draw together all the challenges we have to do, understand what the cost is going to be, what the priorities are going to be and how it is we're going to fund it, because this bill, Bill 4, is going to force on the local boards additional taxes, and the people in the province of Ontario are sick and tired of the Liberal government before the present socialist government, which brought down increasing costs to the local ratepayers.

There has to be an accountability, and that accountability is absent from this bill. Not to comment

and do something to address the concern that the public has is to fail the people of Ontario. They're mad already. They know they're going to be taxed more heavily when the budget comes down from the Treasurer in a few weeks' time. This bill should be down as a tax bill, because it ranks just as another penalty to the people of Ontario without some kind of rationalization of the cost to produce a quality education system.

Don't tell me that junior kindergarten isn't going to cost more money. Some 19 boards in the province of Ontario do not have junior kindergarten. I wish we could have it, but we can't afford it. York Region Board of Education, from which I come, doesn't have the space. Right now we've got a third of our students in portables. Maybe it's more than that. It just keeps going up all the time because we can't afford to build additions on the schools, but we can add the portables because we have to have space.

We can't afford junior kindergarten. If we start the junior kindergarten program that you mandated beginning in September 1994, we just don't have the classrooms. The cost of that to the local ratepayers is prohibitive, and there are some 18 other boards that have the same problem.

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We look at the cost of special education. I am enthused about what can be done to help young people to be integrated into the community. I know that it's come a long, long way since any of us were in school, and how good that is, but have we considered where the dollars are going to come from for this and how we can move towards these high ideals and excellent goals and objectives, how we can phase them in in a financial way that we can afford?

The taxpayers across Ontario are ready for a revolt. You're seeing it in some communities. The seniors who are on fixed incomes cannot continue to pay the increase in local taxes. I know that in my own community we are stretched to the limit. What this bill does is stretch us further, and for some, it'll stretch them to the breaking point that they can no longer afford to live in their own homes because the tax bill will be so prohibitively high. That is a problem.

It's one thing to have the wonderful social agenda that this government has, but it's another to pay for it, and that is the issue that has to be addressed. Do what you want to do, but make sure you pay for it when you're doing it. We cannot continue down this road. It's the road to destruction. It's the road that leads Ontario into more troubles for ever and ever.

There has to be an honest facing up to the costs of everything we do, and none of that is addressed in Bill 4. The government has not addressed the cost, because the costs don't come out of the pockets of the provincial taxpayer; they come out of the pockets of the municipal taxpayer—who happens to be the same person.



If I'm excited and upset, I apologize. My tie's getting ruffled and I'm getting ruffled and no one's listening in this place.

**Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel):** I'm listening.

**Mr Cousens:** My friend the member for Dufferin-Peel is always listening. But the fact is that I haven't succeeded in having any amendment or any point carried with this government since September 6, 1990. We just have to survive till 1995, when we get rid of these socialists. I'm prepared to survive that long, and hopefully the people of Ontario will understand that they have done such a deplorable job in running Ontario that it's time to get rid of them.

**Mr Rosario Marchese (Fort York):** It's hyperbolic.

**Mr Cousens:** I shouldn't get political, should I? Not in the Ontario Legislature. You don't want to hear that.

This bill, as an omnibus bill, contains some 25 or 26 different issues in which the government is trying to make changes with education. What they've done is that they have taken what was known previously as a series of bills, some five other bills and amalgamated them into this one, so that we're all going to be restricted in our time to discuss them. There won't be time to deal with all of the issues that surround the multifaceted that make up Bill 4. It is just so much to be dealt with.

First of all, let me just touch on some of them. The first issue, which I want to encompass everything I'm saying, is, watch the costs. There are dollars to every decision we make. There should be a full, detailed cost analysis of what it's going to do to the boards across Ontario. Certainly, we would hope that the Minister of Education would do something to explain and respond to how much each of these details is going to cost the taxpayers.

Junior kindergarten: If we look at that as an issue, when it was first begun it was for children who needed junior kindergarten. They were disadvantaged and it was seen as a way of helping them out to get them started in life. Then other boards saw it and people said, "Hey, we want it too, we want it," and suddenly you've got junior kindergartens springing up all over the place.

I know that it has helped many, many children. The educational value of junior kindergarten is still being questioned by some. Those who have it seem to like it. It's not mandatory, except the government has made it mandatory.

**Mr Larry O'Connor (Durham-York):** You heard what the Premier's Council said last Monday.

**Mr Cousens:** Larry, if you're going to talk in the House, stand up and make a speech rather than just carp away in the back benches.

**Mr O'Connor:** There you go. You just talk down.

**Mr Cousens:** The problem, Mr Speaker, is that if the honourable members are going to cut into the time

we have, would you extend the time that the Tories are allowed to speak on this?

I'm making a point and I've lost it because of your interruptions. That's the problem I have. I want to listen to the member for Durham York, but I can't do that and present at the same time. There are other ways in which he can make his presentation.

Junior kindergarten has benefits, but it hasn't been truly proven that it is something that should be mandatory right across the province, and to me, we have many arguments on it. For this board to say that it has to be fully implemented by September 1997 and has to begin to happen in all these other 19 boards that don't have it at all by the fall of 1994 is a tremendous burden and cost that I would really hope this government would consider before passing this bill.

I'm concerned that here in an education bill, we start to become child care providers. Should child care fall under the Education Act? I ask that question rhetorically, having an answer in my own mind, but I'm really concerned that we now have within the province of Ontario this whole issue where child care, as it has been defined by Bill 4, is going to be an integral part of the Education Act. Shouldn't it fall under Community and Social Services or another ministry? Why should it fall within the Education Act instead of going someplace else? It confuses the role that educators have got now and will have in the future.

I don't see teachers as child care providers. Child care providers are important as well, but so too is the role of a teacher, and when parents send their children to school for an education under the Education Act, it's not to provide the sitting and services that are given under the Day Nurseries Act. Let's separate them. Let's understand there is a different role that we have as a society for those parents who have a need for day care, and that those services really shouldn't fall into the Education Act. I question it and I'm not satisfied that the government has answered that question, and I will keep searching for an answer from them.

I'm concerned as well that we're moving towards universal day care. What's the cost of the social agenda of this communist government? I'm sorry; this socialist government. It's something that the public has no understanding of, because once we start providing day care, it is just an ongoing cost that doesn't end. I suggest again that the whole child care issue as it pertains to Bill 4 should be quantified, qualified and, if the costs are understood, the public can then appreciate just what it is they're buying for their dollars.

The third issue that concerns me with Bill 4 has to do with the whole issue of integration into the school system, a whole series of questions as we've been discussing it in our caucus that I would like to table and I would like to see considered when this does go to committee.

How should "integration" be defined? I'd like to know what integration is.

First of all, when this bill came forward—and one of the things that I do support is that the bill is removing references to "trainable retarded" pupils. We're talking now about "exceptional" pupils. I think we've got to clean up our language when we're dealing with these things; that is true. But as we talk about these special students who have special needs, and you see that they're being brought into a classroom and being part of a regular class, there is a cost associated with that, there's an identification problem associated with it, and so I have a series of questions that I'd like to ask.

First of all, how is "integration" going to be defined? I'd like to see a true definition of what this government means by integration.

What is meant by local community school or classroom? Is it anticipated that all schools will be equipped to offer the integration option, or only certain schools within the jurisdiction of a school board?

Are there conditions placed on both the school board and the pupil with regard to the integration option, or is this option going to be available to any exceptional student where the parents request it? If a parent who has a child with a special need says, "I want them into a regular classroom," does it happen, then? Or would we be well advised to look and see if there's any benefit to having some kind of provincial advisory body to which parents could appeal in case they're not satisfied that the local board is doing the right thing, so that there becomes a mechanism so there is someone outside of the home or the school, an independent third party who can somehow help differentiate those students who should or should not be into a regular classroom?

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Whose needs ought to be given primacy when you're looking at this integration question, the needs of the pupil, the needs of the parent or the needs of the community? Also I ask the question that there indeed must be recognition on the part of both school boards and the government that these costs associated with providing this integration program should be considered very, very seriously.

There is an awful lot to be said and thought about the issue of integration. As we proceed down this road we should know exactly what's going to happen, at least have a better sense of it, than to be going down this road with the best of intentions and then along the way, because there is no money, we can't continue to provide it. We have to be able to afford what we do. We have to be able to assure those who, once they start those programs, will be able to complete them.

We also have to be sure that those young people who get into these integration programs are truly going to benefit from them. You also have to be sure that the

other students in the classroom are also not going to be disadvantaged because of what's going on.

I support our Education critic's position in which we as a caucus support the whole intention of integration. I do not like the way in which the cost of this program is going to be passed on to the local ratepayers. We, as legislators, should assess those costs and consider them very, very carefully.

I'm running out of time; there is only a limited time allocated on this bill. I can assure you, Mr Speaker, I have many more things I would like to say. The bill contains such things as, "English-speaking supervisory officers shall be appointed for schools and classes where English is the language of instruction and French-speaking supervisory officers shall be appointed for schools and classes where French is the language of instruction." It makes a lot of common sense.

I wish we'd get to some of the more commonsense things that say: How are we going to pay for our education? How are we going to build it into the best system possible? Why not begin to reform education in a way that makes it truly accountable to the taxpayers, to the students and to the people of Ontario? We have problems with the educational system; we're not beginning to deal with them under this bill as it is now. We have to take it more seriously instead of just tinkering with it the way the government is doing with Bill 4.

It's a huge bill, lots of good things, some dangerous things; the costs aren't understood. What are we going to do? Is this government just going to ram it through and not give us a chance for a full understanding? I ask for more time to consider the ramifications of Bill 4. I hope we're given that time instead of having it railroaded through as other issues have been. Thank you.

**The Acting Speaker:** I thank the honourable member for his participation. Further debate? The honourable member for Mississauga West.

**Mr Steven W. Mahoney (Mississauga West):** Thank you very much, Mr Speaker. I am particularly pleased to have an opportunity to talk about Bill 4 and about education in general. It's rather fitting because this evening in my riding I'll be one of the people participating in the official opening of Edenrose School. It's not too many communities around the province that actually experience the opening of new schools these days. We have, of course, tremendous problems with portables and overcrowding, but the parents, the teachers, the board officials and the children I know will enjoy a great deal this evening's festivities in opening that particular school.

I think it's appropriate that I have an opportunity to put on the record some of the concerns I have about what this government's doing in this bill and in general and about what we're constantly doing to the education system.



While it's not directly in this bill, the establishment of a royal commission on education, I must say, causes me some trepidation and concern. I can recall, in the previous administration under the Liberal government, we set up a select committee on education. It was an all-party select committee and our role was to examine the education system, both the issues such as the curriculum and various special programs, the financing of education, the ongoing governance of education, how the system is working, and we did a tremendous amount of work in that committee. In my experience here in the last six and a half years, I found that was the one committee I served on where the partisanship was quite minimal. In fact everybody seemed quite interested in dealing with the issues at hand.

I always referred to the former member Richard Johnston as the best Education minister the NDP government never had. He was a member on that particular committee and was a very constructive member. Maybe he'll surface in some way in this so-called royal commission.

But the purpose of the select committee was to look at issues, if possible, in a non-partisan way, with all parties participating. It was chaired by the member for Eglinton, Dianne Poole, I had the privilege of being the Vice-Chair, and we heard from stakeholders in every aspect of education and delivering education.

But the very first thing we were told by the people who came before us in the early days of that committee was that every government, when it gets into office, seemed to want to grab the tree of education and rip it up to examine the roots. It's almost a political game, it seems, and now this government is establishing a royal commission.

You know that the Sewell commission—Mr Speaker, I'm sure you know it cost over \$3 million—has put out recommendations that have got everybody in the municipal sector upset and doesn't appear to be resolving any of the problems it was designed to resolve, except in the eyes and the mentality perhaps of the minister responsible for that sitting in the House, Mr Philip.

Maybe there are some things that are going to come out of the Sewell commission that they haven't told us, but I can tell you, sir, that the municipal people are extremely upset about it. I think what's going to happen is you're going to see if it's \$3 million on the Sewell commission to provide John Sewell with a nice little job and a little expense account to travel around the province, if it's \$3 million to do that, I just get scared when I think about how much money this government's going to spend in a royal commission to study the education system.

I just think that the red tape, the bureaucracy, the problems that are going to be created—and why are they doing it? They're doing it, purportedly, so that they

can find out what's wrong with education. I mean, haven't you been listening? Haven't you paid attention to the last five, six, eight, ten years when the Tories did it, the Liberals did it and now you're putting it into—

**Mr Anthony Perruzza (Downsview):** That's right. You guys listened, right, and you paid attention.

**Mr Mahoney:** Oh, there's no question. We went out with all parties—I'm not afraid to take a look, critically, at things that occurred during our administration, but let me tell you what we did.

All three parties got together in a select committee and we went out and we examined education. We pulled up that tree and we examined the roots of education and then we put it firmly back in the ground. If there was one recommendation we made, and you people agreed with it at the time, it was that we should let the tree stay in the ground, we should water it, we should nurture it, but we should stop yanking it out of the ground so that we can examine it and create cushy jobs and royal commissions for NDP hacks and buddies who are going to come in and somehow solve some of these problems.

There were recommendations in there. Let me just share some of them with you in areas in special education. If anybody has ever been through an identification and placement review committee, where you go in as a parent—you've got a child with a learning disability, you go in as a parent. I mean, it's really quite amazing. Picture this: Here's mom and dad and they're worried about their son or daughter and they sit there and they bring in about 10 people on the other side, all supposedly professionals and experts and they tell you, first of all, what's wrong with your kid and then how they're going to correct it. They intimidate the people who really need to be consulted more.

This is not a condemnation of this government or any particular government. This is a statement of fact. I personally have been through that process, I find it absolutely frustrating and it does not deal with the basic solutions, when you're trying to deal with kids who have learning disabilities or kids who are exceptionally bright, anywhere in special education.

This bill is supposed to be doing something about special ed, and it's not, and this government's not doing it. They're not going to the basic foundation and sitting down with the stakeholders and saying, "We want to understand what your concerns are around special education."

1640

Our select committee made recommendations in that area, and they're being totally ignored by this government. You don't need a royal commission; you don't even need this bill. Take the select committee recommendations and wipe the dust off them and try to understand them, and you'll find many suggestions

agreed to by your party, by Richard Johnston, agreed to by your caucus; they're there. Implement them and work with the education community to implement the changes that are necessary to improve the quality of education in this province.

We recommended in-service training, a very specific recommendation by the select committee that said that if you want to improve education, you've got to teach the teachers how to teach. The teachers would agree with that. They have said, and they came before our committee and they said, "We need more in-service training."

It's fine to put in standardized tests and standardized rules, but if you don't have standardized training for the people that are going to deliver those tests and deliver the quality of the education right in the classroom, then you're really not getting at the root of the problem in education. That's not a knock against the teachers; that's their recommendation to our select committee, and we agreed with it and the members in the NDP caucus agreed with it, so more in-service training.

Another little suggestion we made is one of the problems, and you come around the whole issue of destreaming, and picture a kid who is 12 or 13 years old in grade 8 going into this new world of high school. In many of the large cities, this is a transition where you will go from a school of 200 or 300 children to a school of as many as 2,000 kids. Some of you have villages in your ridings that are not as large as some of the schools in my riding. That's a fact. So you've got a kid coming into this new atmosphere.

There are problems in our high schools today. We've got to face them. There's violence, there's intimidation, there is a certain amount of racism in some of the schools and there are drug problems in some of the schools. We've got to face that. So you've got a young 12- or 13-year-old making that transition.

Well, we recommended something that this government has just forgotten about. We recommended that the guidance counsellors who work with our young people in the elementary panel should have some form of portability. They should be transferred through, go with the kids, actually have a guidance counsellor follow the kids into the secondary panel.

These may not seem revolutionary, but they clearly would say to the education system that we recognize there's a transition problem. This could work tremendously well with the minister's statement on streaming or destreaming. This could work tremendously well. It would give the kids some confidence, and it's not only the kids. Imagine the parents of a first child or an only child making that transition. Just like in the case of the special-ed situation that I referred to, the parents can be intimidated by the system. It's a very large, complex, difficult system.

I don't see this government addressing those fundamental issues, and that's what concerns me the greatest. Let's go back. Look at all the studies. George Radwanski did a study, examined the roots. We had our select committee examine the roots again, and now this government's solution, because it thinks that it's going to, I guess, pander to some of its colleagues in the NDP left wing of the party, it's going to set up a royal commission to go out and do the whole work all over again. I mean, it really is unfortunate in the time and the cost and the bureaucracy. I guarantee you that if the commission is effective, it will come out with many of the same recommendations that are already gathering dust in the report of the select committee under the Liberal government.

One of the other things that concerns me a great deal is that this government, beginning today as a matter of fact, is talking with what it refers to as its partners in the delivery of certain services, and clearly education is part of that. I'd say what they refer to—I'm talking about the social contract negotiations or socialist contract, whatever you guys call them. You're trying to get the unions to—what did the Premier call it today? A pay pause. We're going to have a common pay pause in the province of Ontario to go along with the—what's the other one—a common—

**Mrs Barbara Sullivan (Halton Centre):** Pause day.

**Mr Mahoney:** A common pause day, I'm sorry. We've got a common pause day; now we're going to have a common pay pause.

It's fascinating to me that a socialist government would come out and announce \$4 billion in cuts, just slash and hack. Of course, you see, it's popular to just say, "We're cutting the civil servants." What you haven't told them—

**Hon Ed Philip (Minister of Municipal Affairs):** What are you going to do?

**Mr Mahoney:** I've got some good ideas for solutions. What you haven't told them is—and wait till the people of this province wake up one day and find out what your pay pause means, what your social contract means—it could mean 35 to 40 kids in a classroom. That's what it's going to mean.

When they realize that, they're going to be upset. They're going to say: "You never told us that. We thought you were cutting out all those bureaucrats in the towers at Queen's Park. We didn't know that you were affecting ambulance drivers and day care workers and teachers. We didn't know that you were affecting the people who deliver the service to our children and our mothers and our fathers and our grandparents." Because that is what you're doing.

It's such a fraud, because what the government is doing is coming out and purporting to be Tories. Okay? You've already seen the leader of the third party



climbing into bed, snuggling up with Bob Rae. It's quite an unholy marriage, but God bless them. So here they are; they're over there. These guys in this Legislature, instead of sitting down and trying to come up with some creative ways, instead of taking a look at some of the recommendations, are just all jamming into bed together. It must be the most uncomfortable sleep that you could ever possibly imagine. I said the other day, "Make sure you leave the lights on," I said to the leader of the third party, "so you can see the true colour of the socialists one of these days." Just make sure you do that.

#### *Interjections.*

**Mr Mahoney:** I know it upsets you when I point out to the people how hypocritical things can be around here, and I understand that particular problem happening.

But the reality is, here's what they're doing with their social contract. They are cutting the transfer money. Think of this as a pipe that goes from Queen's Park out to the communities. It goes to the school boards; it goes to the municipalities. Last night I attended the annual general meeting of the CNIB. The people at CNIB are saying, "How is this going to affect us?" They're sitting down at this table, right as we speak today. The CNIB is sitting there and it's saying, "We think we're going to get hurt on this." I've got news for them: They are going to get hurt on this; absolutely, no question. It's going to hurt the volunteers in the community, it's going to have a devastating effect, and they're not explaining it. They're putting it out as if they're slashing the big bad civil service.

Let me tell you, it's going to have a major effect on the quality of education. So they're trying to cover that by coming out with some puffery in the form of either their royal commission or this bill that supposedly is going to keep all of the educators busy, so that they're running around trying to figure out what's in the legislation, so that they don't have time to worry about the social contract negotiations. Two hundred and ninety million dollars cut in the first round, boom, gone, right off of Education: Tell me that that does not have a devastating effect on any board of education trying to deliver reasonable service to their children and trying to keep their budgets in line.

You talk about junior kindergarten and about it being mandatory. I can't believe this. When the Honourable Tony Silipo was the Minister of Education, he came along and he slashed cutbacks so drastically that the Peel Board of Education had to cancel junior kindergarten. Now they're bringing in a bill that's going to mandate it. We're tried to tell them that at the time. If you're going to cut a program, for goodness' sake, don't force it back on to the board in one or two years. Okay, so you're saying you're going to put it off for another few years.

We should be all agreeing on one thing in a non-partisan atmosphere around here, and that is that we should not be passing on requirements to lower levels of governments, the municipalities or the school boards, for them to do things without money. Every government that has sat on that side of the House—the Conservative government, our government, this government—has done it. I openly admit that. But if you really want a new social contract, if you really want these people to remain your partners, then stop telling them how to run the shop and at the same time slashing their budget to the point where they're incapable of running.

#### **1650**

Just to give you an example, salary and benefits at the Peel board are 81% of its total budget. Everybody thinks the solution to financial problems in a board like Peel is to cut administration: "Slash all the top-heavy administration." The administration is 1.5% of their budget.

I mean, they're not magicians. The government comes along, takes away \$290 million, and the forecast is to slash another \$520 million. They make all these pronouncements and then they say, "Oh, by the way, we're going to have a meeting and we'd like you to come to the meeting so that we can talk to you about the next \$2 billion in cuts we're going to make at your expense." It says right in the document that the further \$2 billion will come from the reduction of transfer payments, and you people have the nerve to stand up in public and refer to the municipalities and the boards of education and the trustees as your partners. What kind of partnership is that?

So I would ask this minister to take a real serious look at the programs he's talking about mandating and then find out if he's got the ability to send a cheque along with it. Every government—the next government, which will be led by our leader—had better adopt that, because we seriously need change in the way we do business. And if you haven't been listening over there to the people, well, you're going to hear it real quick, as soon as your Premier's got the nerve to drop the writ and call an election.

How many people in this province would like an early election? You know what I'd like them all to do? Any of them that are watching, at 8 o'clock tomorrow morning, if you want an early election, honk your horn. Just honk your horn at 8 o'clock tomorrow morning on your way to work. That will send a message that says: "I want an early election. I want a shot at Bob Rae. I want to boot him out of there so we can get back to some sanity in this province."

The former speaker here said he regretted that there was not enough time to go on in detail. I too would like to go on in detail about some of these costs and some of the problems and the priorities and the mistakes that are being made by the Minister of Education and

Training and by this entire government. I'm unable to do that because some of my colleagues wish to have time in this debate as well. But I just ask this government, take a look at the select committee reports. There's a lot of good stuff in there and you could pull it out and implement some of it very, very easily.

**The Acting Speaker:** Further debate?

**Mr Tilson:** I'm pleased to participate in the debate of Bill 4. In Bill 4, as many of us have said in the House before my speaking on it, it's been confirmed that there's 28 separate changes, and unrelated separate changes, to the Education Act. Of course, they've been previously introduced in, I don't know, about a half-dozen different bills going back to 1991, and these bills were never called for second reading.

I agree with my friend the member for Markham, who says that these provisions, these amendments to the Education Act, are of such a complex nature that surely the government will allow more time for debate on each individual item. In the time allowed, I intend to speak on only two issues, and that really is a difficulty when I would like to speak on a large number of them.

Some of the issues that have been raised, of course, deal with requiring school boards to operate junior kindergartens by August 31, 1994, and the Lieutenant Governor in Council will have the power to allow a board to phase in the junior kindergarten requirement over a three-year period by September 1, 1997. I do wish to speak on the junior kindergarten issue.

Also, there will be the issue of authorizing school boards to establish and operate and maintain child care centres.

All of these matters are going to result in local school boards being required to spend substantial amounts of money, and since this government has taken power, there have been cuts, more and more cuts, to our educational system; in other words, cuts of grant pass-ons to the local school boards. It's getting to the stage that I don't know how they're going to operate.

There have been complaints, certainly in the business community: Are we properly educating our children? Now, they may say they are, but all I'm telling you is that certainly people within my riding are very concerned.

I admire the trustees and the school boards for working with the limited amount of funds they have, but I'm afraid the onus rests on the provincial government, which has made commitments to school boards in the past and keeps adding on requirements for them to do. Because of the tax bases that exist in our system, there's only one thing to do: When you implement these programs, when you force these programs on, you either have to raise taxes—and we've reached the stage where we simply can't add more to property taxes, so therefore programs are going to have to be cut, teachers are going

to be laid off, and that gives us all a great deal of concern.

I will be speaking very briefly on the subject of junior kindergarten and kindergarten, as well as sections 15 and 16 of the bill, which deal with hard-to-serve pupils.

Perhaps I could speak initially on that issue which deals with sections 15 and 16. This, in my submission, is further downloading that I think the government should take a long hard look at, as to whether small school boards can afford this provision. This is a problem that has occurred in my own riding of Dufferin-Peel, and specifically the county of Dufferin.

A hard-to-serve pupil is "one who is unable to profit from instruction offered by a school board because of a mental handicap or a mental and other handicaps." The current provisions of the Education Act outline the procedure for having pupils declared hard to serve and authorize the placement of these pupils within or outside Ontario at government expense.

The hard-to-serve section was included in the 1980 special education amendments to the Education Act in order to accommodate school boards that did not initially have the capacity to address the needs of severely disabled students. The Ministry of Education believes at this time that appropriate special education programs are available through schools in Ontario or the provincial schools.

This action by this government is going to create a problem, particularly in the small school boards. I cite my own, one of the three school boards in my riding; as I indicated, the county of Dufferin. These sections result in the repealing of the provisions dealing with hard-to-serve pupils from the Education Act. If you take those sections out, that will mean that the same procedures for the identification and placement of exceptional pupils will apply to all exceptional students without distinction. That action is going to cause problems. I would hope that the government now, or when it goes to committee—and I assume this bill will go to committee, particularly with the many, many complicated sections it has—will reconsider its position.

**1700**

The amendment is opposed by some parent groups that want their children to be educated in private schools within or outside Ontario at government expense. I'd like to relate to this House an incident that was reported in the press, in the *Toronto Star*, about a year ago, a situation that occurred in my riding of Dufferin-Peel and specifically the county of Dufferin. As I indicated, there was a controversy by two boys. Although their names were in the media, I don't think I'll quote their names, but at that time their ages were 11 and 16.

The hard-to-serve committee determined that the two



students were not hard to serve, and I'm using those words, "hard to serve," as those are the words that were spelled out in the act. The committee determined that they were not hard to serve. It then went to the Dufferin County Board of Education and it reviewed the matter and overturned the decision. By overturning that decision, that meant the ministry of Education would be responsible for covering the cost of their education.

At the initiative of the Ministry of Education, the matter now is under judicial review and it's gone to the courts, and these two children are now being placed in a training school in the United States with the ministry reluctantly—and I use that word "reluctantly" because that has certainly come forward by the ministry of Education—paying the cost for the interim.

You have the legislation, it's set up and the ministry has simply abandoned these two people, and now of course they're going to pass, notwithstanding what may happen in the courts, because that decision I don't believe has been settled yet. So notwithstanding what has happened in the courts, they're going to simply take these provisions out of the Education Act.

In order to deal with the pupils identified as hard to serve before the section is appealed, as I've indicated, the province of Ontario will pay the cost of a placement for a school year in which the legislation comes in force for a pupil who, by June 2, 1992, was found to be hard to serve.

I'm going to read a quote that was made by the Learning Disabilities Association of Ontario, where it commented on this essentially eliminating section 35 of the Education Act, because that's what these sections do. They indicated that they were opposed to eliminating section 35 of the Education Act, which is the hard to serve, "without first putting in place a mechanism to protect learning-disabled pupils for whom school boards are unable to provide, or to purchase from other boards appropriate special education services."

I'm quoting from what the Learning Disability Association of Ontario has said: "The reality of special education in Ontario these days is that boards across the province have drastically reduced or even eliminated special-education classes and support services for those students with learning disabilities that need them."

In effect, this action by this government under this bill means that these young students are going to be abandoned. I would hope that this matter will come forward in committee or other members of the House will debate this at the appropriate time, and this issue should be studied further and reconsidered.

I'm just going to quote in the brief time I have the section that came out of the Toronto Star. It's a year old; it was made in March 1992: "Ontario Education ministry has refused to pay for private special education for two severely learning-disabled Orangeville youths

whose regular board of education has declared that it can't educate them."

Then they give the names of the young boys and they say, "They were officially declared hard to serve by the Dufferin separate school board in November, and the Education Act, section 34, states that Ontario shall pay for private appropriate education for a student declared hard to serve. However, the families have received letters from the ministry saying the government doesn't have enough information to support the school board's ruling." Of course, then it's gone off to the courts and these young boys are off to the United States.

Just an interesting quote; the lawyer who acted for these young boys during the hearings said, "They're forcing the parents to go to court to get the province to do what it legally has to do. So it's been an interesting dilemma that these young children have been put through, and I say to you that they are being abandoned.

The second and last issue, because of the time allowed, that I would like to speak to is a topic that is perhaps the most controversial of all in this omnibus bill, and that is the provision dealing with junior kindergarten. I guess we ask ourselves, is junior kindergarten a form of education or is it a form of day care? I must confess—I'm sorry?

**Mr Marchese:** It's education.

**Mr Tilson:** Well, I don't know. You say it's education, but is it education? Is it a form of day care? I can tell you that many parents who have spoken to me feel that it's a type of day care. I'm not going to, and I don't think anyone in this House is going to, speak against day care. I think we all support day care. But if that submission is right, is day care something that should be paid for by the property taxpayers of this province, or should it come from the general revenue of this province?

Again, it's a further form of downloading on to the school boards, and the member for Markham and others in this House have said that school boards can't afford it, particularly the smaller ones. They don't have the buildings. They're going to have to construct buildings. They're going to have to construct facilities. It's creating a general problem.

School boards, by this legislation, as I've indicated in my opening remarks, will be required to operate junior kindergartens after August 31, 1994, and the Lieutenant Governor in Council will have the power to allow a board to phase in the junior kindergarten requirement by September 1, 1997.

When we make these comments, we keep in mind what the Treasurer of this province and others in your government are saying, that we're into a recession, that we're in deep financial difficulties federally, provincially, municipally. And yet, whether you think it's a good thing or whether you don't think it's a good thing,

is this the appropriate time to bring this sort of thing forward?

Quite frankly, I have been leaning towards the philosophy that says that it's a form of day care. I think, having said that, that if it is, day care should be completed in another way and not on the backs of the property taxpayers, who are simply dying. People are dying out there trying to pay their property taxes. So this is another issue, and it's perhaps one of the most controversial of the bill. I'm sure much has been said and much will be said before this bill reaches final reading.

There's no question, however, that all boards will be required to start offering some junior kindergarten programming by August 31, 1994. This directive was actually first introduced in the Liberal throne speech in April 1989. At that time, the Liberal Treasurer allocated \$194 million over five years for operating grants and \$100 million for related capital projects, but there's no question that this amount won't cover the cost of implementation for the 19 boards without the program.

You start listing off—this may have been done by some members of the House, but I'm going to repeat it because it's a concern of boards in this province as to what it's going to do to their property taxes. The costs for some boards have been estimated.

After spending \$30 million to implement junior kindergarten, Peel has decided to cancel the program in April 1992 to save \$3.9 million. Peel is in dire straits. I represent the geographic north end of Peel, which is the town of Caledon, and they are in dire straits. They don't know where their next dollar is going to come from.

Of course, remarks were made by the former Minister of Education that said: "If you don't do this, well, we may have a little trouble with the grants down the line. We may have trouble assisting you down the line, so you better do as your told." It's a form of blackmail, in other words: "Do as you're told. Implement this program or you're in deep trouble." Well, the school boards are in deep trouble. They don't know where their next dollar's coming from.

1710

Brant county has estimated that implementing junior kindergarten will cost \$5.8 million in capital and \$5 million in annual operating grants, and the province has offered \$4.15 million in capital grants, so they're not even close; they're not even close. So who's going to have to pay for that? Well, all you people up in Brant county better start opening up your wallets because your property taxes are going to go up because of this bill. I don't know who represents Brant in this House, but I'd suggest that you call him or her.

Durham estimates that junior kindergarten will cost \$12.2 million in capital and \$7.2 million in annual

operating grants; 3,000 students would be added to the system. The board already has 13,000 students in portable classrooms.

That opens up another problem: the issue of portables. It's been a problem that goes back for decades. I'm aware of that. Conservative and Liberal governments have all had the same problem with portables, but the fact of the matter is this problem is going to make it worse; this issue of junior kindergarten is going to make it worse.

Waterloo estimates a cost of \$7.4 million over five years. Wellington estimates that the annual operating costs will be \$3 million, with an additional \$5 million for capital if the province does not have capital funding.

There are other issues of course: the issues of busing, the busing policies that all boards have to deal with. Particularly, if you come from a rural area or a semi-rural area that I come from, you're going to have to bus these young children to school. I don't know what the cost of that's going to be; that's another issue that has to be looked at.

I can assure you that the staffing of that is going to have to be the same quality and the same grid as the other teachers. So I don't know. Someone asked the question whether any feasibility studies have been prepared to study the effect of this on boards as a whole or individual boards. I'm sure Peel and some of the larger regional school boards have put forward feasibility studies, but it's no question, just looking at these figures, it's got to shock the property taxpayer as to why, whether you're in favour of junior kindergarten or whether you're not, we are doing it at this particular time.

I think I will close, other than to say that I have commented on the issue of busing and I'm going to refer to another section of Durham. My friend over there from Durham is sitting there listening to me. There was a trustee from the Durham county board of education, Patty Bowman, who made some comments in the fall of last year on this whole subject of junior kindergarten and the effect that it's going to have to have on her particular board, although she represents the Durham Board of Education on the board of Ontario Public School Boards' Association.

I might add, that group recommended that: "In recognition of both space and resource limitations of many boards, the government acknowledged the need for flexibility in both implementation dates and strategies for kindergarten programs. Regardless, until the government is in a position to reinstate the funds allocated for these programs, the deadline for mandatory kindergarten in all school boards should be extended."

If you're determined to put this program forward, and you appear to be—and again, I could be persuaded on the issue of the debate as to whether it is day care, the



member for Fort York indicated that it is a form of education; he may be right. That may be a time for debate at another time, particularly when I only have seven minutes left.

However, I will say on that subject that they're quite right. Hearing the dire states of the various boards of education and the unbelievable costs it's going to put them through, why can't the dates be extended? Why can't those dates be extended just to keep these school boards and the quality education alive, because you're going to have to cut something.

**Mr O'Connor:** It's 1997.

**Mr Tilson:** You say 1997, but they say it's not enough. I don't know whether you've been on a school board. I sat on a school board for two terms and I know how these people live. It's hard to manage. The costs are unbelievable.

I'm quoting from Ms Bowman and this article that came actually from the Oshawa Times: "The province says junior kindergarten is fundamental. We at the Durham Board of Education say we can't afford it, but it doesn't seem to matter to the province. But if junior kindergarten is a high priority," it was stated for the board, "then something else would have to go to make room for funding junior kindergarten." She simply said in conclusion that "It's a commonsense approach for paying the bills in education while maintaining provincial standards in curriculum."

The question I leave with you in my concluding remarks is, are the standards going to be reduced as a result of this unbelievable financial burden that's going to be placed on the various school boards? Do you honestly believe—because there's no more money out there. Money has to come from somewhere. There's no more money in taxes, so programs are going to have to be cut. So because of your determination, your blinders to put this program forward, is the quality of education going to be decreased?

She says, "As the system presently operates, the province initiates programs and standards, while the local school boards must fund from the existing tax base." That says it all in a nutshell. I say, as do others, the people I've referred to and others in opposition, we simply cannot afford junior kindergarten at this time.

**The Speaker:** I thank the honourable member for Dufferin-Peel for his contribution to the debate and recognize the member for York Centre.

**Mr Gregory S. Sorbara (York Centre):** Just for those in the House who had maybe nodded off during the remarks of my friend the member for Dufferin-Peel or those are joining this debate by way of modern telecommunications, I guess someone—you're not going to do it, Mr Speaker—should remind us all that we're debating the government's, I guess, first major omnibus—it has a strange ring to it, doesn't it, sir?—omni-

bus bill in education. It gives the impression that we are dealing with the whole thing, we are touching every aspect of education.

So as not to leave any misimpression on the people who are listening to this debate and following the progress of this bill, let's just be perfectly clear: Although it is called an omnibus bill, it deals with just a few discrete parts of the Education Act and the education system in Ontario, including, as my friend the member for Dufferin-Peel and other members of the House have said, the establishment or the deferral of junior kindergarten, or whatever.

But suffice it to say that education in the province of Ontario ain't going to change all that much as a result of the fact that in a few short parliamentary days we will be giving third reading and royal assent to this bill.

To tell you the truth, I'm not sure if that's a good or a bad thing. I'm of two minds on this, and you, sir, as a former teacher, might understand why I am of two minds on this thing. To me, education is really about that magic thing that happens particularly to our kids, that magic thing that happens to them through their encounter with a teacher.

You have been a teacher, sir. I hear you were a good teacher; you're becoming a great Speaker. I expect that after the next election, you're going to return to the classroom and become even a great teacher, but we'll leave the politics of this for another time.

The real kernel, the real heart of education is what happens magically particularly to children, primarily through their encounters with the teachers that they meet every day through eight years of primary school and four or five years of high school. But somehow for us in this Parliament and for those of us who are required to debate omnibus education bills, somehow we have lost touch with that essential element.

1720

I'm reminded of this regularly when I talk to my wife about education and her own educational experience as a child. She's about my age, mid-40s, and, like many Canadians who had their education here in Ontario 35 years ago or so, she, like so many others, went to a one-room schoolhouse, literally a one-room schoolhouse, not hundreds and hundreds of miles away from the great metropolis of Toronto as it then was and as it is now, but in the small farming community of Aurora which, for all intents and purposes now, is part of this megapolis that we call the greater Toronto area and where all the schools now are fancy with gymnasias, when there's more than one of them, and the cafeteria and the food service and 17 guidance counsellors and all of that.

In that farming community of Aurora, on the Bloomington Side Road and Leslie, which was at that time called the CFRB Side Road and the Third Line, was a one-room schoolhouse. She was there for eight years.

All the grade 1 kids, and 2 and 3 and 4 and 5 and 6 and 7 and 8, were in the same room and there was one teacher. Somehow that one teacher was able to administer to that yearning of every single kid in the world to learn. As she tells me, sometimes the teacher would have to go—sometimes it was a he, sometimes it was a she, depending on the year—and help the youngest ones with their spellers and with their readers and sometimes would have to go to the older ones and help them with their addition and subtraction and the intermediate ones with the next steps in reading and the next adventure in, goodness knows, biology, or science as they called it then.

Virtually every one of those kids had a sound basis. Their yearning to learn was responded to, and statistically—because I've never done a survey dealing with the particular kids that my wife went to school with—I think it's safe to say that many of them today are computer scientists and biologists and family members and parents and perhaps even grandparents now, given the way time flies. There was some magic, in short, about the magic that happened in that one-room schoolhouse. I guess I recall the same magic that happened with me in not a one-room schoolhouse but a very small separate school in north Toronto where many of the teachers were Sisters of the Blessed Virgin Mary, nuns, who were there not because they were getting paid but because they were devoted to a religious order and devoted to their profession of teaching.

To me, that is what education is really all about, and I somehow get the sense that this magnificent Bill 4, which is an omnibus bill on education, doesn't have anything at all to do with that magic. As I look over and over again at the history of government's intervention in education, I see that more and more it's our issues, it's our need to respond to those concerns out there among our electorate that there is some problem in education that drives us to do the things that we do, including doing things like introducing an omnibus bill on education and, what the government has recently done, as recently as the throne speech, creating a learning commission.

Wonderful words. I mean, what message does that send out? The government has a commission—everyone knows what that is—and it's a learning commission. Had we said education commission, it might have smacked of perhaps the late 1970s or early 1980s. Now we're going to have a learning commission. This is great news for two people only in the entire province of Ontario—one is Gerry Caplan and the other is Monique Bégin—because they get to be the commissioners, and the problems of education can be vested in them.

I just think it's sad and I wish—at least, there is a part of me that wishes—that Bill 4 said one thing and one thing only, and that is that governments will stop meddling in the unique magic that really is at the very heart of education.

If we just stopped meddling in the classroom, if we just stopped having royal commissions and learning commissions and special committees, if we would just somehow give the classroom back to the teacher and back to the students and back to the parents and just say, "Here, we're giving it back to you to allow that magic to happen," we pray and expect that the teachers who are there will once again become excited about the sheer joy of seeing young people grow in intelligence and imagination and in skill. We hope that parents will somehow oversee that process and ensure that the values of the community and the values of the province and the values of the nation and the values of the world will find a way into that magic experience. We hope that those politicians who make a career of meddling in the business will simply go to the wings of the stage and allow the process to work itself out.

I guess the reason I wanted to speak on this bill is I just wish somehow that we had the courage to do that, that we had the courage to admit that we don't know a damned thing about education in this Legislature, that, frankly, other than that it's a political issue, there is a part of us that has no ability to figure out the real problems, and somehow we would inspire our teachers and our students once again to seize the day and to take hold of the thing that is, in terms of jurisdiction, uniquely theirs. I'd love to give it back to them.

There are a number of other things that I would love to do if we had a real omnibus bill on education, because I think there are other things that are entirely archaic about the way in which we go about this business. After all, part of it is our business. We have to raise money because we have to build schools. I'm not sure that we have to build them as luxurious as we are building them today, but we do have to create a place where teachers and students can meet and we have to provide them with equipment. But I wish that we could one day stand up and approve a bill in this Legislature that would take the costs of this business off the property taxpayer. That is such an archaic way of paying for this magic. It is so much a throwback to the old days. If you want to know where it comes from—I think you do, but perhaps not everyone does, so maybe I'll just say a word about it.

How did we ever get to the point where we tax property in order to pay for education, which is, after all, a provincial responsibility, not a local, municipal responsibility? It's quite simple. Way back, even before the Confederation of Canada, the way in which we ran our schools is that five or six local farmers in the community and perhaps one or two of the local business people in the community got together and said: "We'll be the trustees. The property of the school will be entrusted to us and we'll take \$50 from Farmer Smith and \$50 from Farmer Jones and \$50 from Mrs Spicer and we'll collect all of that money and we'll be the



trustees of it and we'll make sure the bills are getting paid." We levied a small tax on each of the people who owned property and, as trustees, we would decide how much that would be and what the salaries would be.

That's the genesis of this property tax system for education that we have now, and that is so anachronistic, so archaic when you look at the way in which we could be doing things. I want to tell you, I would stand up and vote enthusiastically and with all of my heart if this omnibus NDP bill on education had in it a clause that said, "The provincial government will now take on the responsibility for funding education, and we will no longer lay this on the burdened shoulders of the property taxpayer." I would vote for that bill with much more enthusiasm than I am considering this omnibus bill.

1730

Finally, in terms of the changes that we have responsibility for, in terms of the good we could do, in terms of that good, we could also include in the bill a section that brought to an end this anachronism of school boards, of school trustees. I know that is somewhat more controversial, and I offer no disrespect to any school trustee currently in office, any incumbent trustee, any member of this Legislature or any citizen who has been a trustee. I know they serve with all of the best intentions, but frankly, I ask the question: Do we really need school boards in Ontario? Is that the best way to govern over the business of education? Is that in the best interests of that magic thing that happens between student and teacher?

My own view, and I'm not an educational theorist, nor am I an expert on educational governance—most people don't know why we call it "educational governance," and that includes me, but that's what we call it. When I look into the future and I see what could be in education, I just don't see any room in that picture to have this superstructure of school boards all over the province. I just happen to think there's a better way, and I'm not even sure, exactly, what that better way is.

I know it involves parents in a way that school boards now do not involve parents. In fact, if I had my druthers, every school in the province would have a parents' council that was required to be created under the laws of this province, because it's consistent with my notion that we need to give the schools back to the teachers. Ninety-five per cent of those teachers, by the way, are very well qualified and have the very best of intentions and really dedicate their professional and personal lives to their work, but somehow we've got in their way.

As I was saying, I want to give the schools back to the teachers and the students and the parents. When I think about that, I think, "I haven't said school boards," and I think to myself and I think out loud in this Legislature: Maybe one day we will have an omnibus

bill on education that expresses the most sincere gratitude to all of those who have served and are serving as school trustees and thanks them very much, and then puts an end to this superstructure of school boards that we have all around the province.

I think in particular of—again, with no disrespect—the school board of the city of Toronto. Somehow, in the city of Toronto, being a school trustee means that you have a full-time job and you make a salary of about \$60,000 a year.

**Mr Gilles Bisson (Cochrane South):** That's more than an MPP, for God's sake.

**Mr Sorbara:** My friend from the north says it's more than an MPP, for goodness' sake. He's close; it's not quite. I'm not suggesting that we earn our salary particularly, but I just can't justify why it is that if you have responsibility for the education of city of Toronto kids, it's a full-time job and you make \$60,000 a year, and yet if you have responsibility for the education of school kids in Timmins, you get maybe \$600 or \$700 a year, maybe \$1,000 or \$2,000, and it's among the many ways in which you serve your community.

I use that example simply to say that, in my view, the system is all out of whack. The government's learning commission is not going to be helpful—except for Gerry Caplan, who has yet another job from the good offices of the Premier: Yet another job does Gerry Caplan have. So the learning commission isn't going to help, another select committee is not going to help, the omnibus bill that we are debating now is not going to help, figuring out the niceties of junior kindergarten is not going to help.

In my view, with the greatest respect to the minister who is the author of the bill, with the greatest respect to the parliamentary assistant, who is about to speak, what is going to help is a massive retreat on the part of all of us who think we have the ability to meddle in the classroom and a new sense of confidence that if somehow we would get off the backs of the teachers and stop trying to manipulate students and give them back their classrooms, properly equipped, and wish them the best, I think somehow, just like with my wife in a one-room classroom, the kids who emerge from those schools are going to be bright young fellows and bright young men and women and they will be a tribute to what happened while they were there.

**The Speaker:** I thank the honourable member for York Centre for his contribution to the debate. Are there any other members who wish to participate? I recognize the member for Wellington.

**Mr Ted Arnott (Wellington):** I'm very pleased to participate very briefly in this debate on Bill 4, the Education Statute Law Amendment Act, 1993. As we've heard during the course of this debate, we find that this is an omnibus bill dealing with a great number

of changes to our education system in Ontario, parts of which have been presented in the past in past bills, I guess Bill 125, Bill 20, Bill 88, Bill 114 and Bill 37, all of which were not passed into legislation, ultimately, but have been resurrected in some form, resulting in this bill we're dealing with today.

This bill received first reading about eight days ago, and I must say I'm quite concerned about the time line the government's following. We really don't have a great deal of time to gauge reaction in the community to these fairly substantial changes the government is introducing to our education system. So I would start off by expressing that concern.

I'd like to indicate as the member for Wellington that I'm most concerned about the education system in our area. I think the key concerns that most parents in my county have, and anyone who's interested in education, centre on quality of children's education, including standards, accountability and cost. These continue to be the key issues.

But another important issue in our area, since the Liberals first introduced the idea of mandatory junior kindergarten—in Wellington county, people do not support mandatory junior kindergarten.

This bill, Bill 4, made reference to junior kindergarten and changed the government's policy with respect to it, because of course, prior to Bill 4 and in previous omnibus education bills which have not been passed, the government indicated its intent to attempt to force mandatory junior kindergarten down the throats of all the school boards across the province, and many school boards had very serious concerns about it.

What the government had suggested in the past was that all school boards would have to offer mandatory junior kindergarten programs by August 31, 1994, and in this bill we've seen some additional flexibility. It may only be a technicality, but the Lieutenant Governor in Council has been given the power to allow a board to phase in the junior kindergarten requirement by September 1, 1997.

Very few people, and I would submit very few people even in this chamber, believe the New Democrats will be in power in 1997, so I doubt very much that this commitment which has been made by the government in this bill is really going to hold any water over time.

I must say once again, state very strongly, that I don't believe that mandatory junior kindergarten is the way to go across the province. If school boards want to offer junior kindergarten where there's a local need for junior kindergarten, a local demand for it, that's fine, but in areas of the province that don't see it as a priority, I can't see the government forcing it down their throats, especially when we find so many other areas of our education system which are not being properly funded.

We see in Wellington county literally dozens and

dozens of portables. We're relying on portables to a great extent, portables within the system where there's no money for permanent structures.

I would leave you with that point, but I also want to talk about the government's promise to the people of Ontario in the 1990 election. They indicated at that time, as part of their education platform, that the government of Ontario would in the future fund 60% of the cost of education if the New Democrats were elected. Well, of course the government has failed miserably with respect to that specific promise. They have not come close.

In Wellington county, in fact, the trend of provincial percentage of the total cost of education has actually declined since they came to power. So we have to put that on the agenda as well. No one expects you to meet that commitment, but at least it's time for the government to be more honest with people about the level of funding that it can put forward and not continue to download brand-new, expensive programs when the government has not met its commitments from 1990.

Our party has taken a great interest in the educational issues, and we have put forward our views on education in a document, *A Blueprint for Learning in Ontario: New Directions*. It's a whole volume of constructive advice that we put forward for the government's consideration, and I'm quite proud of it. I think we put a lot of thought and a lot of effort into it, trying to put forward an alternative course of action for the government to consider, as part of our important role in opposition, something that we've taken very seriously and that we're very, very proud of.

I would just leave the government with those thoughts, since I see my time winding up. But I appreciate the opportunity to contribute very briefly to this debate and would ask the government to give consideration to my comments.

1740

**The Speaker:** I thank the honourable member for Wellington for his participation in the debate and recognize the honourable member for York East.

**Mr Gary Malkowski (York East):** I have paid careful attention to the remarks of the honourable members opposite, and I wish to assure them that the concerns they have raised will be considered by the government. I would like to respond to just a few of the comments and clarify some key issues.

I would first of all very much like to thank Richard Johnston, the former member for Scarborough West, for his previous work on a private member's bill to provide for the use of American sign language and the langue des signes québécois as languages of instructions.

I'd also like to thank my colleagues the members for Cochrane South and Sault Ste Marie for all their diligent, hard work on both the francophone and



anglophone committees on deaf education and to all the members of that committee.

The World Federation of the Deaf, an organization which has standing under UNESCO, has called for the recognition of sign languages and the right to use sign languages, and I am delighted that we may soon be in a position to report to the World Federation of the Deaf that Ontario is taking this important step.

The issue of the repeal of the "hard to serve" section of the Education Act was raised. I would like to respond to the comments made by the member for York North and other members opposite. I would like to clarify the "hard to serve" section, which was intended to protect those children who could not initially be accommodated by their school boards during the phase-in of Bill 82. The section ensured that these children would have access to an education program even if it was not one that could be provided by their school boards.

Today, special education is an integral part of our education system, and this government believes that the "hard to serve" section is no longer necessary because school boards can provide special education programs in a number of ways: They can offer the programs themselves, they can purchase the services from another board, they can provide an education program in a care and treatment facility run by the Ministry of Community and Social Services, or they can refer children for admission to the provincial and demonstration schools run by the Ministry of Education and Training.

The honourable members are aware that this bill does not deal with the issue of integration of exceptional pupils into regular classrooms. The ministry has completed an extensive consultation process and is presently developing its policy in this area, and I am sure that the honourable members will have ample opportunity in the future to make their opinions known to the government.

We do agree that boards need more assistance in dealing appropriately with violence in the schools, and the amendments regarding the suspension of pupils will support that direction. In this connection, I would like to clarify that the bill does not require boards to establish committees to deal with expulsions and suspensions, but it gives them the option to do so. This provision will enable some boards to deal more quickly with these cases, including hearing appeals of suspensions.

As I said yesterday, while there are a number of housekeeping amendments in this bill, there are some important amendments that focus on important initiatives in the care and the education of children of various ages and with various needs.

The amendment regarding child care will allow for better coordination of services for younger children, while the provision for junior kindergarten will ensure that all children can benefit from early learning experiences.

Finally, various measures proposed in this bill will assist children to maximize their learning potential by removing some real and perceived barriers to equitable treatment of these students.

I would like to thank all those committees that have worked very hard in the Ministry of Education to develop the various components of this omnibus legislation and I would like to sum up and say thank you, Mr Speaker.

**The Speaker:** By agreement, the member for York East would be the final speaker.

Mr Malkowski moved second reading of Bill 4. I remind the House that by a unanimous agreement, we deem that a division has occurred and that there will be a vote following routine proceedings on Monday next.

It being nearly 6 of the clock, and pursuant to standing order—I'm sorry; business order first. My mistake.

#### BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Government House Leader):** Mr Speaker, pursuant to standing order 55, I would like to indicate the business of the House for the coming week.

On Monday, May 3, we'll, as you've just suggested, have the deferred vote on Bill 4, the Education Act, immediately following routine proceedings, and then we will proceed with the resumption of third reading consideration of long-term care Bill 101.

On Tuesday, May 4, we will give second reading consideration to the municipal waste management legislation, Bill 7.

On Wednesday, May 5, we will consider an opposition day motion standing in the name of Mr Harris.

In the morning of Thursday, April 29, during the time reserved for private members' public business, we will consider ballot item 5, a resolution standing in the name of Mr Cleary, and ballot item 6, a resolution standing in the name of Mr Sterling.

On Thursday afternoon, we will resume second reading consideration of the municipal waste management legislation, Bill 7.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** It being nearly 6 of the clock and pursuant to standing order 34, the question that this House do now adjourn is deemed to have been made.

#### JOBS ONTARIO

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** The member for Eglinton, pursuant to standing order 34(a), has given notice of her dissatisfaction with the answer to her question, given by the Minister of Education and Training, concerning the cost of promotional items for the Jobs Ontario Training program. The member for Eglinton has up to five minutes to make her presenta-

tion and the Minister of Education and Training has up to five minutes for his response.

**Ms Dianne Poole (Eglinton):** Mr Speaker, just before beginning, I wonder if I can have an acknowledgement whether the minister will be in the House today. I don't see him at this time.

**Mr Mike Farnan (Cambridge):** As the parliamentary assistant to the minister, I will be responding to the member.

**Ms Poole:** I am very disappointed that the minister chose not to attend today, because what we're debating, I think, is a matter of public importance, and that's the spending of the taxpayers' money.

On Tuesday and again on Wednesday, I raised in this Legislature the issue of almost \$700,000 that was spent by this government on promotional items in the Jobs Ontario Training package. I would like to clarify that this almost \$700,000 is not talking about advertising, it's not talking about communication, it's not talking about mailings; it's talking about strictly promotional items. When I looked at this list, I couldn't believe what I saw.

1750

The first thing that I saw were these little buttons: \$21,000 on little buttons. Can you tell me how this is creating jobs for the people who have applied for Jobs Ontario Training? Twenty-one thousand dollars, and what does this do? It does nothing except promote the NDP government, and I consider that to be a waste of our taxpayers' money.

One of the other promotional items that was contained in the kit is bumper stickers. Surely there is no need for bumper stickers to promote Jobs Ontario.

I have no problem with legitimate advertising. I have no problem with brochures staking out the programs. But this? Thousands and thousands of dollars on this? Give me a break, particularly in a time when this government has said that we must restrain ourselves in spending, that we must cut, that we must slash because the deficit has gone out of control.

Yet almost \$700,000 on promotional items, things like design, graphics; communication services, for instance: \$29,000. Here's one for design and graphic services for \$49,000 plus change; another one for design and graphic services for \$49,000 plus change. There are postcards, pamphlets, presentation folders, display units, portable easels, underarm portfolio zipper bags, vinyl page protectors, square promotion pins, round promotion pins, and page after page—45 items on this page, these three pages—totalling almost \$700,000 for promotional materials. Now tell me that's a good use of the taxpayers' dollars.

When the minister yesterday read out a letter by the owner of Instant Promotions saying that the government in fact had not made these buttons in Taiwan, which

was one of the things I brought to the House's attention, this was very surprising to us because it runs completely contrary to the information we were given by one of the sales people at Instant Promotions, Mr Larry Silverman, on the morning of April 20 when he advised us that, no, all their buttons were made in Taiwan.

Normally I would say, well, there's just been a mistake, but with this minister I don't believe in simple mistakes because I've dealt with him before on Housing, I dealt with him when I was the deputy House leader for the opposition and, quite frankly, I believe there was some manipulation in past experiences.

I notice that, for instance, the owner of this company admitted that he was a strong supporter of this government and that he was a strong supporter of the Jobs Ontario program. I'm wondering because, of 45 items on those three pages, 38 of them were under \$20,000, which meant that those contracts did not have to be tendered. It was really astonishing because I looked and there were five and six companies providing the same thing, but because they are under \$20,000, there's no tender, no public record as to whether they were competitive bids. I'm wondering if this wasn't just a little payoff for our NDP faithful.

Mr Speaker, \$700,000 is an enormous amount to be spending on promotion for a program that is in trouble. The minister's figures themselves show that only 8,300 jobs have been created over the last year, and I think the taxpayers deserve better value for our dollar than this.

**The Speaker:** I recognize the honourable member for Cambridge, the parliamentary assistant, and he has five minutes.

**Mr Farnan:** My minister is attending a previous commitment out of town with educational stakeholders and regrets very much that he cannot be here. I am happy and honoured to represent him.

Like my minister, I am proud of the Jobs Ontario program that we have designed and marketed. It is a successful program. It helps get people off social assistance. It invests in Ontario's future. It cooperates with the private sector and it gives small business that dollar support and incentive needed to get Ontario back to work.

Let me say, this is not a make-work project. It's not a wage subsidy. It requires employers to make a commitment to hire for the long term and to make a meaningful contribution to training. It is an employer-led program, and because it is such, we as a government have had to promote and foster awareness, support and participation by the business sector.

Clearly this requires promotion and marketing. Does the member for Eglinton think that promotion and marketing takes place by osmosis? Of course it costs dollars, but what we have to ask ourselves is, are we



getting a blast for our dollar?

First, let me add that the member for Eglinton has a very poor track record of accurate research. Just this week in the House, she claimed that the JOT buttons were made in Taiwan. In fact they were made here in Canada—no apology from the member.

She uses a figure of \$700,000, and let me tell you, while I question her figures—and I do question her figures—I'm going to suggest to you that even if we took her figures as accurate, let's analyse the blast for our dollars. To date, as of April 23, we have placed people who would be on social assistance, 8,843 people, in training positions, good-paying positions. We have another 13,229 positions that have been identified. The matches are taking place on an average, if we use the last two months, of over 1,000 placements per week. This is indeed a successful program.

**Ms Poole:** You did all your placements in the last two months then? Is that what you're telling us?

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Mr Farnan:** A significant proportion of the individuals on the Jobs Ontario program were on social assistance, and in just one year—listen to this—by factoring in the savings from the people who have been hired to date, the projected annual savings, I say to the member for Eglinton, will be in the approximation of \$32 million. This increases significantly as more and more individuals join the program.

New positions are being created week by week and the savings to the government go from \$32 million—literally millions and millions of dollars are being added

each month in savings to this government. Why should we not, I ask the member for Eglinton, invest in promotion and marketing if we can have this kind of successful result?

We do not have the Liberal vision of criticism. We don't have the Liberal record of simply promoting wage subsidy, creating low-skilled, low-paying jobs for the length of the subsidy. We don't have the Liberal negativism, which is criticize, criticize, criticize.

This NDP government has a different vision, a vision to be constructive. We are determined to provide a partnership with the private sector for long-term skilled positions. We have a different record. I've already pointed out that employers are working in partnership with our government. They're training applicants for longer-term employment. All employees are benefiting from the training. Indeed, the average wage for these positions filled to date is \$22,000 per year. This is indeed a successful program.

I would say to the member for Eglinton: Talk to the people of Cambridge. Ask them if there are jobs being created. At John Forsyth, for example, 112 jobs created by March 1995. To date, 96 jobs have been filled. Right across the province you've the same story of success. When will the member recognize this is indeed a successful program?

**The Speaker:** There being no further matter to be debated, the motion to adjourn is deemed to be carried. This House stands adjourned until 1:30 of the clock Monday next.

The House adjourned at 1800.

## ERRATUM

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# Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Monday 3 May 1993

# Journal des débats (Hansard)

Lundi 3 mai 1993



Speaker  
Honourable David Warner

Président  
L'honorable David Warner

Clerk  
Claude L. DesRosiers

Greffier  
Claude L. DesRosiers



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A list arranged by members' surnames and including all responsibilities of each member appears in the first and last issues of each session and on the first Monday of each month. A list arranged by riding and including ministerial responsibilities appears on subsequent Mondays.

### **Table des matières**

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### **Listes des député(e)s**

Une liste alphabétique des noms des députés, comprenant toutes les responsabilités de chaque député, figure dans les premier et dernier numéros de chaque session et dans le numéro du premier lundi de chaque mois. Par contre, une liste des circonscriptions inscrite dans un ordre alphabétique et comprenant les responsabilités ministérielles paraît tous les lundis suivants.



Monday 3 May 1993

The House met at 1330.

Prayers.

### MEMBERS' STATEMENTS

#### CRIME PREVENTION

**Mr Frank Miclash (Kenora):** There is a program in this province that possibly doesn't get the recognition that it deserves. It's a program that brings citizens and law enforcement officials together in the prevention and solving of criminal activity throughout not only Ontario but internationally.

I had the privilege to attend the northwestern Ontario Crime Stoppers regional training conference this past weekend. Guests to the conference travelled from as far away as Austin, Texas. The training was directed to the volunteers who dedicate many hours to ensure the operation of Crime Stoppers in Manitoba and northwestern Ontario.

I am sure that many citizens in the province can point to an example where this most unique organization has helped them. In the northwest, they have expanded their operations on to first nations communities, into schools, and have as well developed a program with the Ministry of Natural Resources. The results speak for themselves. Since its inception in northwestern Ontario alone, Crime Stoppers has recovered over \$700,000 in property, resulting in the laying of some 793 charges.

Again, I cannot say enough about these dedicated individuals who give of their time as board members to ensure the successful operation of Crime Stoppers across the province.

#### HIGHWAY SAFETY

**Mr Noble Villeneuve (S-D-G & East Grenville):** Although the government has stated that it intends to continue with job-creating capital projects, eastern Ontario is again left behind.

A major concern is the delay in completing the construction of Highway 416 between 401 and Century Road. This is the most dangerous section of Highway 16 at the current time. From 1985 through to last fall, there were 39 deaths and 721 reported accidents on Highway 16. Ninety per cent of these accidents have been on the section of Highway 16 for which the government has not yet set a completion date. We need that completion date and commitment from the government. The former Liberal government stalled on 416, and eastern Ontario just can't afford to let it stall again.

Last Friday, 50 representatives from eastern Ontario municipalities and businesses met in Kemptville with area MPPs and MPs to demonstrate the urgency in completing Highway 416. This is a situation where we have urgent safety reasons for completing the highway widening. This highway is the main access from the

United States into the capital of our country. The need is greater today than it was some four years ago when the current minister, of all people, heckled the government of the time for its delays in announcing a completion date. This year, to the end of February we've had already four more fatalities. Local police departments have had to be called out to help to deal with accidents because the OPP does not have enough manpower.

Mr Speaker, 416 has got to be put back on the front burner.

#### ELIZABETH FRY SOCIETY

**Mr Gordon Mills (Durham East):** This is Elizabeth Fry Week in Canada. I would like all members to join with me in paying a special tribute to Elizabeth Fry Society chapters throughout Ontario, whose members work tirelessly to assist women in conflict with the law.

Elizabeth Fry was an English Quaker who became concerned with the squalid conditions for women in British prisons of the early 19th century. Her work to improve conditions and assist female offenders has been carried on by Elizabeth Fry Society chapters across Canada since 1939.

Here in Ontario there are eight autonomous chapters supported largely by volunteers who provide counselling, training and support to women and girls who are in the provincial correctional system. In addition to their presence in institutions, Elizabeth Fry chapters also deliver a wide variety of community programs in cooperation with the Ministry of the Solicitor General and Correctional Services. Chapters are represented provincially by the Council of Elizabeth Fry Societies of Ontario, based here in Toronto.

The Elizabeth Fry movement has been instrumental in drawing attention to the circumstances that commonly lead women into conflict with the law and the special needs women face while involved in and emerging from the criminal justice system.

I urge you to support local events taking place in your communities to recognize the importance of work done by the Elizabeth Fry societies in Ontario.

#### ONTARIO ECONOMY

**Mr Gerry Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt):** Premier Rae has frequently asked for the cooperation of the opposition as we all try and wrestle with the fiscal situation in the province, and certainly we on this side of the House are prepared to cooperate. However, I would say that it is in the Premier's best interests to give the opposition and the people of Ontario his best estimate of the true finances of the province.

You will remember that a year ago, when the Premier brought out his budget saying there would be a \$9.9-billion deficit, we said we didn't believe the numbers,

and we enumerated the areas that we didn't. We said the Premier was wrong in what he was doing with pensions. The Premier owed the pension fund \$570 million, which was delayed until this fiscal year. It's just a shell game. It cost the taxpayers \$50,000 a day just in thrown-away money for that one thing alone.

We said to the Premier, "You will not get all of your fiscal stabilization money"; that came to pass, and now the Premier has floated a \$17-billion deficit. The numbers are serious, but I would ask all of us to look behind the numbers the Premier is using. They have inflated, in our opinion, the interest payments; they have dramatically understated the money they're going to get from fiscal stabilization and the money from asset sales.

So as the Premier looks for cooperation from us, I would urge him to come forward with the real numbers. They are serious. They're not the numbers that he's presenting to us. If you look for cooperation, it's a two-way street.

1340

#### RED SHIELD APPEAL

**Mr David Turnbull (York Mills):** This evening, from 6 pm to 9 pm, is the Salvation Army's 1993 Red Shield Appeal residential door-to-door blitz.

Every day the Salvation Army is engaged in a fight against economic hardship, human despair and spiritual poverty. The Salvation Army makes an invaluable contribution to the quality of life in communities throughout this province and across the country by helping the homeless and the needy.

During 1992 in Metro Toronto alone, more than 51,000 families received practical assistance through the family services program and more than 22,000 families received special assistance at Christmas. The basic criterion for providing assistance is need.

The national target for the 1993 appeal is \$36 million. Our hope is that \$9.5 million can be raised in Metro Toronto for the 82 services in this area.

Homelessness is a major problem which the Salvation Army is trying to address in Metro. In 1992 almost 35,000 beds and 54,000 meals were provided at a single emergency shelter in Metro Toronto; 15,000 contacts were made with street youths.

When a canvasser calls at your door this evening, please give what you can. Every financial contribution is important and appreciated.

If you can't give money, you can still give time. We still need some volunteers for tonight's blitz. Call 489-0094 to get involved.

As someone who has helped the Salvation Army for several years, I can assure you it is gratifying as an experience. By working together, we can make a difference.

#### EDUCATION AND TRAINING WEEK

**Mrs Irene Mathysen (Middlesex):** Since 1936, Ontario has dedicated one week of the year to the achievements of its schools. Now Education Week is Education and Training Week, an opportunity for all the partners involved in lifelong learning to celebrate their success.

Today is the first day of Education and Training Week 1993, which runs from May 3 to 7. The theme is "Partners in lifelong learning / L'éducation la vie durant, c'est un effort collectif."

This theme highlights the growing importance of partnerships in meeting the education and training needs of the people of Ontario. There are many outstanding examples of such partnerships in Ontario. These include industry and education councils; articulation agreements between school boards and colleges; cooperative education programs with business, industry and labour; and the school-workplace apprenticeship program.

Education and Training Week recognizes that all have important roles to play. It is time to show how we are working together: government, business, industry and labour with students, parents, adult learners, schools, colleges and universities.

To give special recognition to the contribution of teachers during Education and Training Week, the Minister of Education and Training has declared Friday, May 7, to be Teacher Appreciation Day, and as a former teacher I think all teachers need to be appreciated.

Education and Training Week is a time to promote Ontario's achievement in education and training. It's a time to show how we are building a network for lifelong learning. We are all partners in learning, and I invite all members to get involved in this week's activities.

#### WOODBINE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

**Mrs Elinor Caplan (Oriole):** I rise today to congratulate the dedicated staff and the very talented students of Woodbine Junior High School in my riding.

Last Thursday, April 29, I had the pleasure of attending Woodbine Junior High School's play. This year the students performed a unique and thought-provoking musical. It was entitled *Save the Planet*. Saving our planet identified some of the many problems that the planet Earth is facing today. The students then proceeded to inform and educate the audience about some of the possible solutions which we can do to help save the Earth.

The performance was excellent, provocative and extremely entertaining. We must all learn, listen and learn, from their important message, and this was the chorus of the song that they sang:

I hear the calling:

It is time to save the planet.



There's no more stalling;  
it's our home we must defend.  
Our generation must come forth  
and save the planet.  
The night is falling  
and our time is at the end.

It's my hope that the students will accept my invitation to sing the theme of their song here at Queen's Park. I hope that their words will not only be heard in their school auditorium at Woodbine Junior High but will also be heard throughout the riding of Oriole, Ontario, and that we will all respond and come together to do what we can to save our planet.

#### EDUCATION AND TRAINING WEEK

**Mrs Dianne Cunningham (London North):** This week is Education and Training Week in Ontario, and for many schools, their teachers and their students and parents across the province there will be many different celebrations taking place in local communities. During this week, many education programs will be displayed through artwork, creative writing, science projects, musical performances and career nights. This is an opportunity for members of this House, for people in their communities, for the general public to visit their schools and to encourage the schools in their work. Accountability is extremely important in these times, and this is an opportunity for people to visit at the invitation of the schools that we criticize so profusely in these times.

I would like to take this opportunity to inform the House of some of the events schools in the London area are participating in and events that are open for the public to visit and be part of: Sir John A. Macdonald school will host a primary choir concert; Lord Elgin will take part in the pitch-in neighbourhood cleanup; Montcalm Secondary School will host a seminar, "What are you going to do after you leave school?"; Banting secondary school will have an exhibition of students' artwork at the London Regional Art Gallery; St Anne's school will have a folk dancing demonstration for Kensington Village residents; St Theresa's school will host a talent evening with students, parents and staff.

I would also like to mention that the official groundbreaking will begin for the construction of the St Thomas Aquinas Catholic Secondary School at 1 o'clock today.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** The member's time has expired.

#### SEXUAL ASSAULT

**Mr Anthony Perruzza (Downsview):** I rise in the House today to speak out against sexual assault against women and children wherever it occurs in society.

While there has been an increase in public awareness around this issue, it has not led to a decrease in acts of violence committed against those least able to protect

themselves. The media deserve some credit for helping to focus public attention on the issue. However, there is room for much more to be done.

Advertisements for films depicting the most violent and frightening aspects of those films still invade the living rooms of homes across the province. Several recent films have as their theme the sale or rental of women by men.

Many recently reported incidents are of people in positions of authority taking advantage of those who are seeking help. Professional organizations are developing their own guidelines to try to deal with the problem.

This does not relieve the government of its responsibility to the women and children of Ontario to protect them from sexual assault. I am proud of the support my government is giving to groups across the province to assist them to get the message that sexual assault is a crime and will not be tolerated in our society, but we need to do more.

I urge every member of this House to speak out vigorously against sexual assault of women and children, not just this month but every month. We must send the message to those cowardly individuals who use their power to hurt others that we can remove their power and we will. The campaign against drunk drivers has been successful in changing attitudes in this province. Surely, we can mount an even stronger campaign to say once and for all, sexual assault against women and children must stop.

#### STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY AND RESPONSES SEXUAL ASSAULT

**Hon Marion Boyd (Minister Responsible for Women's Issues):** May is Sexual Assault Prevention Month in Ontario, and today marks the beginning of the fifth annual sexual assault public education campaign.

Market research conducted following last year's sexual assault prevention campaign reveals a disturbing persistence of the myths about this crime. These myths prevent us from seeing sexual assault clearly for what it is and from dealing with it appropriately. Many still believe, for example, that the consumption of alcohol or drugs is a major cause of sexual assault. Sixty-six per cent of those surveyed believe this to be true. Another prevalent myth is that the victims of sexual assault are somehow to blame for the assaults against them. Forty-nine per cent of those surveyed believe that women provoke sexual assault by their behaviour or by the way they dress.

Of course, neither of these myths is true. In reality, alcohol or other intoxicants do not cause sexual assault; drugs and alcohol are too often used as an excuse to absolve men of the responsibility for their actions. The same is true for our tendency to blame the victims and our belief that women somehow bring on the attacks

against them. We still hear people say when a woman dresses in a way that men find appealing or when she is out by herself late at night that she is "asking for it."

Women do not ask to be sexually assaulted any more than seniors returning from a bank ask to be mugged or home owners who leave their homes unattended ask to be robbed. We need to stop blaming the victims and focus on the criminals who assault them. Men and women alike need to accept that those who force women into sexual activity are guilty of sexual assault and must take responsibility for their actions. We must put the myths to rest.

1350

There is one key issue when it comes to sexual assault, and that is the issue of consent. As the government stresses in our public education campaign, sex without consent is sexual assault. That means that if a boyfriend, a husband or an acquaintance forces sexual activity on a woman when she indicates that she does not want him to, that man is committing a crime.

But what we most need to understand about sexual assault and to remember and internalize is that women always have the right to say no and men must respect that right. It doesn't matter what a woman is wearing or that she's in a bar by herself or even that she's gone to man's apartment for a drink. Unless that woman consents to sexual activity, to have sex with her or to touch her sexually is to commit a crime, and this is what many Ontarians don't seem to understand.

In our sexual assault prevention strategy, the government strives to address sexual assault and its consequences in three ways: The first is to provide services to the survivors of sexual assault; the second is to prevent and reduce the incidence of sexual assault through public education, including the mass media campaign; and the third is to improve the criminal justice system's response to this crime and its survivors.

We must flush out of our legal system the attitudes which devalue and discriminate against women. We still hear courtroom comments about "sexually aggressive three-year-olds," and offhand remarks such as, "Rules are like women; they are meant to be violated," and the trivializing of sexual violence against women, as in the description of a man "coming along, seeing a pair of hips and helping himself."

Evidence of the attitudes revealed in these remarks can be found in schools, in courtrooms, in homes and in offices across this country. If we are to have any real hope of reducing sexual assault within our lifetimes, or even within the lifetimes of our children, then we must educate adults and children alike about the difference between consensual and non-consensual sexual relations.

Experience has shown that the attitudes towards women that encourage sexual assault are shaped early on. The earlier we can send more positive messages to

our youth, the more we can help them to regard violence-free relationships as the norm, the greater chance we will have of reducing sexual assault over the long run.

This year we are continuing our special focus on teenagers with radio ads directed at them specifically and with other events taking place in schools across this province. It will be no easy feat to counter the images of women's subordination that teenagers encounter daily in the form of movies, television programs and music videos, but if we can't eliminate these negative messages, then we can at least provide some positive ones to strike a sort of balance.

As part of this year's public education campaign, the Ontario women's directorate will broadcast two radio commercials and two award-winning television ads which first aired last year in both English and French. The ads reinforce the themes that men must recognize and respect a woman's right to say no at any point, and when a man ignores a woman's denial of consent, he is committing the crime of sexual assault. The campaign also includes informational brochures, posters and buttons and 141 projects developed by community organizations across the province and funded through the Ontario women's directorate.

The community projects, our newspaper ads in ethnocultural newspapers and our multilingual brochures will help to ensure that our messages reach all Ontarians, including those whose first language is neither English nor French. Events aimed at educating Ontarians about sexual assault will continue throughout the month of May, and the government's efforts to eliminate all forms of violence against women and children continue throughout the year.

The myths surrounding sexual assault are tenacious ones, and the reality is that one in four women will be sexually assaulted in her lifetime. Our community's awareness of sexual assault developed through the efforts of the women's advocacy groups to focus attention on this gender-related crime. While this crime is gender-related, women are not its only victims: One in seven men will be assaulted in his lifetime, and the victims of both genders are far too often not adults, but children and youths. Because of the long-lasting trauma suffered by victims, male and female, we have a responsibility to improve services for all victims of sexual assault.

Changing people's attitudes is possible. We've seen this with the directorate's wife assault campaign and the drinking and driving countermeasures campaign. But these changes do not take place overnight and attitudes are slow to change. While market research shows that attitudes towards sexual assault change slowly, public education efforts continue to be very important.

This is our second full-scale campaign in which we've used television, radio and print ads to communi-



cate our messages. It may take time before we see the results for which we are hoping, because it takes time to dispel the myths, but dispel these myths we must, and to ensure the safety of women and children and to take us one step closer to equality in this society, we must continue to dedicate ourselves to education around sexual assault.

**Ms Dianne Poole (Eglinton):** This is the fifth year since the Liberal government first declared a Sexual Assault Prevention Month, and the Liberal caucus is pleased that the current government continues to make it a priority.

We particularly welcome the continuation of the public education campaign that reinforces the theme we have heard in other years: first, that any unwanted act of a sexual nature is sexual assault; secondly, that sex without consent is sexual assault; and thirdly, that women always have the right to say no, and men need to understand and respect that right.

One thing that I want my 15-year-old daughter to understand is that women have a right to say no and not feel guilty. What I want my 17-year-old son to understand and to realize is that young men have an obligation to listen, to truly listen to what women are telling them. This is not to listen and only hear what they want to believe they are saying, but to truly listen and hear what the women are telling them.

Last year, I joined the minister at Northern Secondary School, which is a high school in my riding, where in fact my two children attend, and I was incredibly impressed by the young people there. They were knowledgeable on the issue, they were sincere and they were thoughtful. Both the young men and the young women were obviously getting the message about sexual assault. Education was making a big difference to them, and I think that's where it's at: the education of our young people.

As the minister indicated, recent surveys have shown that there are still many myths about sexual assault. We must work to destroy those myths. Women do not ask to be sexually assaulted, and drugs and alcohol are not the reason to exercise abhorrent behaviour.

Along with destroying the myths, we must also create an environment that does not tolerate sexual abuse, an environment that does not treat women as sexual objects or use the suffering of women as a form of entertainment.

Mr Speaker, I wish all members of this House thought this was an important enough issue that they would listen to the people in this House who are trying to say that sexual assault prevention is an important issue.

The members of this House recently made a positive move to help change the environment and make it more hospitable towards women by unanimously supporting

my private member's resolution on slasher films. Surely, we have to ensure that what currently passes as entertainment does not convey messages that encourage the abuse of women.

I believe that for women to achieve true equality, we must be able to feel safe in our communities. So when the government is considering which programs to fund, surely eliminating violence against women must be a priority, yet we recently learned that \$700,000 is targeted to be cut from the Ontario women's directorate's budget for violence initiatives. If this government truly believes that violence against women must be stopped, this is one initiative it cannot afford to cut. I don't believe that spending almost \$700,000 on bumper stickers, buttons and promotions for the failing Jobs Ontario Training fund is the right way to go. I would rather see that \$700,000 reinstated in the budget so that violence against women can be stopped.

I urge this government to continue funding campaigns aimed at ending violence against women. Surely we as legislators must have principles by which we operate, surely we do not condone violence against women, surely we do not believe the myths about sexual assault and surely we must agree, as legislators, that this has to be one top priority of the government to ensure that women, children, the most vulnerable in our society, are prevented from harm.

I would ask for the support of all members of this Legislature for the government to continue strong initiatives in violence against women.

1400

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Responses, third party, the member for Waterloo North.

**Mrs Elizabeth Witmer (Waterloo North):** In responding to the fifth sexual assault public education campaign announcement that has been made by the government, I would like to congratulate the government for acknowledging the fact that indeed assault is carried out against both male and female. I think it's important we recognize that both sexes suffer from assault. I've certainly had men into my office who have been assaulted as children, and teenagers as well. I think that's quite significant.

I'm pleased the minister has stressed that it's time to put the myth to rest that victims are somehow to blame for their assaults. Several weeks ago, a 12-year-old girl in my community was sexually assaulted. She was out on the streets at 9:30 and for some reason people in the community thought it was her fault. There is never any excuse for sexual assault. We do need to stop blaming the victims and focus on the criminals who did the assault, and I'm pleased that point's been made today.

I'm also pleased we are recognizing that the time to start, if we're going to change attitudes, is not as adults. We need to send a much more positive message to our

young people; in fact, it's before they even become teenagers if we're ever going to have any chance of establishing violence-free relationships as the norm.

However, I'd like to comment on the announcement that was made regarding the economic control plan of the government. They've indicated that they are going to be taking away \$700,000 from the area of reducing the cost of violence initiatives. They're going to take money away with the provision of services that would impact on women survivors and victims and prevention activities. For some reason, the statement this minister has just made regarding the importance of focusing on this issue, and yet the announcement that they're going to take away the money, are a contradiction.

I would rather have this government not have a mass media campaign, not provide me with buttons and big newspaper articles. I would prefer that the government use the money and use it for the support services for the victims. I'm really quite surprised that they're making these cuts, and yet they're going to go ahead with yet another mass media campaign similar to the one they've done in the area of the family support payments. Again, I think it's long past the time of mass media campaigns. I believe that if we have limited resources, those resources should be devoted to action and support services. That's where the government needs to be focusing its dollars.

I'm really quite surprised that the minister has indicated that some of the reasons for the negative messages regarding women are in the media and yet we can't eliminate these negative messages. I believe it's important that this government start to look at ways in which we can eliminate the negative media images, because I think they're having a very, very negative impact. Our schools and our parents have a bigger job than ever before because children now are exposed to countless scenes of adult sexual behaviour on TV and in videos and in the movies. Certainly, the ideas they're getting and the attitudes they're developing are contributing to this intolerance, this inequality and this violence.

I believe it's not enough for the minister to say that we can't eliminate these negative messages and that we have to strike a balance. I think it's time the government took some very constructive action to change the attitudes, because I have to tell you that I'm very concerned about what's going on. A 14-year-old, recently, in my community, a boy, was charged with sexual assault. Six girls had brought charges forward. The six girls told the crown attorney that if all the misbehaving boys at their school were charged, and I quote, "There wouldn't be a courtroom big enough to hold them."

Obviously, we need to be taking a look at the media influence and starting to focus on making our school environments safe and comfortable for both boys and

girls. We need to take a look at making sure that sexual harassment and assault are discussed and action taken more seriously in our elementary and secondary schools. Children need to be taught to approach the opposite sex in a spirit of equality and respect. They need to learn that certain behaviours are not acceptable and they need to realize that they are responsible for their actions.

I would suggest to the government that it is time to start focusing our attention on the children in the elementary and the secondary school systems.

#### COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Last Tuesday, the member for Renfrew North, Mr Conway, rose in the House to bring to my attention two matters arising out of developments at the organization meeting of the standing committee on resources development on the previous day.

Additional submissions were made by the member for Etobicoke West (Mr Stockwell), the member for Welland-Thorold (Mr Kormos), and the government House leader (Mr Charlton).

Let me say at the outset that, generally, the Speaker does not intervene in a matter that is before a duly constituted standing or select committee of this House unless that matter is appealed to the Speaker by a majority of the members of the committee. However, since it is logistically impossible for there to be an appeal when a committee Chair has not even been selected, as was the case in the standing committee on resources development last Monday, it is open to the Speaker to review the procedural occurrences that transpired at that time.

The first matter raised by the member for Renfrew North dealt with the ability of a whip to make a temporary substitution for a permanent member of a standing committee. In this regard, standing order 110(c) states as follows:

"A temporary substitution in the membership of a standing or select committee may be made provided a notification thereof, signed by the member acting as the whip of a recognized party, is filed with the clerk of the committee either before or within 30 minutes of a committee meeting being called to order."

In the case at hand, the member for Welland-Thorold had been made a permanent member of the standing committee on resources development by virtue of an April 20, 1993, order of the House. The member attended the committee's organization meeting last Monday afternoon, at which time the clerk of the committee initiated the procedure for electing a Chair for the committee. In the course of the meeting, the clerk of the committee duly and properly indicated that she had received a substitution slip that purported to temporarily substitute the member for Kingston and The Islands (Mr Wilson) for the member for Welland-



Thorold pursuant to standing order 110(c). Members will know that the member for Welland-Thorold and other members in attendance, challenged the validity of the substitution slip. In the end, the members of the committee dispersed without electing a Chair.

I will make certain observations concerning these developments. First, standing order 110(a) provides for the membership of standing and select committees. Second, a permanent member of a committee and a member purporting to sit on the committee by virtue of a substitution slip cannot both sit on the committee at the same time. And third, while standing order 110(c) is silent on this point, the intention of that standing order could not have been to prevent a permanent member appointed by the House from sitting on the committee in circumstances where that member attends the committee with a definite view to sitting on it.

I say, then, that in situations such as the one before me now, the permanent member will be the sitting member if he or she actually attends the committee meeting and then indicates, within 30 minutes of the committee meeting being called to order, that he or she does not relinquish this entitlement. If these requirements are not met, then the member attending the committee meeting pursuant to a valid substitution slip will be the sitting member.

On a related matter, the member for Renfrew North expressed some concerns as to whether a member could hold the positions of parliamentary assistant and committee Chair at the same time. While I have some sympathy for the rationale behind the member's concern, he will know that our recent practice has been to permit a parliamentary assistant to become a committee Chair without resigning his or her position as parliamentary assistant.

I want to thank the member for Renfrew North and the other members who spoke to the point of order. I know that all members join me in thanking the clerk of the standing committee on resources development for her handling of the delicate situation last Monday afternoon.

1410

#### ORAL QUESTIONS YOUTH EMPLOYMENT

**Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition):** My first question is for the Premier. Premier, today is May 3, 1993, and as you will be well aware, that means the academic year for university and college students is over. University and college students are back in their homes and they are out looking for work.

Premier, you know and we know that many companies that traditionally have created summer employment opportunities for students are laying off full-time workers, and there won't be any jobs for students this summer. We also know that the summer employment

opportunities within government ministries are on hold.

A year ago, we brought to your attention the problem of youth unemployment. A year later, Premier, we find ourselves dealing with exactly the same situation.

Premier, a year ago you were forced to at least deal with the short-term needs of unemployed youth, and I ask, why again this year are you simply too late in dealing with this urgent situation?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** Mr Speaker, I'll refer this question to my colleague the Minister of Education and Training.

**Hon David S. Cooke (Minister of Education and Training):** I think the Leader of the Opposition will know that this government has committed to and announced just a few weeks ago the renewal of the Jobs Ontario Youth program, which will create 10,000 opportunities for jobs this summer for our young people. There are obviously also the existing programs. I believe the total is something in the neighbourhood of \$180 million that is invested in job creation for young people.

While all of us in the House would agree that that's not enough, that we'd like to spend a lot more, that we'd like to be able to have enough money to create a job for every young person this summer, the fact is that with the limited resources we have, the job creation programs for young people have maintained themselves as a priority for this government, and Jobs Ontario Youth has been renewed to create 10,000 additional jobs this summer.

**Mrs McLeod:** Minister, we're well aware of course of the announcement about Jobs Ontario Youth, and we welcome the fact that there would be some additional resources put into what we consider to be a truly urgent problem. But we still feel that this problem is not addressing some of the most basic needs of the students who need jobs, because as you will be well aware, the Jobs Ontario youth positions are only for 10 weeks, and this 10-week program, while it creates some jobs, does not provide students with enough time to earn the money that they're going to need to go back to college or university this fall.

So I ask, Minister, why was no thought given to the fact that most college and university students need four months of summer employment to earn enough money to continue their education? Why are these jobs, once again, providing only 10 weeks of employment?

**Hon Mr Cooke:** I suppose that anybody can stand up in the House at any time and say that you haven't done enough, that you should be spending more money. But the Leader of the Opposition knows that the resources of the government are very tight and that we're doing the best we can with very limited financial resources for the young people of this province. She will also know that the Ontario student assistance

program was revised last year, which does in fact allow for more resources to go to individual students who are returning or going to the post-secondary system for the first time.

No one would disagree that we would like to do more, but maybe the Leader of the Opposition can tell us, and I'm sure she will in the final supplementary, that while the resources we're investing are inadequate, what programs would she cut in order to free up more money in order to put into jobs for young people, or what taxes would she raise in order to create more money for jobs for young people? Be specific, or are you just suggesting that the deficit should be increased further?

**Mrs McLeod:** Minister, you particularly keep urging us to be constructive on this side of the House. I am attempting, in raising an issue which we are deeply concerned about, to be constructive, to bring to your attention and your government's attention the urgency of a problem that we have been dealing with for the last few months. We are truly concerned about the unemployment rate among young people at 17% and we do believe that summer employment opportunities are an important part of providing some hope for those disillusioned youth who are out there.

What we are asking today is that you stand by what you said you are offering to these young people because, as we talk to many of the students who have been visiting your government ministries—and this is a program separate from Jobs Ontario Youth—to find out what access they are going to have to the programs that are offered for the summer through your ministries, they're being told that while the money has been promised, none of the money has been actually allocated, these programs are on hold, there is no funding in place that allows the ministries to hire or to make commitments for summer employment. In other words, in spite of all the words you've given, the jobs are simply not there and the students need them now.

I would ask you simply whether you can tell us exactly how many summer jobs will be available through your government ministries and when those jobs will be made available.

**Hon Mr Cooke:** I can tell the Leader of the Opposition that the moneys that have been spent traditionally within ministries plus the Jobs Ontario Youth program have not been put on hold; none of the moneys have been put on hold. In fact I remember when we specifically talked about job creation programs for young people in treasury board and we looked at the expenditure review process, those programs were specifically exempt from any reductions because the same concern that you have we share.

We will check into the member's concern and the statement that she says the ministries are passing on to young people, but there's no decision that has been

made by treasury board or cabinet that would put any of those moneys on hold.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** New question.

**Mrs McLeod:** Just to be helpful to the minister, perhaps he would begin by asking his colleague to his left-hand side why the Environmental Youth Corps is not hiring any students at this point. But I will move on to a second question and direct my second question to the Premier.

#### LABOUR RELATIONS

**Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition):** Premier, I suspect that all of us who have spent the weekends in our ridings have been absolutely besieged with questions and concerns about the chaos that is being created by your social contract talks and by your expenditure control scheme. Nobody understands what you plan to do and nobody understands what it is you have already done. In fact, as people examine the decisions which you've already made, there is more and more confusion. Let me give you just a couple of examples.

The conservation authorities were told that they are facing exactly the same cuts as everybody else in their ministry but in fact by their calculations they are likely to be cut by something in the order of 30% to 40%, not by the 10% that the ministry indicated.

Municipalities have been told that they can expect something in the order of a 2% cut but in fact our calculations suggest that they are looking at something like an 11% cut in unconditional grants.

People in agriculture had press conferences across certainly northern Ontario this weekend, and they tell us that millions of dollars in economic spinoffs are going to be lost to this province as a result of the decision to shut down agricultural research stations.

Premier, you'll remember that I didn't get a lot of help last week when I asked the Chairman of Management Board what the net savings would be from the cancellation of plans to relocate government offices to six communities, and we're told that he couldn't give us those numbers.

Premier, it is increasingly obvious that none of these decisions were well thought out and I ask: How did you decide what to cut, what studies were done to figure out net savings? In fact does anybody over there really know what's going on?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** I guess it all depends on where you are and where you go, but I was out and about a good deal last week and on the weekend and I was rather struck by the amount of support in the general public: people literally stopping me on the street while I was out shopping, saying they were very supportive of what we were doing and they understood the reason why. People who said that they had never even considered supporting the New Democratic Party



before saw that we were the one party that had the courage to deal with a very difficult issue and that we're dealing with it in a very straightforward way, and they appreciate it.

So I can tell you if the honourable member was besieged, I'm sorry she was besieged, but I must say I found a very different response from the people I spoke to on the weekend and I'm sure that experience was shared by all of my colleagues behind me here.

1420

Let me say that, in describing the process to her in terms of how it was done, basically the decision was made that—first of all, throughout the year we had what we called a corporate review process, whereby a team led by the Minister of Finance and the people at treasury board looked at government programs generally and we then supplemented that approach, starting six or eight weeks ago, with a very intensive review by ministries themselves, led by the ministers and by deputies, which culminated in the meeting which took place at the convention centre, where we had a three-day meeting with ministers and deputies and members of their staff.

It was a very fair process. It was a very tough process. We think it's one that involved—

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Could the Premier conclude his response, please.

**Hon Mr Rae:** —as much as possible the participation of people, and it will have to be supplemented again by additional reductions in payroll through the social contract discussions.

**Mrs McLeod:** Premier, you're right. It certainly does depend on where you went and who you were talking to. I guess we were tending to talk to people who were affected by some of the decisions your government made.

We were talking to people in Brantford, Premier. You'll remember Brantford where, it seems to me, they put up a billboard at the request of the local member thanking you for the commitment you had made to move those jobs to Brantford about two months ago.

We were talking to people in the agricultural colleges that were cut, Premier. They showed us a document they had been given the day before their cuts that showed that New Liskeard College would have no change and Centralia College would have no change, and the next day they were called in and told their departments were gone and their jobs were gone. They have very different views, Premier, of how much long-term planning and intensive review and consultation went into your decisions.

Premier, it is increasingly obvious to us that the decisions you made about what programs you were going to cut were made unilaterally and arbitrarily and at the last minute. We know only too well that you and

your cabinet gathered together at the Metro convention centre a week before the decisions were made to decide what you were going to do.

Premier, you have tinkered around the edges of some problems and have refused to touch some of the unjustifiable spending your government is so committed to and you keep asking for alternatives. Let me simply ask, if you were ready to make real and serious cuts, why were you not prepared to shut down the Interim Waste Authority, which has already wasted \$30 million? Why are you proceeding to set up a \$30-million bureaucracy to implement the Advocacy Act, which so many people opposed? Why won't you take a serious look at the \$1.1-billion Jobs Ontario Training program with its 87% failure rate?

Premier, you keep asking for alternatives. Let me ask if you were prepared to look seriously at any of these alternatives. It depends on what choices you make.

**Hon Mr Rae:** Mr Speaker, I guess it does depend what choices you make and we've made ours. She's saying she'd get rid of the Jobs Ontario Training program. Well, let the record show that. Let the record show that in the face of the most serious change in Ontario's history in terms of its economy, the most sudden and dramatic change, when we have worked consultatively in a program which is supported by industries across the board and by companies across the board, that has more private sector support than almost any other initiative carried out by this government, let her be the one to say, "We'd cut training."

I would say to her it's not easy to make the decisions we made, but rather than dilly-dally around and, as she describes it, "dither around the edges," we decided to go to the heart of many of the things that have been done for a long time to say, "What can we stop doing to deal with the thing?"—like the international offices, for example, a tough decision to make. We made that decision. We stand by that decision. I'd rather do that and cut back on the cars in London and Tokyo than cut back in Jobs Ontario Training programs for young people who are desperate to get off welfare and desperate to get back in the workforce. That's what I'd rather do. That's where our record stands.

**Mrs McLeod:** Premier, you're absolutely right. Because I believe in the importance of job training so that people can get the skills they need to get back into the workplace, I will continue to question the expenditure of \$1 billion on a program with an 87% failure rate and I will continue to question the kind of cuts that you make or the kind of chaos you create when literacy programs that provide literacy training for laid-off workers are thrown into jeopardy because of your inability to confirm the funding for those programs.

Premier, you said last week to me that it would be a very foolish government that refused to listen to concrete, practical suggestions from whatever quarter. I

would suggest to you that you simply refuse to listen to the concrete and practical alternatives that those of us on this side of the House suggest. You refuse to listen to any alternatives that would force you to look at some of your particularly special programs.

I do not question the need for restraint but I will continue to question the kinds of decisions that your government has made. You have cut only \$720 million from within your own government. You have pushed the real burden of restraint on to hospitals and municipalities and schools and colleges and universities, and I don't call that making the tough choices.

Premier, on the eve of the social contract talks, as you sit down to look at \$2 billion more in cuts, will you agree at least to look at the programs that you simply would not touch before? Would you be prepared, for example, to put your government's sacred cows, like the Interim Waste Authority and the Advocacy Act bureaucracy, on the table?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I have a bit of a memory for this because this is an issue that was of concern to me back to the early days of my political career with respect to advocacy. I can remember when the Attorney General at that time appointed Father O'Sullivan to study the question of people living in institutions and their rights. I can recall Father O'Sullivan coming into my office and saying to me, "Bob, the only reason I'm taking this on is because I have the solemn commitment of the government of the day that they would act on my recommendations and they would act on my report."

Father O'Sullivan's report lay on a shelf somewhere buried within the Liberal government and the Liberal bureaucracy for years on end. We resurrected that report and we took that forward. I say to you, Mr Speaker, we did that because we support the rights of disabled people, because we believe that people who are vulnerable ought to have rights and those rights ought to be enforceable. We support the rights of the most vulnerable in our society.

I say to you, Mr Speaker, if the honourable member is saying that she would rather see Father O'Sullivan's report gone for ever and forget about that concern, I disagree with her on that. I disagree with her on Jobs Ontario Training, but of course we're prepared to listen to any practical suggestions, and I emphasize the word "practical," with respect to what needs to be done.

#### AFFORDABLE HOUSING

**Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing):** My question is to the Premier. Premier, last week you and I talked about a number of areas where if we could cut back on the amount of government spending, on the cost of running programs, that would lessen the need for tax hikes. I went home for the weekend prepared and committed, as I indicated to you, to find even new ways that we could downsize government without having to hike taxes.

Number one on that list, I suggest to you, Premier, should be government-owned housing. The Urban Development Institute says the vacancy rate in Metropolitan Toronto is at its highest level in the province since 1972. As a result, tenants in government-owned units, who are paying what your government calls "market rent," are moving out. They're moving out of those units because real market rents in the private sector are lower than they are in your government units. Can you explain, Premier, why this obvious waste of tax dollars, which today costs Ontario \$625 million, has escaped your government's cost-cutting axe?

1430

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** I will refer this to the minister responsible.

**Hon Evelyn Gigantes (Minister of Housing):** There is nothing that has escaped our desire to make sure that all the expenditures undertaken by this government are practical, commonsense expenditure reductions, and that includes the field of social housing.

The leader of the third party has talked about the vacancy rate in market units in social housing, and there is a vacancy rate which is very much of the same nature as we've always seen in the private market. The rents that are charged in those market units are indeed market rents. They reflect the rents in the community. When those market units are filled, it helps to pay off the cost of social housing faster, which I assume is something that the leader of the Conservative Party would be interested in seeing.

**Mr Harris:** To the Minister of Housing, last year I raised the example of, I don't know, 40 or 50 or 60 new units being built in Wawa—\$125,000 a unit they were, a 23% vacancy rate in Wawa. Nothing happened. That went ahead and was built.

Today I want to raise the issue of Temagami. The government announced construction will soon begin on a 20-unit apartment building in Temagami. This project will cost \$1.8 million. That's over \$90,000 per unit. I would ask you, Minister, one of the questions: Do you know what you can buy in Temagami today for \$90,000 a unit, how many luxury homes are available at that price? The annual operating subsidy, according to your press release, is \$161,000 a year, every year. That's about \$700 a month. The average rents now in Temagami are \$300 to \$400 a month in the private sector. If we gave even a portion of that \$700 or \$800 a month to the needy families in Temagami in the form of shelter subsidies, they could actually afford to rent three \$350 units, instead of these \$700-a-month subsidies for 35 years.

I would say to you, Minister, given at least your Treasurer and your Premier's commitment to cut out the waste, to cut back on government spending, particularly the needless spending, isn't it time that your ministry and the government-owned housing program, such a



boondoggle to the taxpayers and providing so little help to needy families, isn't it time that we froze this program and turned the dollars either into shelter subsidies to help more families or into tax cuts?

**Hon Ms Gigantes:** I do not believe it's time. I don't know if the leader of the Conservative Party is aware, but the standing committee on public accounts took a very close look at all the things, for example, that the Provincial Auditor had to say about the social housing program in Ontario between the years 1985 and 1991. He will also be aware that in many cases projects will take a year, a year and a half, two years and three years to get under way, so the conditions, particularly in a small town like Temagami or Wawa, may change quite dramatically, depending on the economy, during that time. That does not mean, nor should it mean, that communities such as Temagami or Wawa are not going to benefit from affordable new supplies of housing.

I'd like to point out, just as a final point, that the Conservative leader fails to recognize that of the social assistance spending last year, 1992-93, which totals \$5.2 billion, a full \$2.5 billion was spent on shelter allowances. If that is not a rental subsidy in this province, how much more does he want to put into payments which are subsidies to landlords, which don't create new affordable housing?

**Mr Harris:** Why do we need new housing in Wawa? Why do we need new housing in Temagami? I'm not asking for the dollars to subsidize landlords or builders or bricks or mortar. I want the money to help people, subsidize people who need help.

The interesting thing about some of Bob Rae's cost-cutting efforts is that there are some traditional Liberal-NDP programs that are not touched by the government axe. In November the minister announced 3,045 new homes built over the next two years, yet the vacancy rate in the private sector is rising and rising and rising. Government's role in housing, I maintain at all times—but today even you, I think, would have to agree—should be to help those who need help affording housing. That's what we should be doing, but that is not what is happening.

The private sector is ready, willing, able to help. They're providing it a lot cheaper than you are. Your own figures estimate that if you carry on, you'll spend over \$1 billion by 1995 on subsidies. This past year, that figure is \$625 million. By putting a freeze on this boondoggle, this waste of money, you can save \$375 million by 1995 to either actually help people who need help or to cut the need for higher taxes in the Treasurer's budget. Will you do that to help the homeless, to help the needy and to help taxpayers?

**Hon Ms Gigantes:** The leader of the Conservative Party has such a simple-minded approach to life, and it is not very practical. There are vacancies in rental housing in Ontario, that's a fact—

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Order.

**Hon Ms Gigantes:** They are at the high end of the market, as people who have suffered during the recession simply can't afford the rents that are out there in that market.

I don't think that the leader of the Conservative Party understands what CMHC has been telling us, which is that people are doubled up in their homes, in their apartments, because they can't afford the rents out there. There are vacancies, and landlords are starting to address that, at the upper end of the market, not at the affordable end of the market.

Furthermore, the program that he speaks of in such scathing and dismissive terms is offering affordable new housing, it is offering employment at a time when the construction industry desperately needs it, and it is being redesigned to tighten every element of the cost-effectiveness of that program.

I think the Conservative leader is just going to have to learn more about this subject before he goes around the countryside and describes it in such pathetic terms.

#### ONTARIO FILM REVIEW BOARD

**Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South):** My question is for the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations. I'd like to say at the outset, Madam Minister, that we in the Ontario PC Party know the vision that we have for the future of this province, and it's one without violence against women.

It's rather appropriate to have heard your minister today speak about Sexual Assault Prevention Month, because you are the minister who is responsible for the Ontario Film Review Board and you know as well as I do that there are enough research studies which confirm the causal link between violence against women and the viewing of obscene pornographic films and materials.

Madam Minister, instead of flipping through your answer book, I'd like you to listen to this question.

Right now, you have, as the chair of the Ontario Film Review Board, a person who has admitted lying to the public, and I read from her own memo:

"I am officially on public record stating the board's use of the search-and-scan feature for the viewing of adult sex product. In my public statement, I stated that this feature enabled the board to view at double speed...but we all know the reality is that panels do use a much faster speed than double speed when viewing," and that is underlined in her own memo.

If the Ontario film review panel reviews a sex film at warp speed without the sound track, Minister, how can the reviewers tell whether a film depicts consensual sex or rape? We must remember that if a film shows any combination of sex and crime, horror, cruelty or violence, its distribution violates the Criminal Code.

Madam Minister, I ask, under these circumstances of the chair of the Ontario film board lying to the public, if you will call for her resignation.

1440

**Hon Marilyn Churley (Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations):** This question was raised last week and I had difficulty in getting the attention of the member in hearing the answer. At that time, I wasn't aware of the memo which she was talking about. I have, of course, checked into it since that time, and it's very clear that what the chair of the board was doing was reaffirming with the members of the board how important it is in viewing these hundreds and hundreds of films that come through, which they diligently watch, screen and label, that they must at all times adhere to the rule, to pay attention to that rule and watch it only at double speed.

May I say that the term "search and scan" is somewhat misleading, and you have helped in your discussion and your actual description of what "search and scan" is to lead to misunderstandings of what "search and scan" is. It is actually used also by the federal government and by customs to view films. It is not the same thing as your video at home where you just speed ahead and cannot see clearly the images. It is double speed and the film review board makes a point, where necessary, of slowing it down completely. But the image is always crystal clear. They are totally aware of what they are seeing.

**Mrs Marland:** If they're totally aware, Madam Minister, then why is she saying that she lied to the public? Why in fact, if they're totally aware of what's on the screen, is she concerned about it? You can't say both things.

Madam Minister, last year in a letter of May you said that "the board does not classify films with sexually explicit scenes that degrade or humiliate women, depict brutal exploitation and violence with sexual overtones." You also say the board's classification decisions reflect "their awareness of and sensitivity to the standards of the communities." I wonder if this board thinks about communities like Burlington and St Catharines.

I also would like to point out to you that I have learned that Dorothy Christian sat on a panel for a slasher video called *Slumber Party Massacre 3*. This is the fourth film in a series about a killer who goes teenage girls to death with a large drill. The first panel deemed this video unacceptable for Ontario, but Ms Christian approved it last April, 1992. This is the person you're protecting.

I also would like to ask you if you are aware that this Thursday the board is going to review a recommendation to lower its standards, and I do not have the stomach to read for you what that recommendation includes which it will now approve for viewing which previously was not approved.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Would the member conclude her question, please.

**Mrs Marland:** I ask you, Madam Minister, how you can defend the operation of this board under this chairman with this kind of information, if you understand it.

**Hon Ms Churley:** As I said when this issue was raised last week, a lot of the slasher films that the member referred to at that time predate the film review board. I think it's unfortunate, but this government as well has to obey the law and that is the fact that many of those slasher films—

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Hon Ms Churley:** We all feel, I think, in this House that those films are not acceptable and we abhor them.

The situation, as I outlined at that time, is that I am urging the federal government to make critical changes that are needed to relevant statutes in the Criminal Code that very badly need to be made.

**Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel):** Get away from your note and talk about the chair. That's what the question is about.

**Hon Ms Churley:** I note that the member keeps commenting that I'm reading from time to time. I note that she also read her question. It makes sense to refer to notes from time to time. I think the important issue here is not whether I look at my notes from time to time, but to clarify to the people of Ontario and to the women of Ontario that the film review board is made up of members of a diverse selection of our community who, to the best of their ability, screen and classify films under the Theatres Act.

I've already said in this House that I've asked the board to look at more information pieces, including an information piece that outlines when there is extreme violence against women. They are reviewing these kinds of information pieces. I think they're important, and the board will continue to be vigilant in watching out for violence against women, but we do need your support in lobbying the federal government to change the Criminal Code in order that the film review board can do its job better.

**Mrs Marland:** I'm sorry, Madam Minister, that you don't understand this question. I'm really, really sorry. I'm sorry for your government, but I'm terribly sorry for the women in this province.

The fact is, you have a chair who admits that when she comes back at lunchtime, very often everybody is gone for the day. She also has to appeal to the panel members to pay attention while viewing the product. We already know that they view it at seven or eight times the normal speed, yet you think it's the federal government's fault. I am talking about the Ontario Film Review Board.



I'll just give you one other quote from the chair's memo. She says, talking about reducing the scheduling time for viewing"—get this one—"We do have a certain responsibility to the distributors who submit their product to this board in having a relatively short turnaround time."

In another document, in the OFRB's response to a human rights complaint about slasher films, the board says its first service is a direct service provided to exhibitors and distributors, while its second service is an indirect service provided to the public as a whole.

I wouldn't think they have their priorities the right way around. I believe it's outrageous. I believe the Ontario Film Review Board's mandate must be to serve the public. It's the public that's spending three quarters of a million dollars a year to operate it.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Would the member place a question, please.

**Mrs Marland:** Minister, my question is, if the board thinks its primary purpose is to serve the industry, the board could be influenced by distributors who want violent films to carry non-restricted ratings in order to increase their revenue. Will you review the mandate and procedures of the Ontario Film Review Board to ensure that it protects the public by thoroughly reviewing the films and rating them and perhaps even prohibiting material such as your chair approved last April 1992?

**The Speaker:** The question's been placed. Minister.

**Hon Ms Churley:** First of all let me say that I think the member is being quite selective in terms of the quote—direct or indirect—which she is taking from that memo. I want to assure the member that in fact the review she's talking about has already been conducted by the Ontario Law Reform Commission. I have responded to that most directly and immediately, and in fact many of the suggestions they are making we are already in the process of implementing. We also, as I said at the time, rejected some of their recommendations in terms of not classifying films any more at all.

Furthermore, I find it really interesting that, overall, I've had complaints from time to time lately from some of the film distributors who have been upset about some of the classifications that this very film review board that she is now talking about has classified most cautiously, "For adults only"—

**The Speaker:** Will the minister conclude her response, please.

**Hon Ms Churley:** —when of course they would have preferred the lower rating. I think that, on balance, if she looked at some of the positive things—she's having such fun criticizing and enjoying the criticism role that she is not looking at the positive things that are happening at that board, which I'd be very happy to meet with her and talk through with her.

**The Speaker:** New question.

**Mrs Marland:** Point of privilege, Mr Speaker.

**The Speaker:** Point of order?

**Mrs Marland:** I'd like to advise this minister that if she thinks I'm having any fun asking these questions—

**The Speaker:** There is nothing out of order. Would the member please take her seat.

1450

#### GAMBLING

**Mr Carman McClelland (Brampton North):** I have a question for the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations as well. Minister, now that the NDP ship Casino has left harbour with you as its captain, at least in title, one of the things you've said in this uncharted course you're ventured upon is that you are going to allow lines of credit to be established onsite when potential gamblers arrive at the casino. Minister, you know very well that the history and the tradition in terms of the gaming industry for charities, indeed racetracks in Ontario, has been that there are no lines of credit. Why the sudden change, Minister, and where do you expect this to go in its ultimate conclusion?

**Hon Marilyn Churley (Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations):** We announced, I believe it was on March 12, that we would be allowing credit in casinos. I have to tell you that it's something that we considered very, very carefully and that we did consult with the law enforcement team we've been working with under the project team. We will be allowing credit only under very tight controls and with strict conditions.

The reason we decided to go ahead with credit is that the law enforcers and the regulatory agencies actually recommend it, on the basis that some limited, at least, amount of credit leaves a paper trail.

**Hon Ms Churley:** The laundering of money therefore will be avoided in many cases. The other aspect of it of course is that people won't have to carry large amounts of money in their pockets, especially people coming from across the border. So we did look at it very carefully, and it appears to us that on balance it makes sense to allow at least a limited amount of credit.

**Mr McClelland:** It's interesting, your particular spin on this scenario, Minister. The fact of the matter is, as I'm told by a number of people engaged in this process, that you're operating on a mandate that says: "I've got a mandate to build a casino. I don't really know where I'm going on this, but at the end of the day I'm going to arrive there some way, somehow."

You've changed the fundamental policy that has been established. The fact of the matter is that there's a great debate in terms of the very issue you raise: Is it appropriate, is it not, to have credit available?

Minister, I'm asking you today, in light of that issue and countless other issues, are you prepared to commit to full public hearings to canvass the very, very serious

issues that are arising on this? It's clear, and you know very, very well that the jury is out in terms of the issue that we just talked about—tremendous divided opinion on this, and in fact many people say that, quite the contrary, allowing a line of credit invites organized crime into laundering. I'm not sharing an opinion on that, because quite frankly there's a great debate out there.

Minister, the fact of the matter is this: You don't really know where you're going. You're bouncing from day to day with no sense of direction.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Would the member place a question, please.

**Mr McClelland:** Are you going to have public hearings, allow these issues to be canvassed and allow some expert evidence to be brought forward so that everybody can participate and the right decisions can be made, Minister?

**Hon Ms Churley:** First of all, credit is not something that can just be arranged on the spot; a very difficult process has to be gone through to get it. But in terms of the public hearings that the member is calling for, obviously, after we introduce the bill in the House, there will be public hearings.

#### MEMBERS' BENEFITS

**Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing):** My question is to the Premier. Over the weekend, the Premier of Alberta announced that he plans to do away with the defined-benefit MPP pension plan. Premier, while some of my research over the last few years—I think reflected in a speech I gave in this House in 1991—indicated that there may be legal challenges and problems with retroactively changing when somebody didn't have an opportunity to contribute to an RRSP, surely you would agree with me, as you and I chatted in opposition about pensions and tax-free allowances, that there could be no better time than now, when we are facing the cutbacks to both the public and the private sector; that one of the bees in the bonnet, if you like, of taxpayers and of Ontarians are the so-called "special status" arrangements that they see we have.

Premier, in 1991 in this House when we discussed this issue, I said we are at the point where we should take a leadership role on this pension issue. I would ask you today, Premier, whether you would agree today is the day, that from at least this day forward we should do away with any portion of our pension that is not fully funded.

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** I notice with interest the members of this caucus who didn't applaud, as we all do, and also the quite substantial degree of silence in other quarters.

*Interjections.*

**Hon Mr Rae:** A lot of people are both encouraging me and warning me, Mr Speaker, so, as I always do, I'll

choose my words very carefully. Let me say to the honourable member that obviously this is a subject of which I took note of what's taken place. I think we're all taking note of what's taking place around the country and in discussions. The one thing I think it's important to avoid, in an issue which, frankly, involves all members of the House, would be for the Premier to make some unilateral statement.

**Mr Jim Wilson (Simcoe West):** Why? You do on everything else.

**Hon Mr Rae:** No, no. I mean affecting the position and the circumstances of many different members.

So all I would say to the honourable member—I was in fact looking for an opportunity to do this in any event, in light of the social contract discussion—is to say to him and say to the Leader of the Opposition that I am quite open to our sitting down together, and to the House looking at this question in a responsible way. I think we all have to do that with some understanding of the positions and choices and circumstances that members face, as well as the need for us to be fiscally responsible at all times.

I can tell him I have no difficulty at all with our sitting down and discussing it. I think we all have to understand—and I feel quite conscious of this, as somebody who's been a member here for some time—that there's a need to do this in a way that is understanding of the circumstances of individual members. I know members opposite will understand me when I say that, but I look forward to a discussion with the honourable member on all these issues, including the issue of pensions. I'm quite happy to discuss it with him.

**Mr Harris:** Thank you very much, Mr Premier. You'll recall we discussed this when you were in opposition; then, shortly after you took office, you and I the leader of the Liberal Party of the day, Mr Nixon, had two private meetings where we discussed this.

Then, when the proposal came forward, there was a pretty firm commitment on your part to deal with both this issue and with the tax-free allowance. There was nothing there. That's what prompted me then to go public in 1991 when I said that as well as the pensions, we needed to show leadership and make sure that our pensions were fully funded either through an RRSP or some other method of making sure we don't have an unfunded liability, or a defined benefit.

At the same time, I said then that I wanted to get on the record that I was prepared to sit down, to live up to the commitment to deal with the tax-free allowance. There is absolutely nothing more frustrating than people saying: "Why is it that your pay, Madam Mayor of Toronto, is a third tax-free? Why is it that you, as MPPs, have \$14,000 tax-free?" They say to me: "If you have a legitimate expense, reimburse it. Put the expense



chit in and reimburse it if it's a legitimate expense." But carte blanche, \$14,000 tax-free, the public doesn't understand that.

So Premier, I'd welcome sitting down again on the pension issue. I hope this time we can bring it to fruition. I think Klein may run into trouble with the retroactivity—

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Would the member place a question, please.

**Mr Harris:** —but I think from today forward we can deal with it. Are you also prepared to deal, Premier, with the tax-free expense allowance paid to all of us? Then perhaps we can talk to all of the other elected officials in the province of Ontario, once we've set the examples, with all their tax-free allowances?

**Hon Mr Rae:** Let me say to the honourable member, just so that everyone understands, we've been wrestling with this question, as members, for a time. The difficulty, without getting into too many technicalities, is that if you get rid of the tax-free allowance in various ways, that impacts the pension, not in the way in which you're anticipating but in a very different way. That's why the two have to be discussed at the same time and that's why you have to deal with both of those issues at the same time.

All I would say to the honourable member is that I'm not going to comment on the activities of another Premier and another province, because that's not what I do.

*Interjections.*

**Hon Mr Rae:** No, I don't. Look at the record.

I would only say to the honourable member that I think we have to all talk very candidly with one another about the circumstances we're all facing as individuals, and at one and the same time about the need for us to show an example and the need for us to show leadership to the public, and an understanding, and at the same time I share the thought that there's no point in systematically undervaluing or devaluing the work that members of this Legislature or members of the House of Commons do. That's a parade this Premier is not going to join.

**The Speaker:** Would the Premier conclude his response please.

1500

**Hon Mr Rae:** I hope the leader of the third party and the Leader of the Opposition won't join it either.

If we want to talk realistically about the numbers, the costs, how we can ensure a fair program, then that's something I'm certainly prepared to do, even though I can assure him that it is a delicate and difficult task, which I'm not unhappy to perform, but I think that if we did it together, it might make it a little easier for all of us to do it.

#### SENECA COLLEGE CAMPUS

**Mr George Mammoliti (Yorkview):** My question is to the Minister of Education and Training. Minister, today I'm accompanied by a group of constituents in my riding of Yorkview. They're seated in the east government gallery. They're called the YESS committee, Yorkview Educates Students for Seneca.

Minister, it's simple. We want a college campus at Jane and Finch. A few months ago, your ministry funded a study. That study was to be conducted by Seneca College and was to indicate to Seneca, as well as to your ministry, where the best possible location would be for a campus west of Yonge Street. Minister, are you aware of the study and would you not agree with me that Jane and Finch should be the site for a new campus?

**Hon David S. Cooke (Minister of Education and Training):** I am very much aware of the study that was funded by the Ministry of Colleges and Universities for about \$200,000 and was announced by the previous Minister of Colleges and Universities. It's my understanding that this study is involving people in the communities, to make recommendations as to the location for the Seneca College, and that's all part of the planning process.

I expect to receive a copy of the report some time in June. Once I've received the report, I'll certainly be in a better position to judge the merits of each of the sites they propose, but obviously, the purpose of the study is to involve everybody in the community and have an independent recommendation, and I look forward to the recommendation.

**Mr Mammoliti:** The Lewis report, Mr Minister, on race relations clearly indicates that the Jane and Finch community is a need community, and of course wants and deserves the campus. Why? you ask. Approximately 60% of social assistance recipients in the community are single mothers. Our dropout rate is higher than most communities in Ontario and our students want a college close to their home.

Mr Minister, a college would be the first step in addressing and achieving the goals set out in the Lewis report pertaining to a community, of course. Won't you agree that the Jane and Finch community deserves this?

**Hon Mr Cooke:** I agree that the member is doing a very good job at advocating on behalf of an area of the province and an area of Metropolitan Toronto that has some community challenges, and those challenges need to be met in a variety of ways, but I think the previous minister set up an appropriate process to involve the communities. That report will be coming forward in June, and I can assure the member that the points of view he's putting before the Legislature in a very aggressive and appropriate way will be considered by the consultation committee.

## RECYCLING

**Mr Steven Offer (Mississauga North):** I have a question to the part-time Minister of Environment. Minister, last week you announced that blue box recycling, and leaf and yard and home waste composting will be mandatory for all municipalities with a population greater than 5,000 people. You indicated that the regulations would be law by August, with implementation within one year, except in northern Ontario which would have an implementation date of within three years.

While we support the blue box program and reducing waste going into landfill sites, you must know that the blue box program is not just a box in front of a house but rather entails specialized trucks and source-separation facilities. Your government has already announced that you're going to be reducing grants given to municipalities.

My question, Mr Minister, is, how do you expect the municipalities to obey your orders when you are giving them less money? Who pays?

**Hon Bud Wildman (Minister of Environment and Energy):** I would never think of referring to the member as a part-time member. I would say that the member is correct in saying that the regulation will be in place as of August and that there will be a phase-in period of a year in southern Ontario, and up to three years in northern Ontario. The member is incorrect when he indicates that there is a but in the funding. As a matter of fact, this government is committed to maintaining this government's funding of the blue box program and of the 3Rs in general.

**Mr Offer:** When there is a Minister of Environment who shares other portfolios with an area so important to so many people—the Minister of Environment is sharing a portfolio and is one of the very first ministers who has ever done so. That is a part-time minister to a very important area that affects many people in this province.

You have clearly and carefully not answered my question. This is a program which is going to cost municipalities many millions of dollars. You have said and your Treasurer has said that you have no more money, that you are going to be cutting back on dollars to municipalities. The municipalities say they are stretched to the bone.

My question, since you have not answered the first question, is, what happens when a municipality says to you it cannot comply with your orders because it does not have the money necessary to obey your directive?

**Hon Mr Wildman:** The member should be aware, if he's been working full time as critic of the Ministry of Environment and Energy, that this government is committed to providing 50% of the cost in the first year, 40% of the cost in the second year and 33% of the cost

in subsequent years. That is the amount that we have maintained and that his government maintained, and we will continue to maintain it.

We are committed to working with the municipalities. We are also concerned that the private sector play a greater role and become more involved as a partner in this process. We look forward to those who might put single-use, disposable products and/or packages on the market paying a greater share of the 3Rs to ensure that we do meet the target of 50% diversion by the year 2000.

## REPORTS ON EDUCATION

**Mrs Dianne Cunningham (London North):** My question is to the Minister of Education and Training. Earlier today in this House, we heard the Premier complaining about the previous government and all of the reports that were gathering dust on the shelves. I would like to say that we have four reports here that have been gathering dust on the shelves since 1985.

Both the previous government and this government now for three years have paid no attention, in my view, to the fourth report of the select committee on education, to the Ontario Study of the Relevance of Education and the Issue of Dropouts, to the Macdonald Commission on the Financing of Elementary and Secondary Education in Ontario and to People and Skills in the New Global Economy, one of the best reports that was ever written three years ago. Now I understand the minister is going to establish another commission on education.

My question to the Minister of Education is simply this: Mr Minister, you're establishing this commission on education. You haven't paid any attention to the previous reports. Should we expect that you're really going to take two years for this commission, given all the information that you have? Secondly, will this report gather yet more dust on the shelves, as did the previous reports on education by both the Tory government and the Liberal government?

**Hon David S. Cooke (Minister of Education and Training):** I think that if the member were to look at some of the reports that she's referred to in an objective way, she might realize, and I think she would agree, that some of the recommendations from the Radwanski report have in fact been acted on, and certainly some of the recommendations from the Macdonald report were implemented by the previous government. I'd certainly like to look at a couple of the recommendations that Macdonald made on having fewer school boards in the province.

I think what the member should do is wait for tomorrow when the announcement is made on the mandate of the commission, look at the focus of the commission. It's not going to be a two-year royal commission. In fact, the throne speech indicated that we'd expect a final report by the end of 1994. We're



already into May, so just give it a chance and wait for tomorrow's announcement and then make a negative judgement at that point.

1510

**Mrs Cunningham:** I agree that some recommendations have been acted on, but very few recommendations have been acted on that have anything to do with core curriculum, testing, talking and communicating more with parents, involving teachers and educators in the decision-making and the input that needs to be done in this province—very few in the last five years.

Specifically, very little, if anything, has been done in the area of apprenticeship training. In this report, and I hope the minister will pay very close attention to it, because he has ignored the fact that educators are looking for more representation on the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board, I should read this:

"Nowhere is the mismatch between existing policy and the long-term needs of the economy more evident than in the case of the apprenticeship system. As the industrial training approach with the longest history, it displays a powerful, embedded resistance to change. This resistance occurs despite ongoing and potentially serious shortages of skilled labour. It also persists in spite of a succession of major reviews and renewed calls for change."

Mr Minister, are you going to involve as part of your process and act very quickly on any recommendations that have anything to do with the apprenticeship system, because it is sorely needed in this province today?

**Hon Mr Cooke:** I think that the member, to be fair, would certainly indicate that this government, through the Jobs Ontario Training program and the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board, has taken major initiatives in terms of training initiatives in the province, and as to the reference you made at the beginning about educators being on the OTAB, I'd just ask the member to take a look at the philosophy behind OTAB, that the labour market partners control the process as opposed to the providers of service, and that's one of the basic fundamental principles of OTAB.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** The time for oral questions has expired.

#### QUESTION PERIOD

**Mr Gilles Bisson (Cochrane South):** On a point of privilege, Mr Speaker: I would just like for the record to state that question period did not allow a question to be put today. I had a question to the Minister of Environment and Energy in regard to non-utility generation, and I would like the record to show that time did not permit that question to be put.

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I understand the member's concern but if he would read the standing orders, like many of us do, he would understand that he can give notice to the

minister in writing that he does have a question and he doesn't have to waste more of the House's time by showing that he never reads the standing orders.

#### *Interjections.*

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** We really don't want to debate this. Well, you may wish to debate it, but I don't. In response to the honourable member for Cochrane South and the honourable member for Bruce, indeed the member has the opportunity to serve notice. Secondly, of course, the members will notice that we utilized some 40 minutes of the clock with leaders' questions and the responses, and it would help all backbench members if those leadoff questions were a bit shorter and the responses a bit shorter.

#### MOTIONS

##### PRIVATE MEMBERS' PUBLIC BUSINESS

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Government House Leader):** I move that Mr Martin exchange places with Mr Farnan in the order of precedence for private members' public business.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

#### PETITIONS

##### MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES

**Mrs Barbara Sullivan (Halton Centre):** I have a petition which reads as follows:

"To the Legislature of Ontario:

"Whereas the Ministry of Health is proposing to reduce the budget of the 10 provincial psychiatric hospitals to \$45 million without first having developed community services for the seriously ill; and

"Whereas we believe that this measure will have tragic results for those individuals who have major illnesses, such as schizophrenia, which afflicts one out of 100 people at some time during their lives and places an enormous burden on them and their families if left untreated;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislature of Ontario as follows:

"We, the Peterborough chapter of Ontario Friends of Schizophrenics, and others who support us, wish to petition the Ontario Legislature not to cut back the funding to those who need care and services in our psychiatric hospitals and in the community."

Mr Speaker, I concur with this petition and affix my name to it. As you can see, there are many hundreds of names involved in the petition.

##### PUBLIC SAFETY

**Mr Gary Carr (Oakville South):** Hundreds and hundreds of constituents from my riding of Oakville South have asked me to table a petition which reads as follows:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"We, the undersigned, respectfully petition the

Legislative Assembly of Ontario to pass Bill 114 requiring persons convicted of a sexual offence involving a child under the age of 14 to make a report to the police; and that failure to make a report will be an offence punishable by fine or imprisonment; and to order a register of sexual offenders to be kept by police; and grant the public the power to disseminate the information."

That has been signed by hundreds of members in my riding, and I am signing it as well.

#### BICYCLING SAFETY

**Mr Randy R. Hope (Chatham-Kent):** I have a number of petitions that are signed by citizens of Kent county. It's addressed to the Speaker of the House and the Parliament of Ontario:

"Whereas we, the undersigned, support the voluntary use of bicycle helmets promoted as part of a comprehensive bicycle safety program; and

"Whereas we, the undersigned, oppose the province's plan to mandate the use of bicycle helmets as an exclusive restriction of the personal rights to choose their own...."

The petitions that I'm introducing were conducted over a four-week period, and it's 1,000 and 4,000 I'll be presenting through the week.

#### GAMBLING

**Mr Dennis Drainville (Victoria-Haliburton):** Again I add to the thousands of signatures that I've presented in this House so far.

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the New Democratic Party government has traditionally had a commitment to family life and quality of life for all citizens of Ontario; and

"Whereas families are made more emotionally and economically vulnerable by the operation of various gaming and gambling ventures; and

"Whereas the New Democratic Party government has had historical concern for the poor in society who are particularly at risk each time the practice of gambling is expanded; and

"Whereas the New Democratic Party has in the past vociferously opposed the raising of moneys for the state through gambling; and

"Whereas the citizens of Ontario have not been consulted regarding the introduction of legalized gambling casinos, despite the fact that such a decision is a significant change of government policy and was never part of the mandate given to the government by the people of Ontario,

"Therefore, we, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the government immediately cease all moves to establish gambling casinos and that appropriate legislation be introduced into the assembly along with a

process which includes significant opportunities for public consultation and full public hearings as a means of allowing the citizens of Ontario to express themselves on this new and questionable initiative."

I affix my signature hereunto, Mr Speaker.

#### BRUCE GENERATING STATION

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"When discussing the future of Bruce A, to consider that the undersigned are in full support of the continued operation of all of the units at Bruce A. Furthermore, we support the expenditure of the required money to rehabilitate the Bruce A units for the following reasons:

"In comparison to other forms of generation, nuclear energy is environmentally safe and cost-effective. Rehabilitating Bruce A units is expected to achieve \$2 billion in savings to the corporation over the station's lifetime. This power is needed for the province's future prosperity.

"A partial or complete closure of Bruce A will have severe negative impacts on the affected workers and will seriously undermine the economy of the surrounding communities and the province."

In addition to the undersigned, this petition is further endorsed by municipalities, business and labour groups as well as the riding associations for the Bruce provincial Liberals, the Bruce provincial Progressive Conservatives and the Bruce New Democratic Party. I have affixed my signature.

#### AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE

**Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel):** I have a petition from a number of constituents in my riding of Dufferin-Peel. It's addressed to the Legislative Assembly and the Lieutenant Governor of Ontario:

"Whereas the people of Ontario are undergoing economic hardship, high unemployment and are faced with the prospect of imminent tax increases; and

"Whereas the Ontario motorist protection plan currently delivers cost-effective insurance benefits to Ontario drivers;

"Since the passing of Bill 164 into law will result in higher automobile insurance premiums for Ontario drivers,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That Bill 164 be withdrawn."

1520

#### GAMBLING

**Mr Kimble Sutherland (Oxford):** I have a petition addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario. It was sent to me by the Oxford Centre/Curries pastoral charge



of the United Church. It says:

"Whereas the Christian is called to love of neighbour which includes a concern for the general wellbeing of society; and

"Whereas there is a direct link between the higher availability of legalized gambling and the incidence of addictive gambling (Macdonald and Macdonald); and

"Whereas the damage of addiction to gambling in individuals is compounded by the damage done to families, both emotionally and economically; and

"Whereas the gambling market is already saturated with various kinds of government-operated lotteries; and

"Whereas large-scale gambling activity invariably attracts criminal activity; and

"Whereas the citizens of Detroit have since 1976 on three occasions voted down the introduction of casinos into the city each time with a larger majority than the time before;

"Therefore, we, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the government of Ontario cease all moves to establish gambling casinos."

#### BRUCE GENERATING STATION

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"When discussing the future of Bruce A, to consider that the undersigned are in full support of the continued operation of all of the units at Bruce A. Furthermore, we support the expenditure of the required money to rehabilitate the Bruce A units for the following reasons:

"In comparison to other forms of generation, nuclear energy is environmentally safe and cost-effective. Rehabilitating Bruce A units is expected to achieve \$2 billion in savings to the corporation over the station's lifetime. This power is needed for the province's future prosperity.

"A partial or complete closure of Bruce A will have severe negative impacts on the affected workers and will seriously undermine the economy of the surrounding communities and the province."

This is supported by councils, chambers of commerce, business associations, labour groups, riding associations, Bruce county school board and other organizations. I affix my signature.

#### LAW ENFORCEMENT

**Mr Gary Carr (Oakville South):** Constituents from my riding and nearby areas including Hamilton, Stoney Creek, Woodstock, St Catharines and Burlington have asked me to table a petition which reads as follows:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas there has been a marked increase in crime,

particularly violent crimes and crimes against women and children; and

"Whereas there has not been adequate support for law enforcement agencies on the streets and in the courts; and

"Whereas the morale of police officers in Ontario has been undermined;

"We, the undersigned, respectfully petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to join with the citizens of Ontario in demonstrating significant and strong support of our law enforcement agencies and that the Premier meet on an ongoing basis with police officers and deal seriously with their concerns."

I have signed that as well.

#### RETAIL STORE HOURS

**Mr Randy R. Hope (Chatham-Kent):** I have a number of petitions signed by the residents of the town of Wallaceburg in my riding, dealing with Sunday shopping. They believe that Sunday should be kept as a day of holiday for family time and quality of life and for religious freedoms, and I do wish to present these petitions on behalf of those citizens.

#### BRUCE GENERATING STATION

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** "We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"When discussing the future of Bruce A, to consider that the undersigned are in full support of the continued operation of all of the units at Bruce A. Furthermore, we support the expenditure of the required money to rehabilitate the Bruce A units for the following reasons:

"In comparison to other forms of generation, nuclear energy is environmentally safe and cost-effective. Rehabilitating Bruce A units is expected to achieve \$2 billion in savings to the corporation over the station's lifetime. This power is needed for the province's future prosperity.

"A partial or complete closure of Bruce A will have severe negative impacts on the affected workers and will seriously undermine the economy of the surrounding communities and the province."

This petition forms part of a petition circulated and accumulating well over 15,000 signatures. I affix my name to this particular petition.

#### GAMBLING

**Mr Randy R. Hope (Chatham-Kent):** As you can see, they are politically active in Chatham-Kent. I have a petition here that's a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario dealing with casinos. They are opposed to casino gambling in the province of Ontario.

#### BRUCE GENERATING STATION

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** "We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"When discussing the future of Bruce A, to consider that the undersigned are in full support of the continued operation of all of the units at Bruce A. Furthermore, we support the expenditure of the required money to rehabilitate the Bruce A units for the following reasons:

"In comparison to other forms of generation, nuclear energy is environmentally safe and cost-effective. Rehabilitating Bruce A units is expected to achieve \$2 billion in savings to the corporation over the station's lifetime. This power is needed for the province's future prosperity.

"A partial or complete closure of Bruce A will have severe negative impacts on the affected workers and will seriously undermine the economy of the surrounding communities and the province."

This is supported by business groups, labour groups, chambers of commerce, councils, school boards and riding associations, including the Bruce provincial Liberal association, the Bruce provincial Progressive Conservatives and the Bruce NDP.

I affix my name to the petition.

#### EDUCATION FINANCING

**Mr Anthony Perruzza (Downsview):** I've been asked to submit this petition on behalf of some community residents, and it reads:

"Whereas the British North America Act of 1867 recognizes the right of Catholic students to a Catholic education, and in keeping with this, the province of Ontario supports two educational systems from kindergarten to grade 12/OAC; and

"Whereas the Metropolitan Separate School Board educates more than 104,000 students across Metropolitan Toronto, and whereas these students represent 30% of the total number of students in this area yet have access to just 20% of the total residential assessment and 9.5% of the pooled corporate assessment; and

"Whereas the Metropolitan Separate School Board is able to spend \$1,678 less on each of its elementary school students and \$2,502 less on each of its secondary school students than our public school counterpart;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to act now and restructure the way in which municipal and provincial tax dollars are apportioned, so that Ontario's two principal education systems are funded not only fully but with equity and equality."

I'd like to submit this, Mr Speaker.

#### AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE

**Mrs Dianne Cunningham (London North):** I have a petition to present to the Legislative Assembly and the Lieutenant Governor of Ontario which reads as follows:

"Whereas the people of Ontario are undergoing economic hardship, high unemployment and are faced with the prospect of imminent tax increases; and

"Whereas the Ontario motorist protection plan currently delivers cost-effective insurance benefits to Ontario drivers; and

"Since the passing of Bill 164 into law will result in higher automobile insurance premiums for Ontario drivers;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That Bill 164 be withdrawn."

There are over 400 signatures from people in London and southwest Ontario attached to this petition, and I have signed my name as well.

#### BRUCE GENERATING STATION

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** "We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"When discussing the future of Bruce A, to consider that the undersigned are in full support of continued operation of all of the units at Bruce A. Furthermore, we support the expenditure of the required money to rehabilitate the Bruce A units for the following reasons...."

This gives a sample of what is in the petition. I have attached my name to it. This is part of a petition that has collected well over 15,000 names.

#### BICYCLING SAFETY

**Mr Randy R. Hope (Chatham-Kent):** I have a petition here addressed to the Speaker of the House and the Parliament of Ontario which is signed by our future voters in the province of Ontario:

"Whereas we, the undersigned, support the voluntary use of bicycle helmets promoted as part of a comprehensive bicycle safety program; and

"Whereas we, the undersigned, oppose the province's plan to mandate the use of bicycle helmets as an exclusive restriction of the personal rights to choose for ourselves as guaranteed under our Constitution," and they are petitioning this Legislature.

Also, it is accompanied with a letter from the police services board of the city of Chatham.

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY

##### EDUCATION STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1993

##### LOI DE 1993 MODIFIANT DES LOIS EN CE QUI CONCERNE L'ÉDUCATION

Deferred vote on the motion for second reading of Bill 4, An Act to amend certain Acts relating to Education / Loi modifiant certaines lois en ce qui concerne l'éducation.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** The first item of business is a deferred vote on the second reading of Bill 4. There is a five-minute bell. Please call in the members.

The division bells rang from 1529 to 1535.



**The Speaker:** Would all members please take their seats.

Mr Malkowski has moved second reading of Bill 4, An Act to amend certain Acts relating to Education. All those in favour of Mr Malkowski's motion should please rise one by one.

#### Ayes

Abel, Allen, Bisson, Boyd, Buchanan, Carter, Charlton, Christopherson, Churley, Cooke, Cooper, Coppen, Dadamo, Duignan, Fletcher, Frankford, Gigantes, Grier, Haack, Hampton, Hansen, Harrington, Haslam, Hope, Huget, Johnson (Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings), Klopp, Kormos, Lankin, Laughren, Lessard;

Mackenzie, MacKinnon, Malkowski, Mammoliti, Marchese, Martel, Mathysen, Mills, Morrow, North, O'Connor, Owens, Perruzza, Philip (Etobicoke-Rexdale), Pilkey, Pouliot, Rizzo, Silipo, Sutherland, Swarbrick, Ward, Waters, Wessenger, White, Wildman, Wilson (Kingston and The Islands), Wilson (Frontenac-Addington), Winninger, Wiseman, Wood, Ziemba.

**The Speaker:** All those opposed to the motion should please rise one by one.

#### Nays

Arnott, Beer, Bradley, Caplan, Carr, Chiarelli, Cordiano, Cunningham, Curling, Eddy, Elston, Fawcett, Grandmaitre, Harnick, Jackson, Johnson (Don Mills), Marland, McGuinty, McLean, Miclash, Morin, Murphy, O'Neil (Quinte), O'Neill (Ottawa-Rideau), Offer, Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt), Runciman, Ruprecht, Sterling, Stockwell, Sullivan, Tilson, Turnbull, Villeneuve, Wilson (Simcoe West).

**The Speaker:** The ayes are 62 and the nays 35. I declare the motion carried. Shall the bill be ordered for third reading?

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Government House Leader):** Social development committee, I believe is what we've agreed.

**The Speaker:** Social development committee? Agreed.

#### LONG-TERM CARE STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1993

#### LOI DE 1993 MODIFIANT DES LOIS EN CE QUI CONCERNE LES SOINS DE LONGUE DURÉE

Resuming the adjourned debate on the motion for third reading of Bill 101, An Act to amend certain Acts concerning Long-Term Care / Loi modifiant certaines lois en ce qui concerne les soins de longue durée.

**Mr Paul Wessenger (Simcoe Centre):** It is a pleasure today to speak on Bill 101. I had the privilege of taking this legislation through the social development committee, where we had extensive hearings and also a clause-by-clause study. Certainly, this bill has benefited very much from the public input we had, and I'd like to thank all members of the public for their constructive

suggestions for improving the bill. Also, it has benefited from constructive input from both opposition parties.

This is a substantial reform of the long-term care legislation with respect to facilities. The major reform of this legislation is to bring equity with respect to the funding of facility care; that is, by introducing level-of-care funding. Unfortunately, in the past, too often the level of care depended on the type of institution in which a person resided, whether it was a home for the aged or a nursing home. Level-of-care funding will move towards providing equity in the funding for residents in these facilities.

The second aspect of the reform is the establishment of a single point of entry into long-term care facilities through the establishment of placement coordination. This will also have the advantage not only of providing a single point of entry to facility long-term care, but it will also provide a single point of entry, with the long-term care reform, for people receiving care in their own homes—that is, community care—or referral to supportive housing or other appropriate agencies.

Thirdly, this legislation will bring in accountability with respect to the whole question of facilities. There will be accountability with respect to the moneys to be spent on personal care and nursing care. There will be no profit in this area of nursing care and personal care.

Fourthly, I would suggest that this does preserve the principle of universality with respect to health care, because the total cost of nursing care and the total cost of personal care will be covered at no cost to the resident. The resident will be required to pay for his or her accommodation.

Some members of the opposition suggest it is a user fee. I think if it is a "user fee," it's a user fee but not on health care; it's a fee paid for accommodation. I think it's only fair that persons should pay for their own accommodation in a facility as they would have to pay for their own accommodation if they reside at home. Basically, it'll be the same principle: If individuals receive care in their home, nursing care and personal care will be provided for at no cost to the persons receiving it, whether it's at their home, in a supportive housing unit or in a facility.

Lastly, one of the major points that came out through the hearings was the fact that many persons were concerned that it was not made clear enough that there would be consumer choice. I'm pleased to indicate that it was made very clear through amendments that consumer choice was paramount and that individuals will be able to choose with respect to where they are going to live. Also, that choice will be in line with their linguistic, familial and cultural wishes.

There have been several points raised by the opposition. I'm not going to respond to all of them, but I'd like to respond, first of all, to indicate that this govern-

ment has a clear commitment to continue the \$647-million commitment to long-term care. That is a solid commitment and I'd like to assure everyone that is a solid commitment.

Secondly, I'd like to refer to some of the comments by the—I don't know where the opposition members were suggesting we ought to have open-ended funding with respect to facility care, but I would suggest, in the present fiscal circumstances of this province and in this country, that anyone advocating open-ended funding would be irresponsible.

Thirdly, the suggestion was made that the multi-service agency might be the creation of a new bureaucracy. That could be nothing further from the truth. The reality is that now we have several agencies providing various levels and types of care in the community, and the establishment of a multiservice agency will provide a single point of entry and will coordinate these agencies perhaps in a devolved model which will be determined as a result of the planning and recommendations made by the district health councils.

With respect to the appeal process for consumers, again, there's been a major improvement. The appeal body is the Health Services Appeal Board. The bill has been amended to make it a more friendly process for consumers. In addition, there will be established an informal local dispute resolution mechanism in order to avoid, in many cases, the necessity of appeals.

Lastly, with respect to district health councils, the suggestion was made that district health councils need a legislative process. I don't need to remind the members that district health councils now have an extensive mandate without having any legislative framework and will continue to do so with respect to long-term care.

Some concern was raised with respect to how governance of non-profit institutions might be affected. I'd like to assure the members and the House that this legislation in no way affects the governance of non-profit institutions. They will continue to elect their boards of directors the same way they always have.

Another point raised was the question that this legislation incorporates some substitute decision-making powers. This is necessary because until we have our Consent to Treatment Act and Substitute Decisions Act proclaimed, we would leave residents who are incapable with no one able to give direction with respect to their medical treatment.

In closing, I'd just like to say that it's been a pleasure to lead this bill through the legislative approval process, and I want to thank all the staff who worked long and hard hours to make this happen. In particular, I would like to thank Gail Czukar, Ministry of Health counsel, leading the legislation development project. I'd also like to thank Joanne Gottheil, legislative counsel, who drafted the bill and the many motions for amendments

in committee. I think all members of the House recognize the difficulties in developing and drafting a very large amending bill such as this. It was a major task to rework the three facility statutes and keep them consistent throughout. However, the outstanding leadership demonstrated by Ms Czukar and the remarkable precision and tolerance for complexity and detail demonstrated by Ms Gottheil have paid off.

I'd also like to thank Geoff Quirt, executive director of the long-term care division, for all the information he has provided and his hard work on the long-term care reform.

We have a finished product before us today and one that has been considerably improved by the efforts of the Chair and my fellow members of the standing committee on social development. I personally appreciate the supportive and cooperative spirit of all members of the committee throughout the hearings on clause-by-clause review and I look forward to joining with them and other members of the House to pass this bill today.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** I thank the honourable member for Simcoe Centre and invite questions and/or comments.

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** It's very interesting listening to the member, who was newly elected in 1990, because he probably doesn't recall the days when his party's representatives in this House were arguing exactly contrary to his words with which he opened, about the user fees. It's very, very interesting to read some of the old speeches by his predecessors and now to read his and try to find some parallel logic. I understand, if I remember reading correctly the newspapers of this past weekend—beginning on Thursday, if I'm not mistaken—that maybe Steven Langdon had been reading some of the old speeches by the New Democratic Party as it was going through its formative years. On the way to government, maybe, is how to describe those previous speeches.

I can really understand how there has been a vast change in direction, all these new members who have no connection with the old days of the New Democratic Party; in fact, no connection with the CCF. Both of course used to stand for some real principles, some principles you could really identify as being consistent and persistent over the decades.

Now this member stands up and speaks not like a New Democrat at all. He speaks very much like a government bureaucrat who is looking for promotion. Of course, that's really what's at the heart of this. This gentleman is a parliamentary assistant, and he carried this bill at least partway through while they were changing the minister. He's really the power over there now. In fact, as I understand it, he gets to carry this bill in the House while the junior minister who's responsible for Health is here observing. I find that to be a contradiction in protocol in a very big way.



But let me just add this: That surely, when this gentleman wraps up his remarks, he will try and tell us what it is about this new version of the New Democratic Party that leads him to start saying all these fine and interesting things.

1550

**The Speaker:** Further questions and/or comments? The honourable member for Simcoe Centre has up to two minutes to respond.

**Mr Wessinger:** I will just respond very shortly and not use my full two minutes. However, the member for Bruce may not realize that I probably have longer roots in the New Democratic Party than most members within this Legislature. The fact is, I sometimes have difficulty understanding the philosophical approaches—

**Mr Elston:** Then why don't you speak like one? Why don't you speak like a New Democrat?

**Hon Gilles Pouliot (Minister of Transportation and Minister Responsible for Francophone Affairs):** When you speak like a Liberal, there's no risk.

**Mr Elston:** I suppose the next thing, he'll be talking a little bit like the Waffle.

**Mr Wessinger:** I would not say that. No, I never was that. I have to admit, I've never been that radical.

But the reality of this is that I am, and I think our government is, interested in bringing forward excellent legislation. This legislation meets a need by putting the priority to ensure that those people most in need get the appropriate care they need.

I think that's the whole essence of what our Treasurer is telling us: to be the most cost-effective and efficient and meet the needs of our community in the best way we can and ensure that those most in need get the services they do need. I think that is what we have to do in today's world.

**The Speaker:** Is there further debate on this bill? The member for Northumberland.

**Mrs Joan M. Fawcett (Northumberland):** I am pleased to be able to participate in the third and final reading of Bill 101, An Act to amend certain Acts concerning Long-Term Care. I must say, I was also very pleased to be a part of the committee, even though we didn't always agree on what the government was putting forward and we still have concerns.

To be more specific, this bill addresses the level-of-care funding for nursing homes, municipal homes for the aged and the charitable homes for the aged. While everyone welcomes the fact that this long-awaited bill is finally getting closer to becoming law, it is with a great deal of nervousness that we in the official opposition will be supporting this bill. Even though there are many areas of concern, all of which were adequately addressed in the Liberal amendments put forward by our critic, the member for Halton North, the government disregarded many of these. Our amendments definitely

reflected what the many presenters who came before us in the hearings were saying, but unfortunately, the government chose to plow straight ahead, regardless of what the experts were saying to us.

So the old saying, "Fools rush in where angels fear to tread" keeps mulling around in the back of my head, because this bill, I feel, leaves a lot of things left unanswered.

It does, however, control the funding levels. We have our fears about the areas such as areas surrounding the punitive inspection regulations in the bill, that so much is left to regulation, governing so many parts of the bill, that the provisions around the placement coordinators assure potential residents of long-term care facilities that choice is available to them—all of those are really grave concerns—but because all of the institutions yet do not have dollars flowing to them, it is so important that we do get this bill passed so that they at least know where they are at. Many of them are feeling the squeeze, because they don't really know how to budget. Of course their budgets are long overdue, and municipalities are expecting those budgets and they really have been, well, nothing short of sweating this time period out, because they kept hearing promises and promises of when the funding would come through and then again it would be put off. So we in this party certainly want to see the bill passed for that reason alone.

Another concern, I think, that has just recently come out is what the definition of "community" is. We kept asking for that definition to be put forward, and the government finally did allude to what it will mean by "community," and that's the catchment area of the district health councils.

Some of us who represent rural ridings, like mine of Northumberland, will wonder how this choice is now going to be interpreted. Will someone from Colborne, who is in the catchment area of the district health council that includes Peterborough, Minden and parts of Durham—where will the potential residents really go? So much of this remains to trust; we have to trust the government. It's kind of a shaky, wavering trust that one gives here.

I've said time and time again that the piecemeal approach this government is taking to long-term care is really very disturbing to all of the stakeholders, and especially those here in the opposition as well, who are trying to represent stakeholders. Just since the hearings, so much has changed in terms of the economics and dollars being cut back in all the ministries. We are really, really fearful, because we have heard about the promise of the dollars that are definitely going to long-term care to get it on the road to implementation, and now we are really worried when we hear that dollars are definitely being taken from the Health ministry, a huge amount of dollars. Will a huge amount of this come from the long-term care? We really are

worried that once again things are going to be stalled. Things the government had hoped, a month ago, to move forward with, now we're not really sure. In three weeks or so, when the budget finally comes down, we'll find out whether those dollars are still there. We will just have to wait, but we wait with, as I said before, that wavering trust.

The gap seems to keep widening between the old system and the new reforms of long-term care. If any change is to succeed, when you decide to reform or change an old system, you've got to have those changes in place. You've got to have the services ready and things ready before you abandon the old system. We know the beds have been cut back or frozen and so many things that were there are not, yet the new changes are not really ready either.

I understand that our leader was made aware on the weekend of a focus group in Thunder Bay that is now being funded to study the effects of long-term care provisions on client groups. I just hope that here we're not putting forward more dollars that will erode the dollars that are supposed to directly provide services to seniors and the disabled.

I do want to put on the record that rural Ontario will not want to be left out of the implementation of Bill 101. I know the Speaker has an interest in rural Ontario. So often the decisions being made do not take into account the unique needs of rural Ontario. The Ontario Advisory Council on Senior Citizens, in the chairman's letter to the Minister of Citizenship, the minister responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations, the chairman, Mr Shore said, "It is the council's hope that this report and its recommendations will spur debate among decision-makers within the Ontario government and among members of the general public and that steps will be taken to remedy the historic pattern of neglect experienced by many rural seniors."

Seniors in rural Ontario, and the disabled, continue to suffer from neglect, suffer because it still seems that sometimes the Metro Toronto tail wags the dog and the unique needs of rural Ontario are kind of fudged over. We cannot have that happen.

1600

I right now want to focus on the health care needs of particular importance in rural Ontario and the delivery of services to rural communities, because it's different in rural Ontario. For instance, transportation alone is really different in rural Ontario. You can't just hop on a bus or get the Wheel-Trans or any of those wonderful things that are available to seniors and the disabled in towns and cities. We must look at the needs of people in the farm community.

I think the council made specific recommendations relating to the government's redirection of long-term care. I can say that as a member of the standing com-

mittee on social development, we heard these recommendations echoed by many of the presenters as we travelled across the province when we were holding the hearings on Bill 101. In fact, the recommendations formed a basis for a lot of the points I tried to get across to the government members of the committee, and actually a lot of the points that were put forward by our critic, the member for Halton North, in the many amendments we tried to put forward for the government's actual passage, but it didn't happen.

One of the key recommendations was that the government ensure an adequate range of home support and home care services are available to seniors in farm communities in order to guarantee a minimum level of service. If we're promoting programs such as Meals on Wheels, we must have the wheels to meals which provide sometimes frozen meals to farm community seniors. All of these are really, really important points that we must have the government look at.

Hopefully, too, we want to ensure that the proposed service coordination agencies are sensitive to the needs of rural seniors and that their local boards of directors include rural representation. There has to be a rural voice on the board. The rural perspective must be there, because they know what's going to best work in rural Ontario.

We know that over the past 10 years, certainly all governments now have looked at the reform of long-term care, and we have all done so in order to support and strengthen the opportunities for community living so that senior citizens and people with disabilities will better be able to remain in their homes and communities, closer to family and friends, if that's what they choose. Many don't want that choice. They would rather be in a facility where they are not alone. It is so important that choice be available to all seniors, no matter where they live.

There's no doubt that the pressures for reform are great. We know that the changing demography of Ontario's population, consumer expectations and inadequate funding, coupled with the inappropriate use of resources, represent major pressures.

I think we all know that the fastest growing segment of Ontario's population is seniors. The percentage of people of all ages requiring assistance with activities of daily living is increasing. The increasing number of elderly persons, combined with the declining birth rates, is creating greater dependency on a smaller number of care givers, and here this is really crucial when we think about care givers and who is going to be available to look after our seniors, and this is especially so in rural Ontario.

The increasing number of women working outside the home, rising divorce rates and smaller families all contribute to a decreased and overburdened number of care givers. We cannot ignore that there is the growing



desire and demand for non-institutional solutions, but we also have to have at some time the institutional kind of care that some clients will eventually need. Consumers who want to remain, though, in their own homes and community for as long as possible with the appropriate community support should have that option.

Certainly, there is a growing recognition of the need for, now, respite services if we are going to really look at long-term care in the whole picture. We must have some people to spell off the care givers, and the whole concept of palliative care, which the minister did mention, we know is so important and is a whole different kind of care that has to be realized at all levels of the health providers.

In looking at this, I only hope that with the careful looking at dollars—we all recognize the need for restraint, but we must have the dollars there in some of these areas so that the elderly and the disabled can expect and receive the kind of care they need.

We want to certainly make sure that all areas of long-term care are being considered. I know this is just the first of maybe more bills to come forward on long-term care, but we have to, and I stress, continue to look at the continuum of care. We want to make sure that there are links between community, in-home and facility services. We can't just separate these pieces of the puzzle out; they must all fit into the picture.

I guess that when the NDP started another consultation process and revisited many of the same issues, and we had the public hearings and the report from the Senior Citizens' Consumer Alliance, we on this side were very hopeful that some changes that were necessary would be looked at. I think that certainly, while we know that the goals of the government are very laudable, and I'm sure it wants to make sure it gets it right as the minister said, we really do have some reservations around some of the areas that really didn't get changed, as far as what the bill stated, from the government.

We know that the area around the inspection of facilities is of grave concern to all the homes for the aged and the chronic care hospitals etc. They had moved to a different kind of—I guess, really, it was a type of inspection but it was more quality care and everyone working together to make sure that the standards were at a level everyone was very happy with. Now it would seem that we've taken a step backwards, and I know that many people are worried about this inspection, kind of punitive method of making sure that standards are there. I wish the government had changed its ideas there, had listened to our amendments, but it didn't happen. However, possibly we can continue to put our ideas forward.

1610

Certainly, the director of our municipal home for the aged had, as many did, concerns around the placement

coordinators. I think that was one where the government did try to allay our fears, and I really hope that the idea they gave us, that consumers would have choice, is certainly going to be there. Now, though, with this idea of the community catchment area being the district health council, in rural Ontario that's a very large area. I just think of our people in Northumberland, and the catchment area goes into other counties as well. It is so important that the choice be there for people who want to remain close to family and friends.

The whole idea of the training of the placement coordinators: I hope that is going to be addressed, but again so much of this is going to be addressed in regulations and we still don't know yet just how it is all going to work out. As I said before, it's sort of like a blind trust we have to have that everything will work out for the best.

I hope also, as time goes on and we see the next bill coming forward, that we will begin to see the whole picture that this government has for long-term care, but we just don't seem to get those kinds of indications. I know that a lot of us, and certainly out in the community, are very, very worried.

I think the agricultural community should really be concerned that the government doesn't enact legislation which will adversely affect rural seniors. As I told members who sat on the committee, we must have the unique needs of rural Ontario addressed. As a farmer senior said, "If you take a man who's lived his whole life on a farm, or with the earth, and you put him in a little square box in town, he'll be dead in two months."

**Mr Gilles Bisson (Cochrane South):** Or a woman.

**Mrs Fawcett:** The same would happen for a woman; you're right.

I think the idea here is you just cannot, willy-nilly, move these people around anywhere and have them happy in their declining years.

In closing, I would just like to say I really hope that in the near future we will see the whole picture come forward for long-term care, that it's not going to be, again, frozen somewhere, that things will continue, because it is so necessary. We, of course, as I say, will be supporting the bill because it allows those all-important dollars to flow.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve):** I'd like to thank the honourable member for her participation in the debate. Questions and/or comments?

**Mr Bisson:** I just want to take a few minutes to go through some of the stuff, to say that I would agree with some of the premise by which the member opposite spoke, because normally when she gets up in the House, she tends to be very honest in her approach to debate and honest in the way she tries to approach the issue.

I hate to do this, but I want to go back to the begin-

ning of the debate because I think it needs to be said, and I say this with respect and I don't say this to get into an argument. At the beginning of the debate, you talked about the whole question—the member said, you know, that the member has made a number of amendments to the bill and the amendments were made because it was the Liberal caucus that brought it forward, and somehow if they had not brought those things forward, they wouldn't have got done. I would agree that the Liberal caucus obviously had some input in it, but also the public that made the presentations are the people that brought those recommendations forward and people the committee and the government in the end heard.

The point I want to make is that often I sit in this House and I listen to members opposite in your party and also within the third party make accusations that when a government makes changes to a bill because of the public consultation process of committee hearings, and the bill comes back and a number of amendments are made, that somehow that's because the bill was somehow flawed or the government was really not doing its job. What I'm saying is, when the government goes ahead and makes those changes because of the public consultation process, it's somehow seen as a weakness.

I think that is something we need to get away from, because I think what we really have to have, not only in this province but within the British parliamentary system as a whole, is an ability for people to come before a standing committee of the government—or the Legislature, I should say—and to say: "Listen, I hear what you are trying to do as far as legislation. We agree with the premise and we suggest change."

Then, when a government is bold enough to say, "Yes, we hear you," like we did with this bill, and to make a number of changes that are fairly significant in regard to some of the things that were proposed initially, because people with their suggestions made it better, it would be seen as a strength and not a weakness. It takes a lot of courage for a government to go ahead and do what we did, and I want to commend the members of the committee on all sides for working on the part of that bill.

**Hon Karen Haslam (Minister without Portfolio in Health):** I've been taking a very keen interest in this particular issue as it's something that's very important to me in my riding, and I share the comments about rural Ontario.

I remember reading over the Hansards for the first few meetings of the long-term care committee where some of the concerns around the rights of the elderly to have a choice of the home they went into—I know those concerns were raised. The minister was very clear in that, and I think they've been very clear, to make changes in how the placement coordination section is

put in place, to be sure they know that the person may select the home to apply to, and that the placement coordinator shall assist the person in selecting the home, taking into account the person's preferences with respect to ethnic, to spiritual preferences, linguistic preferences, cultural preferences and familial factors.

I think it's worth repeating that there was some concern that—in particular in my area there are homes for the Mennonites and they're excellent homes. The concern was that they wouldn't have the choice of going into that home. Perhaps here in Toronto there are some homes that have a linguistic preference, Italian as their first language. Statistics show that the seniors, when they get into their senior years, revert back to their original language and there are preferences there for a home that has that linguistic preference.

This government has been very, very careful in saying: "Yes, that's exactly what we mean, that those preferences are there, that we take those things into consideration along with the concerns of: Is the care adequate in that home for the person in whatever medical preferences they have? Is there additional care for that person in that home? Does that home have the necessary equipment to handle the specific issues that person will have?"

I think those are viable questions to be asked and I think the answers are there. Yes, those concerns were heard and that is being addressed in this legislation.

**The Acting Speaker:** Thank you. Further questions or comments? Seeing none, the honourable member for Northumberland has two minutes in response.

**Mrs Fawcett:** I thank the two members opposite for their comments.

The member for Cochrane South, interestingly, has his idea of how amendments are put forward and whether they are accepted or not. I guess I would have to answer that by saying that the member for Halton North put forward many amendments, some of which were accepted—very few, of course—which we were grateful for, because they were good amendments.

Others, I believe, if I might say, looked awfully suspiciously like some of the government amendments that were put forward and so one has to think that while, yes, the government did agree with us, they would rather have had them under their own name than ours. But that's fine; as long as they get in there and they do the job, that is what we really want.

1620

The member for Perth, thank you for your comments. I agree with you that certainly the ministry official did explain what the choice was going to be, and while we were very happy to hear—in fact we were quite happy to hear—that some of those real concerns were addressed, now that we've seen in rural Ontario this new definition of community, I think I would like to



hear that explained a little further, because community now means the catchment area of the district health councils. Boy, if you would come out to my area, our district health council represents a very large area, and that now has some new concerns.

**The Acting Speaker:** Further debate on Bill 101? The honourable member for Burlington South.

**Mr Cameron Jackson (Burlington South):** I'm very delighted to be in the House to comment on this bill in its third and final reading, having participated in several committee hearings under the previous government dealing with long-term care and participating, along with my colleague the member for Simcoe West, in virtually every one of the public hearings on this bill, Bill 101, during the course of the last six months. I find this a very significant moment, coming to the point where it is before the House and we do have an opportunity for final debate.

Members who were interested may recall the second reading debate. During that time I had the opportunity to participate and indicated very clearly that I had serious concerns about the direction that long-term care was going in. Although much of the debate today has been basically on all the bells and whistles and the amendments to this legislation, I still remain very concerned about the fundamental direction in which this bill is leading us. For that reason, I wish to inform my colleagues that I will not be supporting the bill, and on such occasion it's important that I set for the record those reasons why I will be voting against the bill.

I serve in the capacity of Community and Social Services critic for my party and advocate for senior citizens. I take those responsibilities very seriously, but looking at this legislation and other legislation through the eyes of those for whom I am to be advocating, which is not my political party as much as those who are most significantly affected by it, I find that upon intense examination of this legislation, I cannot support it.

A lot has been said, and I believe the member for Simcoe Centre, the parliamentary assistant, said that this represents a substantial reform. I don't believe it is substantial reform on the face of it, nor on the way in which it's being conveyed. The parliamentary assistant for the Minister of Health would have us accept on faith, without the proper funding in place, without regulations being exposed and circulated to the members, without sufficient planning and without the delivery infrastructure in place ready to present and deliver these services. There are four or five reasons why we have legislation running well in advance of what the true commitment and the true outcome will be for seniors who require long-term care.

The member for Simcoe Centre went on to suggest that anyone suggesting open-ended funding would be irresponsible. Well, I would agree with the member, but

for him to suggest that what anybody has asked for is open-ended funding here would be fundamentally wrong. The member should know that this whole issue of long-term care has been mired in controversy over just how it is being funded.

We know, for example, when the Liberals began on this path towards long-term care reform some five or six years ago, they clearly indicated that the institutional care sector in health, the hospitals were going to have to give up some of their money.

Your government, when it made its announcement, took \$75 million directly out of chronic care hospitals in this province in order to fund the elements of the reform package that it was enunciating. That was two years ago. You've been taking funds from the institutional care sector, but we are not seeing the resultant expenditure towards seniors in this province, so there is legitimate concern about this government's commitment to the long-term care reform package.

This is not a request for open-ended funding. This is a request to say that if you can stand in this Legislature and say you're going to spend \$647 million, then say you're going to spend it and spend it. But if you're simply constantly telling people how much you're going to spend and then never spend it, you are guilty of not only being dishonest but misleading the province and the members of this House.

So when, for example, the Senior Citizens' Consumer Alliance for Long-Term Care Reform called a press conference, it said: "Look, Minister, we support many of the things you do. But when you say you've announced the money and then you don't spend it, why do you do that?" Jane Leitch, one of their leading spokespersons, indicated that of the \$100-million down payment, they can only find \$26 million. Where did the rest of the money go?

So when seniors' groups now start to wake up to what long-term care really is, this is one more government program where government comes to the people and says: "Hey, we're the government. We're going to take care of you. We're going to take care of you in a new and exciting way. You're going to be so pleased. We're going to take you out of those cold, heartless, impersonal institutions, you're going to be taken care of in your home and there'll be a steady stream of people and services coming to your driveway or to your apartment to make sure that you're comfortable and can live with dignity in those declining years."

That is what long-term care has been sold or marketed, to the public in this province, as a policy. Now the evidence is growing, the evidence is clear and growing that we in public life have foisted on to seniors of this province a great disservice by suggesting to them one vision and one future when in fact there's going to be an entirely different outcome for seniors in this province, based on the numbers of expenditures we've

seen, based on the fact that the regulations are not coming forward, based on the absolute control which is contained in this bill, control for the government to control outcomes, a bureaucrat controls who goes where—and when the member opposite suggests that people have choices, those beds have to be available in order to have the choice.

But with some 60-odd nursing homes either in receivership or on the border of receivership, I can assure her that the government's first priority is to move all those people from nursing homes when they allow those to go into receivership. When they do not respond to the financial crisis affecting long-term care in this province, those people will be ushered around and will consume most of the beds around Ontario, not with regard to whether they're culturally appropriate, whether it's in a good community for them; it'll be simply on the basis of a number of declining beds in this province.

It's been stated earlier that our demographics are abundantly clear that the number of seniors living longer is growing at an alarming rate in this province, and we do not have the infrastructure in place. But we have a political response for people. We can sleep at night saying: "Hey, we're doing long-term care reform. It's a wonderful principle and it works." Well, it can't work if you're standing up in the Legislature saying, "We're going to spend \$100 million last year and \$160 million this year," and then not spend it.

The other issue is, where would we have seen an NDP government fight the last seven elections in this province that I can remember against user fees, and what is the first and largest single contribution that will be to long-term care reform? The government's user fee adjustment.

Now, as a Tory I'm not terribly offended by that, but coming from socialists who are telling us, "This is a wonderful system and we're spending this money"—you're darned right you're spending it. You're spending taxpayers' money but you're forcing them, seniors on fixed incomes, to pay these incredibly large user fees. It's okay for you. You've got a job. You can vote yourself a raise. Many of the people who control your political party have jobs, but these people don't. They've made their contribution in life. These people are sitting with fixed incomes, with growing responsibilities.

1630

The third area that concerns me is that a lot of the long-term care reform hasn't been put in the context of what the average person aged 65 to 80 is experiencing in this province. This government on the one hand says in its throne speech, "Stay with us, guys, because during this session the government will implement a historic shift in the way we care for people by introducing an innovative system of long-term care for the elderly and the disabled." Bill 101 doesn't even allow the disabled

to have an impact on this legislation.

In the same breath you went and announced that you're gutting the Ontario drug benefit plan, bringing in user fees, reducing access to drugs that are on the Ontario Drug Benefit Formulary. You try and suggest that you can assure seniors in this province that you've done any kind of impact analysis on their income levels, their ability to pay for all the additional costs that they will bear associated with your vision of long-term care reform. We know it's going to be more expensive, and yet you're not spending the money. Therefore there will be less access and less total overall care.

Much has been said as well about the many amendments that had to be forced during the public hearings. It doesn't matter who gets credit for them. The fact is that in its original form this government wanted many things in this bill which the public found completely unacceptable. I simply say that if the government was thinking along those lines, if the government was so sensitive to those things, why wasn't it in the original document? Matters as significant as priority access for veterans, who've made their contributions in life; for the issues around cultural and ethnic needs and linking those services, people who've contributed all their lives to a home for the aged or a non-profit residence to be maybe shut out or barred from access.

There's the whole question of whether or not this government will impose neutrality in the environment of these long-term care facilities around matters of religion. As I raised in committee, if our public school system is any example of how the government approaches it, then clearly all religious-based or faith-based homes for the aged could be subject to regulations by the government saying, "Look, you can't disrupt the rights of individuals who may not share your common faith in that facility." No one had an answer to that, and we have no regulations. All we know is the government continues to control these kinds of matters.

I mentioned about the issue of user fees going up, the absolute uncertainty and the fear among seniors' groups in this province that the government is not honouring its funding announcements. The government has the right to change its mind, but it must in fairness be honest, come forward and say, "Look, we're not going to spend that money." The Treasurer was doing it with a whole host of things. But in long-term care you're so afraid to admit that the real plan is to reduce what this government spends on its senior citizens.

These people have contributed all their lives. They have attempted to prepare for their declining years. Many of them do it alone. Many of them suffer the loss of a partner late in life. So for the government to bring forward legislation which purports to give them increased access to quality care and greater comfort when in fact the evidence is clear that this is not its purpose—then I say I cannot support this legislation.



I believe, like the fundamental philosophy, if you listen to some eastern philosophies, there is an old Chinese proverb that a measure of the true caring of a society is measured by how it cares for its elderly and its disadvantaged. I do not believe that the way the government is approaching long-term care will achieve that for our seniors in their declining years. I believe we have a very nicely packaged program to reduce access for seniors in Ontario. I believe that the dollars that are being discussed as a commitment are not surfacing as an expenditure, and therefore the levels of service that we have provided in the past in this province will be just that: something from our past.

So I say to the members opposite that I know you will disagree with me, but having spent so many years on these issues around health care, social services and seniors' needs, it's clear to me that the true direction of where we're going—we have fewer beds today in this province than we had 5 and 10 years ago, and those beds, at a declining number, are declining at an even more rapid rate. The amount of services and care and attention that goes with those also is disappearing, and as people are asked to stay in their homes longer, as their property taxes go up and as the government indicates new tax after new tax, these seniors are being squeezed and they'll be squeezed in their homes.

I say to the members opposite, you may not agree with this, but the truth of the matter is that we have to live with our decisions about where the direction of this legislation is taking us. I've made my decision, and I'm quite comfortable having made it.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Dennis Drainville):** Questions and/or comments? The honourable member for Simcoe Centre.

**Mr Wessenger:** Yes, Mr Speaker, I'm afraid I can't resist responding to some of the comments made by the member for Burlington South.

First of all, I would suggest to the member that I did reiterate the commitment of the government today with respect to the \$647 million, and it is a clear commitment. I would suggest the \$133.5 million that's going to be spent on integrated homemaking services to bring those services across the province is a real commitment and something that's basically needed to provide the alternatives of choice.

I would suggest that the \$37.6 million used to expand community support services will add to the community. I suggest that the \$40 million allocated for supportive housing will enable many more seniors to have choices.

I would suggest also, with respect to the whole question of beds, our government feels there is a sufficient number of beds throughout the whole province. There is a problem with respect to allocation geographically, I'll admit that, but there are still more beds available to be built. Certainly, there are beds

allocated that have not been built yet, and we expect and hope that they will be built in the near future.

With respect to the whole question of amendments, the amendments that we made in this legislation were made not because they were contrary to the intention of this legislation. As always happens in legislation, sometimes misinterpretations come up, and often things that are obvious to the drafters aren't obvious to the public. What we did was we brought in amendments that would clarify the intention and make clear the fact that consumer choice was paramount; also to clarify the fact that considerations of language, considerations of culture, considerations of family relationships would be taken into account. We put those things in the bill to ensure it would be better legislation, and to suggest that there's something lacking because the government is trying to make clear what its original intention was, I think is wrong.

**The Acting Speaker:** Further questions and/or comments? If there are none, the honourable member for Burlington South has two minutes to respond.

**Mr Jackson:** That's our whole problem. The member opposite says, "I was here today in the House to reiterate, we will spend that." Well, I've got news for him. Every poll I've seen says you aren't even going to be around. But what you will have left is a legislative infrastructure where the control mechanisms of the state—

**Hon Mr Pouliot:** That's what they said last time.

**Mr Jackson:** You have the nerve to suggest you're not changing things. This was an insured benefit under Ontario health benefits. The NDP government of Bob Rae has removed extended care as an insured benefit. When I look at the Canada Health Act, whether it's mentioned in the Canada Health Act or it's an option in the Canada Health Act—

**Hon Shelley Martel (Minister of Northern Development and Mines):** Put a cap on the cap.

**Mr Jackson:** Well, the member for Sudbury East has very limited comments on health care that I would want to listen to. But the problem we have in this province is, Bob Rae is removing it as an insured benefit.

*Interjections.*

**The Acting Speaker:** Order, please. Order.

**Mr Jackson:** This wonderful socialist has done this to seniors in this province.

**Hon Mr Pouliot:** Be fair. Be fair.

**Mr Jackson:** I'm being fair. I'm not going to unconscionably vote against stripping the OHIP benefits of seniors in this province.

**Hon Mr Pouliot:** You're so different when you're outside. The minute you get into this place, you have an attitude problem.

**Mr Jackson:** You can shout all you want. Doesn't the Minister of Transportation have some more bilingual lawn signs to put up? The member opposite should know better.

1640

**Hon Mr Pouliot:** What has that got to do with the bill?

**Mr Jackson:** It has, because beds are being cut in this province because that's a bigger priority for you, and the member opposite knows.

The member opposite talked about the number of beds. His government has reclassified chronic care beds in this province at the Perley Hospital. Your theory is, "We'll phase out chronic care hospitals in this province." That's your vision. You tell that to the sick, to the elderly and the infirm in this province, that what you hope to achieve is to strip the OHIP benefit schedule and reduce bed access in this province. You should be ashamed of yourselves.

**The Acting Speaker:** The honourable member's time has expired. I thank the honourable member for his participation in the debate. Further debate?

**Mrs Yvonne O'Neill (Ottawa-Rideau):** I'm happy that we're finally into third reading of Bill 101, a bill which, in my opinion and in the opinion of many Ontarians, is long overdue. My regret is that Bill 101 will be passed in an atmosphere of uncertainty, great uncertainty, that many of its provisions of enforcement, control and sanctions are yet great, great unknowns.

The Association of Municipalities of Ontario, in a letter dated March 9, 1993, stated, "There is grave concern with the vagueness and the generalities of Bill 101." That is the organization that is going to have to administer and continue to administer the homes for the aged.

Not one of us, not one member of this Legislature, not one member of a municipal council, not one Ontarian, health care provider or resident, has one bit of vision of what will be in regulations surrounding Bill 101—regulations, may I remind you, that will be totally written by the bureaucrats in the Ministry of Health under the direction of the NDP government, with no promise of input anywhere along the way for health care providers, for residents, indeed, for the Legislature of Ontario.

In the two and a half years that the NDP has governed, we've seen no real reform in long-term care. We've seen no real redirection of long-term care. We've been belaboured with promises, promises, promises, announcements and reannouncements, yet Bill 101 comes to us in isolation, in an atmosphere of waiting lists that are growing and hours of service that are declining.

This NDP government has talked about the degree of consultation that has surrounded Bill 101, but may I

bring to the attention of this Legislature that the presenters who came before us, whether they were in Thunder Bay, Windsor, London or right here in Toronto, brought to our attention that though they had been consulted with for over a year and had spent their own resources in preparing briefs and presenting them, they felt they'd often been listened to but not heard.

Amendments to Bill 101 have improved the rights of residents that are based on ethnicity, culture, linguistic or spiritual needs. We're very happy that those sensitivities are now part of the bill, and spiritual needs were added completely fresh in the amendments, and for that we're grateful.

Amendments also present a stronger commitment to respite care and guaranteed admission to priority-access beds for veterans. May I, at this moment, congratulate those veterans who presented that case before the committee? They did an outstanding job.

Amendments also bring us a shorter time line of 21 days for the hearing process before an appeal board. For that, I am also happy.

These are improvements requested by presenters and agreed to by the standing committee on social development. The significant move to recognize the needs of the developmentally disabled is also an asset. I quote from the Partnerships in Long-Term Care report:

"For a long time, people with developmental disabilities and their families have urged that there be greater equity in serving their wide range of needs."

The report promises—now, it's just a promise, but at least the mention is now there—to "produce a better coordinated, efficient system that reflects the concerns of consumers, their families and providers."

This is the way in which the needs of the developmentally disabled have been presented to us over the long haul by themselves, by their families and by their care givers. This has been a united effort from day one. Hopefully, now this government is making a real commitment, soon to be accompanied by time lines and clear directions. We've waited long enough for this one.

The increased choice and opportunity for the use of attendant care workers, who are so basic to the lives of the physically disabled, were also recognized through the hearing process.

For all of these amendments, I commend the committee on social development and those caucuses that presented the various amendments.

But I present with some regret, as did Jane Leitch, the chair of the Senior Citizens' Consumer Alliance, that there is still fear among many. In a letter to me dated April 13, 1993, Ms Leitch states, "Seniors are becoming increasingly concerned about the gap between government rhetoric and the reality of their spending patterns." I'm sure Mrs Leitch in her position has heard many other doubts expressed of announcements and



reannouncements, and she has heard, as I have, from the nursing home operators that January 1 has come and gone and they do not have their level-of-care funding; that March 31 has come and gone and we have not seen the \$100 million flow for the expansion of community-based services.

This government has promised time and time again that the funding commitment for long-term care is secure. I hope and I trust, for the vulnerable who will be protected by Bill 101, that there will be a very, very strong statement to support the initiatives of this bill in the budget of 1993. Surely, the Treasurer will be presenting this bill to us in the very near future. That commitment must appear in budget '93.

My trepidation and that of many, especially seniors and care givers in this province, stems from the fact that the NDP government makes it all sound so simple. Despite the fact that this NDP government continues to change even its most fundamental decisions, whether on the size of the provincial deficit, which is one day \$9.9 billion, another day \$12 billion, \$13 billion, maybe going up to \$17 billion, down to \$8 billion or \$9 billion—who knows what the deficit is projected to be, or even really is, in 1992-93?

So we have fundamental decisions on the support for the common pause day. How do we know what the position of the government is on that bill? It hasn't come before us in almost a year of being in first reading.

On their distaste for any form of gambling—and we have people in this chamber wearing “Casino, No” buttons. We asked many questions today and we have very few answers about where we're going with casino gambling in Ontario.

And the policies on automobile insurance: That's another question in limbo.

So how can we have any certainty that what is being said about this bill, 50% of which will be implemented through regulations—how can the province, the seniors, the disabled have any certainty about the bill and its regulations? I ask that question, and many others are asking that question.

The NDP government is asking us to believe that all will just fall into place once we get this bill passed and it has a chance to work on the regulations. Well, Mr Speaker, we'll be giving them that chance, but we'll be watching very closely, as will many others. We want to see the framework that has been promised become operative; we want to see the funding that will flow, flow.

1650

In the interim, we know that the funding for capital is very uncertain. Many long-term care facilities have approval in principle right across this province. Some of them may never be built. In fact, two in Ottawa-

Carleton feel they are in dire straits.

The Minister of Health expects us to be totally comfortable when she says, “My target,” “My hope,” “I'm telling you with confidence,” and, “We will enact this bill as quickly as we can.” How many times have we heard the phrases from this government: “as quickly as I can,” “as well as we can,” “as fast as we can”? It gets a little old in the saying.

This is all presented in the quote, and I am quoting from the minister, “Other pieces of the puzzle”—the minister's own words—“are yet to come.” Pieces of the puzzle are yet to come and we're supposed to be confident?

The role of the district health councils, multiservice agencies and placement coordinators, with their many new responsibilities, yet again undefined and untried, are so vague at this moment that Ontarians still do not know which of these bodies will have the ultimate responsibility for establishing the following important points. They do not know who will be establishing assessment guidelines, eligibility criteria or determining the processes and procedures for admission and discharge. Those are not in Bill 101. They will be part of the regulations that I mentioned earlier.

In addition, the staff, those who serve in the nursing homes, the homes for the aged and the charitable institutions or home care settings, are still looking—and I've had this presented to me as recently as yesterday—for any indication that their request for training and professional development will be met. They realize, even if this government doesn't, that their responsibilities are going to become much more complex, are going to change drastically. They are asking that they be able to have the training they will need.

Their daily question, in the midst of all these other questions of professionalism and care for those they have services to render to, continues to be, “What is the social contract, how will it affect me and how will it affect those who are entrusted to me?” They need a guarantee from this government that they will be able to serve their patients to the best of their ability and that the professional standards they all have will be met.

We are asked to trust that these things will just work out. These are very big decisions. They change lives. They change communities. It's time we had some details, some firm idea of where the NDP government is leading us on decisions that will affect those most in need in our communities, in our province, and the many people who care for them on a daily basis.

District health councils, placement coordinators and multiservice agencies are non-elected, and to this point they have no appeal mechanism built in regarding their decisions, nor is there an appeal process for facilities. When we asked about this during the hearing process and thence during amendments, we were told: “That's

part of phase 2, folks," which is an all-encompassing complex bill on long-term care reform that not one person in this province has even had a glimpse at, but: "That's where all the appeal mechanisms are, folks. If you've got any complaints, put them on hold until we get that in process."

In the meantime, local communities are beavering away, trying to preserve and improve their own services, just hoping that somehow they'll fit into the framework, that they'll be able to live within the guidelines, that they'll be able to conform to the criteria that are yet to be defined and that they'll have the funds to meet the requirements of the service contracts they have to sign.

Also undefined—the points have been brought forward to many members of the government, and indeed to our caucus—is the fundamental question of who is going to provide the services, particularly in the area of home care, to those who are presently served by the 20,000 private operators, independent business people, small business people, often women, who, may I remind this House, all have licences and are all regulated in this province. But they're being told: "Folks, you're being phased out, because you don't fit the category of non-profit and that's the only way we're going. You're doing well, your clients just love you, but there's no room for you in the system."

Are we into another expensive, buyout situation? We're already experiencing one in the child care sector. Even in this time of restraint, where people are being asked to lose their jobs by the thousands, in fact tens of thousands, we have a \$26-million allocation for child care conversion with not one new space in this province. Is the same going to be true in the home care industry, with not one extra hour of service, not one extra bed provided to those in need?

I ask, how firm is the financial commitment when the best we've seen it described as is "a clear undertaking"? A clear undertaking in a sandstorm doesn't give much direction, and that's what we're into: a pre-budget consultation where no one knows what's on the table except everything, and no idea of what direction this government is taking them.

Consultation, pre-budget, 1993, leaves much to be desired. The whole long-term care implementation perhaps is going to leave much to be desired. It's built on the premise of ad hockery. We have this announcement here, that announcement there, pieces of a puzzle being described by the minister, and this makes the commitment to funding very, very difficult for us to determine.

We are left with the fundamental question: Will the funding be there to a facility, to a municipality, to support the plan of care according to the mandatory service agreements? That is the fundamental question.

Our fundamental support for Bill 101 rests upon our belief that each person, and especially our vulnerable and elderly, must be treated with dignity and respect and must be part of the decision-making process as their care and facilities are being determined.

If I may close with another quote from the senior who has taken leadership in this province, Jane Leitch: "Unfortunately, over the past year there's been no reform, redirection or redeployment of resources. Instead, all that is happening is that components of the existing system are being downsized without the enhancement and growth of the community-based sector,"—and I add, as promised, promised, promised.

The fundamental uncertainties in this legislation must be clarified and clarified quickly. Seniors who have given a lifetime of service and contribution to the growth and development of Ontario which we, our children and our grandchildren have inherited and will inherit, deserve no less from we legislators and from the province of Ontario.

**The Acting Speaker:** I thank the honourable member for her participation in the debate. Questions and/or comments?

**Mr Bisson:** I listened to the member opposite on this particular debate, and for somebody who supported the bill she had some interesting things to say. The thing that really struck me was at the beginning of her debate. She talks about having to wait for two and a half years for this government to move on long-term care reform. Where were you for five years? The Liberals were in power for five years, and had an opportunity to be able to move on long-term care reform and didn't. It took this government to bring that bill forward.

I'm amazed at their new-found concern on this particular issue, especially coming from the Liberal caucus. It is quite unbelievable for a member of that caucus to stand in this House and to complain about what is happening on long-term care being late in coming. You had the government for five years. You had an opportunity to do so and it wasn't done.

**1700**

There are another couple of points, but I'm just going to touch on this particular point. The other thing that she said within this debate—she talked about the deficit, and I'm going to see if I can paraphrase. She said that the government keeps on changing the numbers: sometimes it's \$9 billion, sometimes it's \$12 billion, sometimes it's \$17 billion. I don't want to have to sit here and give you a lecture on economics, but there is something happening in the province of Ontario, as there is something happening across the country, as is happening in the United States.

What is happening, quite simply, is there are less and less people working, which means to say you have less



and less people paying taxes, which means to say that we in the end have less money. If the numbers shift from \$9 billion to \$12 billion, it is not because of anything this government is doing in regard to how it looks at numbers; it has to do with the reality of the economy itself. What we can do in this Legislature, on the part of government and opposition, is to try to find ways to be able to address those particular problems.

This leads to the whole question of the social contract. I've been listening to the members opposite do about everything possible in order to try to underpin and undermine what we're trying to do around the social contract by trying to put fear in the hearts of people whose very existence depend on jobs within the civil service. I would say to the members of the opposition: Please get onside. Let's work together. Let's solve some problems and stop playing games.

**The Acting Speaker:** Further questions and/or comments?

**Mr Bernard Grandmaître (Ottawa East):** I want to congratulate my colleague the member for Ottawa-Rideau for giving us a real exposé of the long-term care policy.

In response to our friend the member for Cochrane South—is it Cochrane South?—asking where we were, I want to remind the member and the members in this House that the Liberal government started the long-term study and we implemented the first phase.

I want to tell you that the promises that we made, capitalwise or operatingwise, were guaranteed. But now, with your budget—I shouldn't call it your budget; I should call it your deficit—I don't know how you will be able to afford to provide all of these services. I think you should come clean with this House. You should come clean with the non-profit operators and also the private operators, who don't know if they will exist 12 months from now.

I think it's very unfair to tell the private operators who are paying their fair share for these services—they are now being told that, no, this is not acceptable. They will be doing the same thing as they did with child care. "We'll put in \$170 million and we'll buy out all private operators," which they haven't done yet. Most people have gone bankrupt and we are missing day care seats every day in this province.

So when I hear members opposite asking us where we were, we started this whole program of long-term care. We kept our promise. But they stalled for two and a half years and now they're coming out with an incomplete program and they think that we will accept this kind of half-half program.

**The Acting Speaker:** Further questions and/or comments? If there are none, then I'd ask the honourable member for Ottawa-Rideau. You have two minutes to respond.

**Mrs O'Neill:** I realize that the member for Cochrane South was not with us in the years 1987 to 1990. If he was, he would have remembered that the minister at that time who was driving this bill was the member for York North. He left the reform papers and all the consultation documents in the upper right-hand drawer when he walked out.

The reform began to take off in people's minds, but not in this government's. As a result, we had a whole other consultation process where they redid everything we did and began again. Now we are at year five, waiting for results from what we had as a very good set of hearings. By the way, we had made very strong commitments to culture, to ethnicity, to language and to spirituality in those particular initiatives we had made.

Talking about the deficit, it's almost difficult for me to express myself. To have a member stand in his place and say that NDP policies have not led to this deficit in some way, shape or form, with the sense of government confidence gone, with the lack of trust, with the business plans in this province in utter chaos and with no consistency and no focus and everything on the table from child care to hospital care to education, how can anyone have any confidence in what's going on in long-term care?

You don't need to teach me anything about economics. You have to go back to your riding and listen to the people and the problems they're struggling with, both in this bill and with the general economy of this province, and you'll know why we're upset. But we will support the bill to help to see if you will get level-of-care funding as you promised.

**The Acting Speaker:** I thank the honourable member. Further debate, the honourable member for Oakville South.

**Mr Gary Carr (Oakville South):** I'm pleased to enter the debate and to share a few thoughts with the House. I want to first of all congratulate the new minister on her position, as a couple of other folks have done in the beginning. I think like all the people of this province we wish her well in a very difficult task.

I also want to compliment all of the MPPs who served time on this committee. I think that many people do not realize the amount of time that went into it, and in this day and age when people are a little cynical about politicians, I think the amount of time that has been spent was well appreciated.

As well, I think the public is to be commended for the amount of time that they've spent. I understand upwards of 75,000 people have been involved in this, so I say to those people, thank you very much.

I also want to especially thank the member for Simcoe West who has put together as part of this process and really spent a great deal of time in keeping our caucus informed of what was happening, and for

that I thank him. He's a young fellow who's come in here and done just a terrific job in a very difficult portfolio.

I very quickly want to thank some people personally in my area too. I had an opportunity to meet with Jane Saunders and the people of my district health council to get a bit of an update and some thoughts on their suggestions as part of my senior advisory committee. I appreciate the input they gave to me, as well as the people on my senior advisory council that met I guess two Fridays ago to discuss this issue.

I think we're all very concerned about this issue because of the changing demographics. As we all know, by the year 2010, there'll be about a 45% increase in the number of people who are 65 and over. So it is a very critical question.

I want to share a few thoughts with some of the members and the minister and her parliamentary assistant, who have spent a great deal of time on this.

I'm going to spend a little bit of time talking about the funding. There have been a lot of questions in this Legislature about what's going to happen as a result of the funding changes two Fridays ago, and I know the government has stood up and said that it's planning to carry through. I would say to the minister that I guess what it will depend upon over the next little while is what happens in this whole discussion over the social contract and what happens with nurses' salaries and so on. Forgive us if we're a little bit sceptical about, as we now refer to it, your deficit du jour. There should be a time stamp on some of it, because it seems to change daily.

I did want to get into some of the funding issues, but I very quickly want to touch on a couple of other areas as well. The funding reform for nursing homes and charitable municipal homes for the aged has been based as we all know on a system that has not been equitable. I'm not going to spend a great deal of time on that whole issue other than to say that I believe most people are now aware of it.

One of the concerns that has been voiced is the concern of the private sector. As we found out in the day care debate, the private sector needs to be involved significantly in a lot of areas. It's not unironic that in the day care situation, when the private day care operators were pushed out of that particular piece through some of the funding programs that went on, going way back I guess to November of last year, we now have longer waiting lists for day care in this province than when this government took over.

I think this government is finally realizing, in spite of its ideology—we often say it's driven by ideology and it's now confronted with reality—that the private sector needs to be involved. We're a little bit sceptical and a little bit concerned about what that funding will be, but

we honestly, truly believe that there needs to be a private sector, because if we do not have a private sector involvement like some of the other areas, whether it be day care or housing, as this government is finding out, there will never, never, never, never be enough money to provide for the seniors in this province.

#### 1710

In 1989-90, \$2.2 billion was spent on long-term care, not including the funding for acute hospitals for extended periods, and, as we all know, about 80% of that was for institutional services. By 1996-97 we're probably going to be changing that and we predict that about 68.5% of the budget will be dedicated to facilities and about 31.5% to community services.

One of the concerns that we've got regarding that whole situation is the local planning issue. I think most people believe that the people who are on the front lines—and I'm fortunate in our area with our district health council, which has done a great deal of work, and I believe the parliamentary assistant was out in the Burlington area at city hall to hear from some of the folks out there—know first hand what is happening. I think everybody agrees that the locally planned service delivery based on population and health needs—it's those people in the front lines who are going to be able to really assess the needs rather than what we've seen in the past, which has been, quite frankly, a lot of the bureaucrats within the ministry.

There needs to be improved coordination of long-term care and support services. I think it's the one thing that we can all agree on. The difficulty will be in how that is going to be done, and there are still some concerns in my community about the various groups, about how that is going to be done, because, quite frankly, this piece of legislation is just the start. The new partnership really will take us down the road, and I want to comment a little bit on that in a moment.

There need to be more alternatives to institutions. I think there's agreement among all parties on that. I believe that the funding equity must happen right across the province. I don't want to get into too much detail about how it's happening now, but there are some major gaps and I understand Halton is one of the areas that does suffer from a financial standpoint and they're hoping that will be done. So when the whole issue of funding comes up, regardless of how it is done, I think equity will need to be there.

I think what is going to happen is going to be something a little bit different. What the government did, of course, as you know, is put a study together, and instead of saying, "This is what it would take to set up an ideal situation," it seems to have worked backwards. They seem to have started with a figure and said: "Okay now, here. This is what we're going to jam into the budget." I, quite frankly, understand that in these days of tough fiscal restraint where we're in a position of possibly



laying off nurses and teachers and the whole problem that we're facing, that that needs to be done, but I would have hoped the government would have had a quick look at how it needed to be done properly to get the services in place. I have advocated all along that what we should do in long-term care is say, "That's it. This is how much it will take to get it done properly," not set a figure. As a result, I think if you'd gone to the public and said, "Well, we're not going to build the roads this year," or "We're not going to put up the new schools," or whatever it may be, more people would respect you if you concentrated on one thing at a time and did it well, rather than the situation we're at now.

So if I have any criticisms, it's the way it was done. In other words, the Finance minister comes in and says, "This is how much money will be spent. You may or may not get that," and then you try to drive a system into that. I personally would have rather you took a look at it from what the needs are, because I think everyone realizes long-term that this is what needs to happen, and to keep people in their homes is certainly a goal that everybody will be supporting.

I remember in the election campaign when I ran into a lady who was about ready to be put into an institution. She had some type of operation, and all she needed, really, was somebody there to be able to cut the lawn, something very simple, and a little bit of care. Instead, we are going to put them in an institution with a tremendous, high cost. She had lost her husband and she wanted to stay in the home and, as a result of some of the changes, was very concerned. So I think there's a tremendous amount of support for the whole idea and I'm going to get into some of the details of where we believe there should be some concerns.

I want to talk about the \$647 million. As we all know, \$440 million will be directed to the community-based programs; \$206 million of the \$647 million will be directed to institutional services, namely, the nursing homes and homes for the aged. Looking at the whole situation, of the \$206 million, the government will contribute \$56 million and expects it can raise the further \$150 million through residential copayments on accommodations. I know there's been a great deal of talk about that over the last little while.

I suggest that what we need to do is be able to let the people and the public know exactly what is happening in terms of those costs and where they will be heading: \$37.6 million will go towards the expansion of community support services, such as Meals on Wheels, transportation and attendant care. I think everybody supports that. I know the Minister of Citizenship has been involved in the Meals on Wheels, and that program of keeping people in their homes is a tremendous benefit. One of the concerns we've got is, how is this going to be organized in the communities to be able to serve the public?

One of the things I also wanted to talk about was the whole issue of the appeal process. I in looking at the bill was part of the group that took a real hard look at this and, as you know, even with all the amendments I'm not entirely pleased with everything that's gone into this. But I do appreciate that there has been some improvement come through. We're pleased at some of the progress that has been made on several issues, including some of the consumer choice, the greater accountability of placement coordinators, the increased sensitivity towards the cultural, linguistic and social needs, and it's too bad we ran into some of the problems that we did over this piece of legislation, because with the amount of time we spent, it's amazing that we did, contrary to what most people say, run into a lot of problems with this piece of legislation.

The appeal opportunity and dispute resolution mechanism: We do have some concerns about some of the unresolved problems. Notably, the government has refused to incorporate some of the appeal processes.

Opportunities for facilities and consumers: We're still very concerned about that. Some of the amendments that we introduced during the clause-by-clause to increase the opportunities of appeal were in the interests of improving the accountability of placement coordinators and the decisions of the minister. We stressed throughout our amendments that these sort of sanctions must be the last resort and, if applied, they need to be fair to all.

One of the problems we've got is the government has said, "Well, we'll look at that in the future." Quite frankly, not trying to be too partisan with this, that really is one of the concerns that we've got, because the government keeps saying, "Well, we'll look at that later; we'll look at that later." Right now we're in a situation where most of the public really doesn't believe this government when it says, "We're taking a look at that." So I would encourage them again to have a long, hard look at that particular piece of some of the concerns that we raised in that area.

I also believe that, as some of the nursing home associations pointed out, the difficult period is going to be in the beginning. It's going to take a great deal to work through the system, to change the system in this magnitude, and even with all of the consultation that's gone on in this bill and the new document that's out there, I'm a little bit concerned, as somebody who's looked at it from the outside, that we really are going to still face some problems, because most of the people don't trust—not in terms of trusting the government for its motives but its ability to manage the system, because in other areas we've seen so many failures.

Similarly, the government has refused our suggestion to include some of the dispute resolution mechanisms that deal specifically with problems concerning service agreements. For a government that has historically in

opposition championed fairness, we're a little bit concerned about that. We could have had some of the third-party arbitration mechanisms to take a look at some of the disputes that are out there.

I want to touch on the non-profit versus the profit sector. I know there's a tremendous amount of concern out there, and having gone through the fight over auto insurance and the day care and some of the other fights, I think it's definite that this government has a preference for non-profit, certainly in housing, as we raise every day as well.

So I say to the private operators out there that they should be very wary of this government and its intentions. I think they're driven by fiscal necessity right now, but I firmly believe that their intention would be to put the private sector nursing home people out of business. I think that would be a shame, and we're going to fight this government every step of the way if it attempts to do that.

I think some of the things that have come out from different people within the government, whether they're said in open meetings or some of the people who were involved in the ministry—it's too bad, because I think it clouds the issue. We would again say, with all due respect to this government, that we need a clear, clear statement, because what happened in auto insurance is the same principle, where they were saying one thing and then in the back rooms they're saying, "What we're going to do is regulate the private sector so that we won't have to throw them out; they're going to want to go out on their own." And it's the same system with some of the housing issues as well, the private operators. So this government will have to forgive us if we're a little bit sceptical on this issue. And certainly with day care being the big issue, going way back to November, we really are going to be very concerned. I say to the minister and to this government, if you do not have private sector involvement, there will never, never be enough money to provide the services we need as our population ages.

1720

The Ontario Home Health Care Providers' Association points out that the government has set some contradictory goals for itself. I hope it is just some mishap, as often happens in big ministries, that it isn't intentional, because I think that more than anything else, we need to be very clear to those people on what the intentions are.

On the one hand, it's aiming at expanding home care services. Bill 101 will require consumers to prove that they cannot get enough care or the appropriate type of care in the community to be considered eligible for facilities of care. On the other hand, the government intends to eliminate nearly one half of the providers of the community-based services, and that is the private sector home care providers.

I could get into some of the funding issues as well, because that seems to be how it's done: in terms of getting funding to the actual workers, similar to the day care. When the private sector people are unable to compete financially, it makes it tougher to get people, and then the government says: "There, see? There's not enough people doing it. We have to go to the non-profit sector." So the game plan, the cookie-cutter approach that's used, in many cases, to drive the private sector out—I say to this government that we're on to the game and we'll be watching for that.

The government has certainly paid much lipservice to the continuum-of-care model in the reformed long-term care system. This model in theory would see the establishment of a whole spectrum of services for the client, but we have yet to see from the government a detailed plan of how that will operate. It's very easy in discussions to say, "This is how it's going to work." We really need to get down to specifics, as the clock ticks, in order to create a system. We, for our part, really cannot be satisfied with the vague funding commitments to various aspects of the supposed redirection. I don't know whether it's because you don't know how much money it will take or how much money you've got to spend or whether it will change as a result of what happens over the next little while that we really can't key in on where some definite money will be going.

Eliminating the private sector will mean that jobs will be dislocated. The commercial agencies employ about 20,000 health and support service employees across the province; 6,000 home support and agency administrative staff would be involved if job losses were there. I don't know, as a result of the discussions going on now, with the potential of nurses being laid off and with the salaries being rolled back, how that all comes into play. I suspect, when it comes to this particular government, even it's not sure because of the changes that are happening as we go around.

There needs to be consumer choice between different services. We're concerned that some will be eliminated and others will be edged out. In particular I mean the private sector.

Missing as well are other elements by which the industry can measure the proficiency of home care services. I think that needs to be done. In this day and age, when the government is talking about restraint, the government needs to have some mechanism, some fair and objective mechanism, that will be able to show the proficiency of some of the home care systems. I'm not all that sure it will make that much difference. I mean, we've stood up on the non-profit housing sector, for example; even the auditor said it was two and a half times what the private sector could do it for, somebody as objective as the auditor, and still the government won't listen. So we're concerned that the government won't listen anyway, but if there aren't any objective



measurements, that certainly will hurt.

The preference of one sector over another is hinged on ideology, in my opinion, not quality of care or cost, which I think it should be, and we're going to stay on you. But I think that certainly has changed from when you first came into government about three years ago; it certainly is a lot different now. I say to you that what we should be looking at is the consumer's standpoint, not ideology, because this whole system, when we set it up, I firmly believe is going to outlive this government, and we can't afford to have it done improperly. There are going to be enough things to criticize you for, the whole finances and the whole system, but I say to this government that when it comes to this whole question of long-term care, we are wishing you much success on this, because the future and the lives, if we don't do it well—there are going to be enough partisan things we can jump all over.

That's why I think, for the first time, the whole spirit of these hearings was in the spirit of cooperation. We had major concerns and put amendments forward, and I hope this is maybe the way we're going to see this place operate, because I think people realize that we can put partisanship aside and offer constructive solutions for this whole question. There will be enough time to argue in all the other areas and defeat you, but I honestly, truly believe, in this area with the people who are involved, some of the most vulnerable, that we need to do it right. I appreciate the fact that they may sometimes get a little annoyed at the opposition, but I honestly, truly believe that all the members who served so many long days on this are attempting to improve it.

The cost to the taxpayer for the not-for-profit services will increase, as the deficits of the not-for-profit agencies have historically been covered by the government. This happens with hospitals too. I know that my hospital in Oakville—I have two hospitals, one in Burlington and one in Oakville. The Oakville Hospital, which has been very well run, is concerned that through these whole funding cuts, sometimes the well-run ones take the hit for some of the poorly run ones right across this province.

I say to the minister, I hope that won't be the case when it comes to the whole discussion of what happens to hospital funding, but certainly in this area as well there needs to be accountability and we need to put it in place regardless of our thoughts about the not-for-profit. There needs to be public confidence, because this whole system will be clouded if there is not the confidence in the agencies that are doing the work.

Commercial home care providers pay their employees the same rate as those in the not-for-profit. Profits of home care companies range, I guess, depending upon the company, but one of the concerns we've got is that in some of the areas we look at, whether it's non-profit housing or day care or so on, when the non-profit is

involved, the costs seem to be going up and there are very few controls.

I know how it happens. The ministry has things in place and it's supposed to check things, but when you get a bureaucracy as big as it is, certainly in the size of the Ontario government, whether it's the Ministry of Consumer and Commercial Relations or the Ministry of Health, which is so large, or even Housing, so many things get rubber-stamped without the controls we need to be sure, in this day and age, of the tax dollars.

Mr Speaker, I see our time is coming down to about eight minutes and I know the member for Etobicoke West wanted to add a few comments as well, but I did want to sum up and say that what we personally believe is that we should continue to press, and will continue to press, the government for much-needed appeal opportunities and dispute resolution mechanisms. We remain concerned that a strategy is yet to be announced by this government to ensure the smooth transition towards a greater reliance on community-based services.

We are mindful of the fact that the NDP has failed to produce a comprehensive funding blueprint to support its so-called redirection efforts, and I say to the minister that we're going to stay on her on that. We remain committed to fighting for the redirection of a system that responds in a way that is fair to both the consumers and the providers. When we talk about partnership, as all these discussions did, we're really going to make sure that partnership is what happens.

Most importantly, we remain dedicated to ensuring that Ontario's long-term care system is attentive, sensitive and responsive to the needs of those whom it serves. That's why I say, in a non-partisan way, that at the end of the day we need to make sure that the work that is going on here is done with the people who will be serving them, because as we get a little bit further on into this process, there is not going to be the time or the resources to go back and redo it and try to improve it. We need to have a clear plan, and we're here to work with you, and hopefully at the end of the day we will be able to improve this bill.

On the whole, Mr Speaker, I will be supporting this piece of legislation, with quite a few concerns. But this isn't where it ends, this is where it begins, and we're going to continue to stay on this government to ensure that we provide the best possible service to the people of this province.

With that, I know the member for Etobicoke West wants a little time, so I will thank the members of the House for listening intently and would appreciate their comments, if they have any.

1730

**The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin):** Are there any questions or comments? The member for Halton Centre.

**Mrs Barbara Sullivan (Halton Centre):** Thank you, Mr Speaker. I want to respond to some of the issues raised by my colleague the member for Oakville South. In beginning, I would like to concur with his view with respect to the activity of the member for Simcoe Centre, who was indeed helpful during the course of this committee. In my view, if there has to be a junior minister of health—and I don't believe there has to be one—this is the member who should have been selected.

The member for Oakville South has raised the issue of the level of care funding and the deep concern everyone shares that there will be no guarantee that care plans which are developed for each resident are fully funded. Indeed, the legislation and the regulations are specifically designed so that individual care needs are not calculated in the funding, but the averages, which are based on a patient classification system that leaves out key areas such as psychogeriatric needs and rehabilitation, are in fact what become the base.

As our facilities are looking to what is apparently an increase in funding for the nursing home sector and probably a decrease or static funding for the homes for the aged sector, they will not be compensated for the full care needs of the residents, and that is going to be singularly problematic as this system develops.

I'm also interested and concerned about the home care services and community agencies, where we are seeing decreased resources rather than the increased resources which a shift from facility base is going to require.

The member has also alluded to the appeal process. As you know, we raised this issue for the first time in committee. We believe that a less formal, alternative system for the resident and for the homes themselves must be implemented. We will very much be following that and pursuing that issue as this debate proceeds.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Any further questions or comments? The member for Oakville South, you have two minutes.

**Mr Carr:** I appreciate the opportunity to add a couple of more points in the two minutes that are left. I just want to say to the minister that I think one of the concerns that is out there now, in speaking to various groups in my riding, is really the uncertainty of what is going to happen. I met with some of the people who are involved. They have employees. They don't know where the funding will be coming from. They hear some of the remarks that have come out as a result of two Fridays ago. This government has to realize there are a tremendous number of people in the field right now who really do not know and have lost confidence in the system.

Before, there were problems and they were concerned about what was happening, but in my mind, not trying

to be too partisan, there is a tremendous amount, basically, of people throwing up their hands and saying, "We don't know what's going to be happening." They are very fearful. In fact, I told some of the agencies that if it made them feel any better, to give my office a call and I'd be prepared to speak with them, not so much that I have the answers but just so they know that somebody in government will be there to listen to them and pass them on to the appropriate people.

I have had some calls. I guess they've gone out and spoken to various clients and some of their employees. I have had some calls from people. They really want to hear from elected officials that they at least understand what is going on. It doesn't help to be able to pick up the phone and speak with them and just tell them that I appreciate their concerns, but hopefully at the end of the day it will allow the people on the front lines, who are right now feeling very vulnerable and very scared, to be able to be part of the solutions.

I want to thank the member for Halton Centre. We of course share the same district health council and we've worked very closely with those people in keeping abreast of these issues. They've been kind enough to give me the information, and at the end of the day I honestly, truly believe that we're going to be able to make this a better bill. I hope all of us together will do that, because the people of this province deserve it.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Any further debate?

**Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines):** I'd like to make an unfortunately brief contribution to this debate this afternoon regarding long-term care and quote some of the material that has been coming forth to us from people who are interested and expert in this field.

First of all, there isn't anybody in the Legislature who doesn't believe that there's a need for the reform of long-term care in the province. With the demographics of this province, we note that the number of seniors as a percentage of the population is increasing rather significantly and rather rapidly.

Second, the number of seniors who require specialized health care is increasing at a rather dramatic rate. Also, since the birth rate in the province is not increasing very significantly, it means that those who are around now, the young people, are going to have to pay an increasing part of the load of the cost of care.

If anyone thinks, however, that you're going to really save a lot of money by going, for instance, from—we always get into the issue of deinstitutionalization. I think people have now come to the point where they recognize that deinstitutionalization—"institution" has an awful connotation and it shouldn't have in many cases; it means hospitalization or a nursing home, for instance, which may be considered to be institutionalized care. But the replacement of that with the appropriate services in the community is not necessarily going



to be cheaper, although in the long run there may be some cost-benefit to this. But if people are looking for immediate cost savings, they're simply not going to see them.

If we look at what has happened in other areas of endeavour, we will note that often people are deinstitutionalized and the appropriate resources are not in the community to receive those people. I look at people, for instance, who have problems in the field of mental health care. One of the saddest situations we face, anywhere in the world but certainly here in Ontario, is the situation confronted by mentally ill people who are often, although not always, abandoned by families, or who abandon their families because of the circumstances they face themselves.

These people are often extremely ill-treated. They're very often the homeless people in our society, and they very often are the source of great anguish for individuals within that family.

One of the reasons is that many of these people were released from institutions. There have been changes in legislation that gave people more freedom and more choice, only to find that the care within the community they had hoped would be there outside of the institution was in fact not there. I think that's the concern of many people as they see the government proceed with long-term care.

We notice that we're in a period of restraint, dictated by economic circumstances in the province, but I hope people out there will recognize the ramifications of this; I'm sure many members of the governing party do.

I simply address this as much to the people outside of the Legislature as inside the Legislature, as a person who is strongly committed to providing adequate health care services in this province: When leaders of restraint organizations and anti-government activity organizations make known their concerns publicly and come forward with programs that are designed to assist in cutting costs, there are ramifications for the general community and for senior citizens, many of whom might be attracted by some of the statements that are made by these people who want to slash and cut absolutely everything almost indiscriminately. In fact, there will be an impact for those individuals who are unfortunate enough to be ill or in need of long-term care.

The evidence of that is in a letter I received from Jane Leitch, or at least that Mrs Yvonne O'Neill has received from Jane Leitch, chairperson of the Senior Citizens' Consumer Alliance. I noticed one line—I'm not going to go through the whole letter; it's already been quoted extensively—and it says:

"However, as my enclosed press conference statement of March 25 indicates, seniors are becoming increasingly concerned about the gap between government rhetoric and the reality of their spending patterns. While a \$100-

million down payment on the \$640 million was provided in the Treasurer's 1992-93 budget to strengthen community support services, in fact only \$26 million was actually spent last year on home care service expansion."

So we get some evidence that the rhetoric is there but is not matched by the money. I'm not saying that the government wants to be mean to people or that it wants to be engaged in restraint, but I think governments today, if they're going to be engaged in restraint programs and processes, have to be honest with people and not bring in legislation that simply cannot be implemented appropriately without the necessary funding, and if the funding isn't there, the legislation should be modified to indicate that.

I also notice that there's an implication here for the increase in user fees or the acceptance of user fees, which is highly unusual. I have sat in this House for some 16 years, and I could always count on my friends in the New Democratic Party to stand foursquare against user fees, and yet we see—and I understand that in this particular instance, I suppose one can say they're only semi-user fees or quasi-user fees, but here's a government that's going to have to defend the use of utilization fees, which means user fees in my view.

1740

**Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West):** Steven Langdon won't stand for it.

**Mr Bradley:** When I think of why Steven Langdon is making his comments, or John Rodriguez, the member for Nickel Belt, or others—

**Mr Stockwell:** Phil Edmonston.

**Mr Bradley:** —Phil Edmonston, the member for Chambly in the province of Quebec—these are the people who have for years fought for these programs and now see, I think, how ill advised it is to propose such programs only to not fund them appropriately. If the government is going to fund them appropriately, it can move forward. If it is not, it cannot.

I want to also very briefly express concerns which were expressed to me—and others have already stated this in this debate—for those who are in the private sector of delivering health care services. I met some people—including, by the way, some long-time New Democratic Party supporters who will go unnamed because I don't want to indicate what happens in private meetings.

But I have had very great concerns expressed about the fact that people who are engaged in the private sector of health care, of delivering services on a home care basis, are concerned that this government is going to wipe them out, that in its desire to have an ideologically perfect health care system, if not a medically perfect health care system, they will perhaps eliminate those people from service.

They are providing services now, they do have a degree of flexibility that is not always the case in the delivery of public health care, and I think there's probably a place for both. As long as it's appropriately supervised by the government, by the Ministry of Health, as long as it's delivered on a cost-competitive basis and it's good health care, then I don't see why the government should be engaging in moving to public health care in every particular instance when there's an adequate service there now. I do present the fact that there has to be adequate supervision, but I think that would be appropriate.

I can think of members who have served in the House in the past. My friend Elie Martel, who used to be the member for Sudbury East, I think would be aghast at the thought, were he sitting in this House, that there in fact would be again a movement towards some kind of utilization fee. Some would say a deterrent fee. In this case, it's probably a genuine user fee.

**Mr Stockwell:** I think he's okay now.

**Mr Bradley:** What was that?

**Mr Stockwell:** I think he's okay now.

**Mr Bradley:** Maybe that is the case.

**Mr Stockwell:** He's got an appointment.

**Mr Bradley:** The member for Etobicoke West suggests that the member for Sudbury East has an appointment, and I understand that he's doing a very good job on the Environmental Assessment Board. All the reports I've had have indicated that very clearly.

Anyway, I simply want to express those concerns in a very brief and concise manner today. I hope that the government will not torpedo the efforts of people who are not necessarily in the public health care field from their opportunity to assist those who are in need.

I generally support the fact that people should receive as much care in their homes as possible, although many are having a difficult time enlisting that care at this time and paying for it when there is not government funding for it. But I think we have to understand that as we get into the future, there is going to be a need for a commitment of significant number of dollars by government, whether we like it or not, whether we're in a restraint period or not. Hopefully, when we come out of the restraint period, one of the areas where the government will look at providing an adequate investment is in the field of health care for seniors in this province.

I know that the critic, the member for Halton Centre, has made some significant contribution to this debate, as has the member for—

**Interjection:** Ottawa-Rideau.

**Mr Bradley:** Ottawa-Rideau—I was trying to think whether it's Rideau or Ottawa-Rideau. She has made a significant contribution.

The last thing I want to say: I'm an urban member,

but I happen to know that the delivery of health care services in rural communities is not as good as it is in urban communities, and I hope that this plan will be able to encompass those particular needs. I feel bad for people who feel compelled almost to leave the farm, to leave rural areas to come to the big city, because certainly the services are often available in large cities such as Metropolitan Toronto and London and Hamilton and centres such as that.

I know that some of the members who represent the rural areas will want to make those representations directly to the minister and to others within the government so that adequate health care for seniors, long-term health care for seniors, is provided on a fair and well-financed basis.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Any questions or comments? Further debate? Questions or comments?

**Mrs O'Neill:** I would just like to mention that I certainly am happy that the member for St Catharines did participate in the debate. His remarks are always right on, and I think it was very important, as he and the member for Northumberland stated, that there has been very little in the way of encouragement regarding rural municipalities in this province. Cases were brought to us during the hearings of how people really have died within two weeks of being taken out of their communities and brought to a city setting. I think we have to consider that.

We have to have a commitment from this government that the needs of the disabled and certainly the elderly and the disabled elderly will be met through Bill 101 and that's what our speeches are leading towards. We hope that you will listen, that the commitment will be there in the budget of 1993.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Further questions or comments? The member for St Catharines, do you wish to—further debate? The member for Etobicoke West.

**Mr Stockwell:** It's a very brief moment I have to comment on this particular piece of legislation. I'll centre my comments specifically with respect to the funding issue.

There is some real concern in the public out there with respect to the funding of this piece of legislation. The concern comes honestly by way of comment from constituents I have spoken to, and I know the member for Oakville South, who spoke clearly on it just a few short moments ago, and certainly the member for St Catharines, have commented on the funding issue.

They come by it honestly simply because this government itself has not exactly lived up to commitments when it comes to monetary issues, funding issues, pay issues etc. So there is some trepidation out there, some real concern surrounding the people who are involved in this piece of legislation. Let me just give you a couple of examples.



You're going to start dealing with the doctors. As I recall, it was just last year that this government signed a contract with the doctors of this province that was supposed to be spanned out for some seven or eight years' worth of commitment. Not 12 months or 18 short months into that specific contract, they're talking about wage rollbacks and so on and so forth with the doctors.

That's the kind of thing that leaves the constituents out there concerned when you announce programs and don't give them the specifics with respect to funding. Your position, your policy, your statement with respect to this piece of legislation says, with respect to about 50% of the financial issue regarding this piece of legislation, "Don't worry, trust us."

**Mr Bradley:** What would Steve Langdon do?

**Mr Stockwell:** Steve Langdon wouldn't accept that. I know Steve Langdon wouldn't accept that. He would say, "No, you can't go about saying, 'Trust us,'" because we all know that when someone comes up to you and says, "I'm from the government, trust me," the first thing you do is you don't trust them.

There's a real, serious problem out there with the people who provide service in this sector because, quite frankly, they don't trust you. They don't trust you for two reasons, the first of which can be clearly outlined when the senior citizens' consumer alliance points out that while a \$100-million down payment on the \$647 million was provided in the Treasurer's 1992-93 budget to strengthen community support services, only \$26 million was actually spent.

This leaves the lasting impression to those people who work in this sector that just because you say it doesn't mean you'll do it. Therefore, when they're caught short and there's an empty bag that's supposed to be full of money from the province, all the rhetoric and all the apologies and all the promises and all the half-baked legislation don't matter a tinker's dam to them, because they're underfunded. They're underfunded and you promised them they wouldn't be.

So let's not mince words. The problem with this legislation, I predict, will be that you will shortfund the group, shortfund your partners, as you like to call them. Funny, today they're not calling them their partners. They call you a lot of things, but "partner" is not one of them. You're going to shortfund your partners and you're going to leave them in a very serious situation with respect to funding the particular programs and initiatives you've outlined.

That's all the time I've got. I wanted to—

**Mr Bradley:** Before you sit down, what would Audrey do if anybody criticized that?

**Hon Mrs Haslam:** Jim, you're not in your seat.

**Mr Stockwell:** No, I don't think—the member for St Catharines certainly wasn't heckling. I take all his comments as not heckling. It's a good point: What

would Audrey McLaughlin do if you happened to criticize this particular piece of legislation? She'd probably bounce you right out of your caucus portfolio, right out of your critic's role. There you go. That's how government works today. Just ask Peter Kormos or Mark Morrow or our new friend Mr Drainville.

But what I wanted to leave as the lasting impression with this government is, it appears to me that when you specifically obfuscate, when you specifically ignore the funding needs, when you specifically ignore dealing with the funding issue in a piece of legislation and you practically put in that piece of legislation, "Don't worry; trust me," you're going to raise the hackles of the people who are involved, because quite frankly, and quite legitimately and quite honestly, they don't trust you.

So in the next year or two, when this particular issue comes forward and all you backbenchers who said, "Don't worry; we'll look after them," when you find out that there's not enough money to fulfil this piece of legislation—and you're going to find that out—remember this day.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Questions or comments? Further debate? If not, Minister.

**Hon Ruth Grier (Minister of Health):** I'm delighted to have an opportunity to bring this debate to a close and, I hope, bring the discussion of this particular piece of legislation to a close.

The bill is about fairness and equity. It's about the equity of funding to facilities, and the levels-of-care funding will do that, despite some of the concerns that have been expressed by members of the opposition. It's about equity of access to facilities, and the coordination of placement service is something that anybody, client or relative of client, has become extremely frustrated about over the years.

It's about equitable copayment for accommodation costs, copayment by consumers for the accommodation part of the costs of their long-term care. It's about public accountability. It's about requiring consistent standards and quality of care and accountability both to the public, who are funding the facilities, as well as to the consumers, who are the residents of those facilities.

It's about working in partnership, and this whole long-term care system is a partnership. I deplore the cynicism and, if I may say, the obfuscation of some of the members opposite who refuse to acknowledge that in fact this system has always been a partnership. This legislation will enhance and strengthen that particular partnership of providers and residents, and it is a response to many concerns that have been expressed over a long period of time.

Finally, it's about direct funding of a pilot project for people with disabilities, funding to enable people to purchase and manage and direct their own personal care.

I'm very grateful to the members of the opposition and of my own party who have participated in this debate and who have lived up to the commitment that we made that we would expedite the passage of this legislation and allow us to get on with reforms and with the new funding of facilities.

I want to particularly thank all the members of the standing committee and especially my parliamentary assistants, Mr Wessenger, Mr O'Connor, and my minister without portfolio, Ms Haslam, who have been part of this discussion; Mr Hope and Mrs Carter; and from the staff point of view and from the ministry, the counsel, Gail Czukar, Joanne Gottheil; from the long-term care division, Geoffrey Quirt, and the director of policy, Patrick Lavery; and other members of the legislation team: Louise Hurst, Lynn Kirshin, Ian Matthews and Paula Shipper.

In particular, I want to thank the staff of my predecessor, the member for Beaches-Woodbine, who have

been with this issue for a very long time and who transferred their knowledge and their expertise and their experience to my office without ever missing a beat.

It's a great day when we get to the end of this debate and the passage of this legislation, and I thank all members for their participation.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Ms Grier moves third reading of Bill 101, An Act to amend certain Acts concerning Long-Term Care. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry?

All those in favour will please say "aye."

All those opposed will please say "nay."

In my opinion, the ayes have it. Call in the members—I'm sorry.

Be it resolved that the bill do now pass and be entitled as in the motion.

The House adjourned at 1755.



**LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO  
ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE DE L'ONTARIO**

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**Sergeant at Arms/Sergent d'armes: Thomas Stelling**

Member/Député(e)	Constituency/Circonscription	Party/Parti	Other responsibilities/Autres responsabilités
Abel, Donald	Wentworth North/-Nord	ND	government whip / whip du gouvernement
Akande, Zanana	St Andrew-St Patrick	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Premier / adjointe parlementaire du premier ministre
<b>Allen, Hon/L'hon Richard</b>	Hamilton West/-Ouest	ND	Minister without Portfolio, Ministry of Economic Development and Trade / ministre sans portefeuille, ministère du Développement économique et du Commerce
Arnott, Ted	Wellington	PC	
Beer, Charles	York North/-Nord	L	Chair, standing committee on social development / Président du Comité permanent des affaires sociales
Bisson, Gilles	Cochrane South/-Sud	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Northern Development and Mines, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for francophone affairs / adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines, adjoint parlementaire du ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
<b>Boyd, Hon/L'hon Marion</b>	London Centre/-Centre	ND	Attorney General, minister responsible for women's issues / procureure générale, ministre déléguée à la Condition féminine
Bradley, James J.	St Catharines	L	opposition deputy House leader / chef parlementaire de l'opposition
Brown, Michael A.	Algoma-Manitoulin	L	Chair, standing committee on general government / Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernementales
<b>Buchanan, Hon/L'hon Elmer</b>	Hastings-Peterborough	ND	Minister of Agriculture and Food / ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation
Callahan, Robert V.	Brampton South/-Sud	L	
Caplan, Elinor	Oriole	L	
Carr, Gary	Oakville South/-Sud	PC	Progressive Conservative deputy House leader / chef parlementaire adjoint du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Carter, Jenny	Peterborough	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship / adjointe parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiques
<b>Charlton, Hon/L'hon Brian</b>	Hamilton Mountain	ND	Chair of the Management Board of Cabinet, government House leader and minister responsible for the automobile insurance review / président du Conseil de gestion, leader parlementaire du gouvernement et délégué à l'Assurance- automobile
Chiarelli, Robert	Ottawa West/-Ouest	L	
<b>Christopherson, Hon/L'hon David</b>	Hamilton Centre/-Centre	ND	Solicitor General and Minister of Correctional Services / solliciteur général et ministre des Services correctionnels
<b>Churley, Hon/L'hon Marilyn</b>	Riverdale	ND	Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations / ministre de la Consommation et du Commerce
Cleary, John C.	Cornwall	L	
Conway, Sean G.	Renfrew North/-Nord	L	Deputy Leader of the Opposition / chef adjoint de l'opposition
<b>Cooke, Hon/L'hon David</b>	Windsor-Riverside	ND	Minister of Education and Training, minister responsible for the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board / ministre de l'Éducation et de la Formation, ministre responsable du Conseil ontarien de formation et d'adaptation de la main-d'œuvre
Cooper, Mike	Kitchener-Wilmot	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Labour; deputy government whip; Chair, standing committee on administration of justice / adjoint parlementaire du ministre du Travail, whip adjoint du gouvernement, Président du Comité permanent de l'administration de la justice
<b>Coppen, Hon/L'hon Shirley</b>	Niagara South/-Sud	ND	Minister without Portfolio, Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Recreation; chief government whip / ministre sans portefeuille, ministère de la Culture, du Tourisme et des Loisirs ; whip en chef du gouvernement
Cordiano, Joseph	Lawrence	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on public accounts / Vice-Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics

Member/Député(e)	Constituency/Circonscription	Party/Parti	Other responsibilities/Autres responsabilités
Cousens, W. Donald	Markham	PC	
Cunningham, Dianne	London North/-Nord	PC	
Curling, Alvin	Scarborough North/-Nord	L	opposition deputy whip / whip adjoint de l'opposition
Dadamo, George	Windsor-Sandwich	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Culture, Tourism and Recreation / adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Culture, du Tourisme et des Loisirs
Daigeler, Hans	Nepean	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on social development / Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires sociales
Drainville, Dennis	Victoria-Haliburton	Ind	First Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House / Premier Vice-Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Duignan, Noel	Halton North/-Nord	ND	Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly / Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative
Eddy, Ron	Brant-Haldimand	L	
Elston, Murray J.	Bruce	L	opposition House leader / chef parlementaire de l'opposition
Eves, Ernie	Parry Sound	PC	Progressive Conservative House leader / chef parlementaire du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Farnan, Mike	Cambridge	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly, parliamentary assistant to Minister of Education and Training / Vice-Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative, adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Éducation et de la Formation
Fawcett, Joan M.	Northumberland	L	
Ferguson, Will	Kitchener	ND	
Fletcher, Derek	Guelph	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship / adjoint parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiles
Frankford, Robert	Scarborough East/-Est	ND	
<b>Gigantes, Hon/L'hon Evelyn</b>	Ottawa Centre/-Centre	ND	Minister of Housing / ministre du Logement
Grandmaître, Bernard C.	Ottawa East/-Est	L	
<b>Grier, Hon/L'hon Ruth A.</b>	Etobicoke-Lakeshore	ND	Minister of Health / ministre de la Santé
Haeck, Christel	St Catharines-Brock	ND	government whip; Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman / whip du gouvernement, Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman
<b>Hampton, Hon/L'hon Howard</b>	Rainy River	ND	Minister of Natural Resources / ministre des Richesses naturelles
Hansen, Ron	Lincoln	ND	Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs / Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires économiques
Harnick, Charles	Willowdale	PC	
Harrington, Margaret H.	Niagara Falls	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Housing / adjointe parlementaire de la ministre du Logement
Harris, Michael	Nipissing	PC	leader of the Progressive Conservative Party / chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur
<b>Haslam, Hon/L'hon Karen</b>	Perth	ND	Minister without Portfolio, Ministry of Health / ministre sans portefeuille, ministère de la Santé
Hayes, Pat	Essex-Kent	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Municipal Affairs / adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires municipales
Henderson, D. James	Etobicoke-Humber	L	
Hope, Randy R.	Chatham-Kent	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Community and Social Services / adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires
Huget, Bob	Sarnia	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of the Environment and Energy; Vice-Chair, standing committee on resources development / adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Environnement et de l'Énergie, Vice-Président du Comité permanent du développement des ressources
Jackson, Cameron	Burlington South/-Sud	PC	Chair, standing committee on estimates / Président du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses
Jamison, Norm	Norfolk	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Economic Development and Trade / adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Développement économique et du Commerce
Johnson, Dave	Don Mills	PC	
Johnson, Paul R.	Prince Edward-Lennox-South-Hastings / Prince Edward-Lennox-Hastings-Sud	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Economic Development and Trade / adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Développement économique et du Commerce
Jordan, W. Leo	Lanark-Renfrew	PC	



Member/Député(e)	Constituency/Circonscription	Party/Parti	Other responsibilities/Autres responsabilités
Klopp, Paul	Huron	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food / adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation
Kormos, Peter	Welland-Thorold	ND	Chair, standing committee on resources development / Président du Comité permanent du développement des ressources
Kwinter, Monte	Wilson Heights	L	
<b>Lankin, Hon/L'hon Frances</b>	Beaches-Woodbine	ND	Minister of Economic Development and Trade / ministre du Développement économique et du Commerce
<b>Laughren, Hon/L'hon Floyd</b>	Nickel Belt	ND	Deputy Premier, Minister of Finance / vice-premier ministre, ministre des Finances
Lessard, Wayne	Windsor-Walkerville	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of the Environment and Energy / adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Environnement et de l'Énergie
<b>Mackenzie, Hon/L'hon Bob</b>	Hamilton East/-Est	ND	Minister of Labour / ministre du Travail
MacKinnon, Ellen	Lambton	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills / Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets de loi privés
Mahoney, Steven W.	Mississauga West/-Ouest	L	opposition chief whip / whip en chef de l'opposition
Malkowski, Gary	York East/-Est	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Education and Training / adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Éducation et de la Formation
Mammoliti, George	Yorkview	ND	parliamentary assistant to Solicitor General and Minister of Correctional Services / adjoint parlementaire du solliciteur général et ministre des Services correctionnels
Marchese, Rosario	Fort York	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Premier, parliamentary assistant to Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs / adjoint parlementaire du premier ministre, adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires intergouvernementales
Marland, Margaret	Mississauga South/-Sud	PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on estimates / Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses
<b>Martel, Hon/L'hon Shelley</b>	Sudbury East/-Est	ND	Minister of Northern Development and Mines / ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines
Martin, Tony	Sault Ste Marie / Sault-Sainte-Marie	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Education and Training / adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Éducation et de la Formation
Mathyssen, Irene	Middlesex	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of the Environment and Energy / adjointe parlementaire du ministre de l'Environnement et de l'Énergie
McClelland, Carman	Brampton North/-Nord	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on general government / Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernementales
McGuinty, Dalton J.P.	Ottawa South/-Sud	L	
McLean, Allan K.	Simcoe East/-Est	PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on government agencies / Vice-Président du Comité permanent des organismes gouvernementaux
McLeod, Lyn	Fort William	L	Leader of the Opposition / chef de l'opposition
Miclash, Frank	Kenora	L	opposition deputy whip / whip adjoint de l'opposition
Mills, Gord	Durham East/-Est	ND	parliamentary assistant to Solicitor General and Minister of Correctional Services / adjoint parlementaire du solliciteur général et ministre des Services correctionnels
Morin, Gilles E.	Carleton East/-Est	L	Deputy Speaker and Chair of the Committee of the Whole House / Vice-Président et Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Morrow, Mark	Wentworth East/-Est	ND	Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman; Vice-Chair, standing committee on administration of justice / Président du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman, Vice-Président du Comité permanent de l'administration de la justice
Murdoch, Bill	Grey	PC	
Murdock, Sharon	Sudbury	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Labour / adjointe parlementaire du ministre du Travail
Murphy, Tim	St George-St David	L	
North, Peter	Elgin	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food / adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation

Member/Député(e)	Constituency/Circonscription	Party/Parti	Other responsibilities/Autres responsabilités
O'Connor, Larry	Durham-York	ND	parliamentary assistant to minister of Health / adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Santé
O'Neil, Hugh P.	Quinte	L	
O'Neill, Yvonne	Ottawa-Rideau	L	
Offer, Steven	Mississauga North/-Nord	L	
Owens, Stephen	Scarborough Centre/-Centre	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Finance / adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Finances
Perruzza, Anthony	Downsview	ND	parliamentary assistant to Chair of the Management Board of Cabinet / adjoint parlementaire du président du Conseil de gestion
<b>Philip, Hon/L'hon Ed</b>	Etobicoke-Rexdale	ND	Minister of Municipal Affairs / ministre des Affaires municipales
Phillips, Gerry	Scarborough-Agincourt	L	
<b>Pilkey, Hon/L'hon Allan</b>	Oshawa	ND	Minister without Portfolio, Ministry of Municipal Affairs / ministre sans portefeuille, ministère des Affaires municipales
Poirier, Jean	Prescott and Russell / Prescott et Russell	L	
Poole, Dianne	Eglinton	L	
<b>Pouliot, Hon/L'hon Gilles</b>	Lake Nipigon/Lac-Nipigon	ND	Minister of Transportation, minister responsible for francophone affairs / ministre des Transports, ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
<b>Rae, Hon/L'hon Bob</b>	York South/-Sud	ND	Premier, President of the Executive Council, Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs / premier ministre, président du Conseil exécutif, ministre des Affaires gouvernementales
Ramsay, David	Timiskaming	L	
Rizzo, Tony	Oakwood	ND	
Runciman, Robert W.	Leeds-Grenville	PC	Progressive Conservative chief whip; Chair, standing committee on government agencies / whip en chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur Président du Comité permanent des organismes gouvernementaux
Ruprecht, Tony	Parkdale	L	
<b>Silipo, Hon/L'hon Tony</b>	Dovercourt	ND	Minister of Community and Social Services / ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires
Sola, John	Mississauga East/-Est	L	
Sorbara, Gregory S.	York Centre/-Centre	L	
Sterling, Norman W.	Carleton	PC	
Stockwell, Chris	Etobicoke West/-Ouest	PC	
Sullivan, Barbara	Halton Centre/-Centre	L	
Sutherland, Kimble	Oxford	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Finance; Vice-Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs / adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Finances : Vice-Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires économiques
<b>Swarbrick, Hon/L'hon Anne</b>	Scarborough West/-Ouest	ND	Minister of Culture, Tourism and Recreation / ministre de la Culture, du Tourisme et des Loisirs
Tilson, David	Dufferin-Peel	PC	
Turnbull, David	York Mills	PC	Progressive Conservative whip / whip du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Villeneuve, Noble	S-D-G & East Grenville / S-D-G & Grenville-Est	PC	Second Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House / Deuxième Vice-Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Ward, Brad	Brantford	ND	Minister without portfolio, Ministry of Finance / ministre sans portefeuille, ministère des Finances
<b>Wark-Martyn, Hon/L'hon Shelley</b>	Port Arthur	ND	Minister without Portfolio, Ministry of Education and Training / ministre sans portefeuille, ministère de l'Éducation et de la Formation
<b>Warner, Hon/L'hon David</b>	Scarborough-Ellesmere	ND	Speaker / Président
Waters, Daniel	Muskoka-Georgian Bay	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Culture, Tourism and Recreation / adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Culture, du Tourisme et des Loisirs
Wessenger, Paul	Simcoe Centre/-Centre	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Health / adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Santé
White, Drummond	Durham Centre/-Centre	ND	Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills / Président du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets de loi privés



Member/Député(e)	Constituency/Circonscription	Party/Parti	Other responsibilities/Autres responsabilités
<b>Wildman, Hon/L'hon Bud</b>	Algoma	ND	Minister of Environment and Energy, minister responsible for native affairs / ministre de l'Environnement et de l'Énergie, ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones
<b>Wilson, Hon/L'hon Fred</b>	Frontenac-Addington	ND	Minister without Portfolio and chief government whip / ministre sans portefeuille et whip en chef du gouvernement
Wilson, Jim	Simcoe West/-Ouest	PC	
Wilson, Gary	Kingston and The Islands / Kingston et Les Îles	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Education and Training / adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Éducation et de la
Winninger, David	London South/-Sud	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Attorney General, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for native affairs / adjoint parlementaire de la procureure générale, adjoint parlementaire du ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones
Wiseman, Jim	Durham West/-Ouest	ND	parliamentary assistant to Chair of the Management Board of Cabinet / adjoint parlementaire du président du Conseil de gestion
Witmer, Elizabeth	Waterloo North/-Nord	PC	
Wood, Len	Cochrane North/-Nord	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Natural Resources / adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Richesses naturelles
<b>Ziemba, Hon/L'hon Elaine</b>	High Park-Swansea	ND	Minister of Citizenship, minister responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations / ministre des Affaires civiques, ministre déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
Vacant	Essex South/-Sud		

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Vice-Chair/Vice-Présidente: Margaret H. Harrington  
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Clerk/Greffière: Lisa Freedman

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Clerk/Greffière: Tonia Grannum

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Finances et affaires économiques**

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Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Jim Wiseman  
Elinor Caplan, Gary Carr, W. Donald Cousens, Will Ferguson, Norm Jamison, Monte Kwinter, Irene Mathysen, Peter North, Gerry Phillips, Kimble Sutherland  
Clerk/Greffière: Tonia Grannum

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Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Hans Daigeler  
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Clerk/Greffier: Franco Carrozza

**Government agencies/Organismes gouvernementaux**

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Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Allan K. McLean  
James J. Bradley, Jenny Carter, John C. Cleary, Robert Frankford, Bernard Grandmaître, Margaret H. Harrington, George Mammoliti, Rosario Marchese, Daniel Waters, Elizabeth Witmer  
Clerk/Greffière: Lynn Mellor

**Legislative Assembly/Assemblée législative**

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Vice-Chair/Vice-Président:  
Mike Farnan, Ron Hansen, Paul R. Johnson, Ellen MacKinnon, Irene Mathysen, Carman McClelland, Gilles E. Morin, Stephen Owens, Norman W. Sterling, Barbara Sullivan, Noble Villeneuve, Paul Wessinger  
Clerk/Greffière: Lynn Mellor

**Ombudsman**

Chair/Président: Mark Morrow  
Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Tony Rizzo  
Donald Abel, Zanana L. Akande, Dennis Drainville, D. James Henderson, Tony Martin, Frank Miclash, Bill Murdoch, David Ramsay, Chris Stockwell, Gary Wilson  
Clerk/Greffier: Franco Carrozza

**Public accounts/Comptes publics**

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Vice-Chair/Vice-Présidente: Dianne Poole  
Robert V. Callahan, Noel Duignan, Mike Farnan, Robert Frankford, Pat Hayes, Margaret Marland, Tim Murphy, Larry O'Connor, Anthony Perruzza, David Tilson  
Clerk/Greffière: Tannis Manikel

**Regulations and private bills/  
Règlements et projets de loi privés**

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Vice-Chair/Vice-Présidente: Ellen MacKinnon  
Ron Eddy, Derek Fletcher, Ron Hansen, Pat Hayes, Dave Johnson, Leo Jordan, Gordon Mills, Anthony Perruzza, Tony Ruprecht, John Sola  
Clerk/Greffière: Donna Pajeska

**Resources development/Développement des ressources**

Chair/Président:  
Vice-Chair/Vice-Président:  
Sean G. Conway, Mike Cooper, Joan M. Fawcett, Bob Huget, Leo Jordan, Paul Klopp, Sharon Murdock, Steven Offer, David Turnbull, Daniel Waters, Gary Wilson, Len Wood  
Clerk/Greffière: Tannis Manikel

**Social development/Affaires sociales**

Chair/Président:  
Vice-Chair/Vice-Président:  
Charles Beer, Jenny Carter, Dianne Cunningham, Ron Eddy, Randy R. Hope, Tony Martin, Dalton McGuinty, Larry O'Connor, Yvonne O'Neill, Stephen Owens, Tony Rizzo, Jim Wilson  
Clerk/Greffier: Douglas Arnott





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## Legislative Assembly of Ontario

Third Session, 35th Parliament

## Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Troisième session, 35<sup>e</sup> législature

# Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Tuesday 4 May 1993

# Journal des débats (Hansard)

Mardi 4 mai 1993



Speaker  
Honourable David Warner

Président  
L'honorable David Warner

Clerk  
Claude L. DesRosiers

Greffier  
Claude L. DesRosiers



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Tuesday 4 May 1993

The House met at 1330.

Prayers.

#### MEMBERS' STATEMENTS

##### CENTRALIA COLLEGE

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** I was about to say I had the privilege of attending a meeting in Centralia last night, but it is no privilege when you arrive at a meeting that is designed to raise local interest in the plight of an institution of higher learning which has been shut down by a government which speaks in riddles when it comes to trying to figure out what its real plans are. They talk about training and retraining our young people to be competitive in the new environment, the new economies, and yet the story of Centralia College of Agricultural Technology arises on the spur of the moment.

The people at Centralia are concerned because over 170 students are now left without options for their continuing education. Although the second-year class-to-be will be able to finish up its studies at Centralia, others will be left without institutions. There will be no veterinary lab, because the NDP government has decided to close that facility. There will be no field research for things like white beans and rutabagas, commodities which are essential to the healthy economies of not only Huron county, where the college is located, but also for those in Bruce, for Elgin, for Middlesex, for Oxford, for Lambton and other centres in the ridings of this province.

I bring to the attention of the Premier the plight of those students, the plight of the agricultural community around Centralia, and ask that he reconsider his hasty decision.

##### CONSERVATION AUTHORITIES

**Mr Bill Murdoch (Grey):** Conservation authorities across the province are extremely concerned with the recent reduction in operating funds announced by this government. Coupled with the spending cuts to the conservation land tax rebate program, local authorities have been dealt a deadly blow. Many may no longer be able to pay taxes on their land, leaving wetlands, floodplains, parks and forests unprotected. In some instances, the property may have to be sold. This is indeed strange behaviour from a government which has always maintained that it is committed to our natural resources.

But apart from the severe damage these cuts will do to Ontario's environmentally sensitive land is the harm they will do to our municipalities, which are struggling now to make ends meet. Obviously, if conservation authorities are to survive and to function effectively, the shortfall caused by both cuts, which is estimated by my

local people to be well over 30%, will have to be found elsewhere.

The authorities understand the need for reductions in spending, but why should they and their areas' beleaguered taxpayers have to kick in far more than other sectors in the province are being asked to do? This blatant and constant downloading on local councils cannot continue. Municipalities must set their budgets in advance, so there's little room for manoeuvring every time this government unleashes its surprise attacks.

The Treasurer has already indicated clearly that taxes will rise substantially in his next budget. He will ask the people of this province again to bail out his government. How far does he think they will be prepared to carry him when he has taken all they have to give?

##### VOLUNTEER AWARDS

**Mr Mike Cooper (Kitchener-Wilmot):** On April 26, I had the pleasure of hosting the volunteer service awards in my community and presented an outstanding achievement to Chloe Callender. Chloe has dedicated herself to helping integrate visible minorities into the Kitchener-Waterloo community. She was instrumental in implementing a race relations policy at the Roman Catholic separate school board and is active in working against racism. She is an inspiration and role model to many in the multicultural community.

On April 23, the recipients of the Waterloo region corporate volunteer awards were announced.

Allen-Bradley Canada Ltd has supported the community with in-house campaigns to raise money, has an employee-run charitable fund, donates furniture and equipment to charities and has made available its cafeteria, meeting room facilities and its ball field for people in the community.

B.D.O. Dunwoody Ward Mallette encourages team members to participate as volunteers with community organizations. Through this participation, B.D.O. Dunwoody is represented in approximately 20 charities and community organizations.

On May 2, I had the honour of presenting 18 Canada 125 medals. One of the recipients was Lois Cressman, who was recognized for her efforts in the community on behalf of seniors, the women's institute and the horticultural society.

Lois was a founding member of the Haysville Sunshine Club for seniors, is a member of the Haysville parks board, is actively involved in church groups, participates in prison ministry and is involved in sorting and packing clothing for relief.

To Lois Cressman, Chloe Callender, B.D.O. Dunwoody Ward Mallette and Allen-Bradley Canada Ltd and all the volunteers in our region, we thank you for

your efforts, concern and involvement in your community.

#### TRANSPORTATION FOR THE DISABLED

**Mr Alvin Curling (Scarborough North):** Yesterday the National Transportation Agency released its report *The Road to Accessibility: A National Inquiry into Canadian Motorcoach Services*. One of the outstanding recommendations is "that the federal government implement a comprehensive national standard to make extraprovincial motorcoach services accessible to people with disabilities."

In a submission to the Road to Accessibility inquiry, the Ontario NDP government promised to explore the issue thoroughly. The Ministry of Transportation directed the Ontario Highway Transport Board to hold hearings on several options for regulating accessibility.

Despite whatever good intentions the government might have, the disabled community views this inquiry as yet another delaying tactic, an excuse for not actually dealing with the problem. This community is tired; they have lobbied for over two decades for the establishment of fully accessible transportation.

The NDP, prior to its rise to power, also advocated on behalf of this community for a policy of fully accessible public transport, acknowledging that this is the only means through which persons with disabilities will have equal access to employment, education and recreational activities.

A pre-election promise of this government indicated that it would require all new intercity buses purchased in Ontario to be fully accessible within three years and that it would work to achieve this goal for interprovincial buses.

To date, this issue, so enthusiastically promised, does not seem to appear on the agenda of either the Minister of Transportation, who is over there yapping, nor the minister responsible for the disabled: another empty promise, but this time to a marginalized and a disadvantaged community.

#### LANDFILL

**Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel):** Yesterday, it was my pleasure to visit the Macville Public School in Caledon to attend a wonderful assembly on the environment and the one issue that is consuming the children: dumps. The NDP government has short-listed sites that are within miles of the Macville Public School.

Some children have made impassioned pleas at oral presentations to the Interim Waste Authority. One student spoke of how he would not be able to ride his bike because of the number of trucks. He spoke of how the country drives to see the fall colours would stop, because the only colours you would see would be the yellow bulldozers and the green garbage bags.

Another student prepared a poster with seven reasons why they don't want a dump in Caledon. They include

odour, traffic, leachate, disease, breathing problems, tourism attraction—not—and that friends will move away.

Pretty heavy stuff for our children to have to deal with when they should be enjoying their childhood.

One student spoke of how he would not be able to farm like his parents do, because no one would drink their milk or buy the bread made from their wheat.

Another student wrote a poem that sums up why the NDP is wrong and the process is wrong, and that what we are doing to our children is wrong:

A dump near our school  
a huge garbage pool  
It'll make us think  
about the water we drink  
And that's not very cool.  
Might keep the seagulls away  
And how many trucks  
will decrease our luck  
At a chance for carefree days?

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#### JOB CREATION

**Mr Mike Farnan (Cambridge):** I rise today to praise the business development department of Cambridge. With the problems of shrinking job opportunities following the free trade agreement so ineptly manipulated by Canada's federal government, Cambridge might have resigned itself to less growth and fewer job opportunities. However, Cambridge has not accepted the sellout of our great province by the federal Conservatives; it has continued to push for more and better industrial development in our city.

I commend the city of Cambridge Community Profile, a booklet which gives the facts about the city and is distributed to manufacturers and others contemplating a move to the Waterloo region. This booklet notes Cambridge's position within Canada's technology triangle, its skilled workers, its already extensive industrial base, its parks, low crime rate, easy access to major highways, its schools and universities, its health care and its energy facilities. Information about Cambridge has reached potential developers around the world, in the United States, Europe, Japan and China.

What the booklet does not mention, but which is at least as important to potential settlers, is that the business development department of Cambridge is working overtime. In fact, it deserves an A for hustle: hustle to get new jobs into the area and maintain the city. The city of Cambridge has one of the best locations in Canada for new business to set up shop.

#### PHOTOCOPYING LICENCE

**Mr Charles Beer (York North):** A memorandum was sent from the Ministry of Education on April 20, 1993, to all school boards informing them that within 10 days their photocopying licence with Cancopy would



expire and would not be renewed. School boards were also informed at that time that the cost of the licence would now be borne by school boards. This memorandum defies all sense or logic.

The general manager of Cancopy states in a letter to school boards that by not renewing the licence, the system will be more expensive than the old system because of the extra costs that will have to be incurred. This is yet another example of offloading expenses on to each school board, leaving them to look to the local property taxpayer to make up the difference.

Worst of all, after all of this confusion, we not only end up with a more expensive system, but the ministry has asked school boards to adjust to it in 10 short days. The lack of any clear planning that would help school boards deal with this matter is appalling.

Why were school boards not given more time to deal with such a serious matter? At a time when nearly \$800 million is being removed from the education sector, why would the minister not provide school boards with more time and guidance to deal effectively with the copying issue?

Many school boards have been placed in a most difficult position. Classroom teaching materials are often copied. According to Cancopy, only 30 school boards have contacted them. This means that any teacher copying copyright materials today is in fact breaking the law. For school boards, the 10 days' notice was a totally insufficient amount of time to deal with the issues.

I ask the minister to reconsider the decision made on April 20. If he does not, we will all be paying more this year than we were last year. Some planning; some logic. Is anyone awake over there?

#### CHILDREN'S SERVICES

**Mrs Elizabeth Witmer (Waterloo North):** I recognize that the government has little choice but to significantly reduce its expenditures in order to maintain limits on the provincial deficit. However, within the priorities which are set to achieve expenditure reductions, the province's children should not be neglected.

In times of grave economic distress such as the present, the coping capacity of families is severely stretched, even more so for vulnerable families. These are the families most likely to be affected by unemployment, poverty and family breakdown.

If, as a community, we are not able to at least maintain the supports families need to fall back on, it is the children of these families who will suffer the most. We have long known that if we do not ensure good care of our children, we are limiting their chances of growing up as healthy, well-adjusted, competent adults.

As the service mandated to provide the most fundamental safety-net care to children in the Waterloo region, our family and children's services is very

concerned that, to date, the government has not demonstrated that essential care to the province's children is high on its agenda.

As the government moves to set its 1993 budget, which I know must contain significant expenditure reductions, I ask you to show your support for your youngest constituents by insisting that the deficit not be fought at the expense of the children, particularly those children who require special protection and support through family and children's services.

#### WORKERS' HERITAGE

**Mr Gary Wilson (Kingston and The Islands):** I've been reminded in the past week about the importance of heritage. We don't think of worker industrial heritage as being fragile, but it is its everyday nature that makes it so vulnerable. Thus, a factory may not seem to have architectural merit; the minutes of meetings of a local union may seem to be too mundane to preserve; the skills and the stories of people in the workplace go unrecorded.

As I said, I've had recent reminders of the importance of worker heritage and I'm heartened by the fact that it is workers themselves who are commemorating their history.

On the Day of Mourning last week, the Kingston and District Labour Council, with the help of the Ontario Heritage Foundation, dedicated a historical plaque to the workers who were killed while building the Rideau Canal. Thanks to the research and work of the labour council, visitors and others enjoying this popular waterway will be reminded that "hazardous working conditions and diseases, such as malaria, exacted a heavy toll" of the workers "whose labour and lives gave us the Rideau Canal."

The other reminder was a feature article in last Saturday's *Globe and Mail* on "The Last Days of Local 303." The story and photographs were by Gayle Hurmuses, a member of the CAW local at the Scarborough van plant. The workers at the plant are chronicling the history of their workplace and the final chapter is a record of the last days at work there, as 2,800 men and women lose their jobs this month when the plant closes for ever.

What's striking about Ms Hurmuses's pictures of the workers is the way she has caught their humanity. They're real people. They're not automatons or parts of the assembly line. They're her friends and colleagues. It comes through in the pictures and the article, and that's why it's so important that workers tell their own stories.

I applaud the Minister of Culture, Tourism and Recreation for her financial support of these two projects and urge her to encourage more workers to get involved in conserving their heritage.

**STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY  
AND RESPONSES**  
**ROYAL COMMISSION ON LEARNING**  
**COMMISSION ROYALE D'ENQUÊTE**  
**SUR L'ÉDUCATION**

**Hon David S. Cooke (Minister of Education and Training):** In the throne speech last month, this government announced a plan to set new directions in education, to ensure our young people are well prepared for the challenges of the future. Education is our largest single investment in that future and the foundation for our economic renewal and social progress. Ontarians want an education system that is more accountable to the public it serves. They want a system that teaches the skills and knowledge that we need to better understand ourselves, our communities and to meet the economic challenge head on.

I am pleased today to confirm the government's appointment of the Royal Commission on Learning. The royal commission will bring all partners in the education system together in a public process to make Ontario's education system work better for all its participants. The five-member commission will undertake a province-wide effort to assess and make recommendations about the goals, standards and programs to guide Ontario's elementary and secondary schools into the 21st century.

I am pleased to introduce to the members and to the people of Ontario the five commissioners, who are with us in the gallery today. The co-chairs of the commission are Monique Bégin, a former federal Minister of National Health and Welfare and dean of health sciences in the University of Ottawa; and Gerry Caplan, a public policy analyst and public affairs commentator. Other commissioners are Monsignor Dennis Murphy, retiring director of the Institute for Catholic Education, from North Bay; Manisha Bharti, a grade 12 honours student from Cornwall and I believe the first student to ever be appointed to a royal commission; and Avis Glaze, a school superintendent from North York. Dr Roberta Bondar, Canada's first woman astronaut in space, will serve as a special adviser to the commission as well.

The challenge we have given these commissioners is to take the public's concerns and expectations and translate them into concrete plans for the future of our education system and programs. This is not an easy task, but it is crucial to improving confidence in the system, the improvement of our economy and the personal growth and wellbeing of every citizen of our province. That is why we are asking for the support of the general public and our partners. Participation in this process is critical to its progress and success.

The royal commission will fully involve students, parents, taxpayers, business, labour, educators and trainers, organizations, interest groups and individuals. The commission will also be mindful of the diversity of Ontario's population. Stakeholders and partners will be asked to participate through oral and written reports and presentations at public hearings.

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The mandate of the commission was developed in consultation with a working group of education representatives. This mandate challenges Ontarians to examine a range of issues including:

**Accountability:** How can we ensure that our school system is accountable to the public? What are the education standards, who should set them and how do we evaluate the progress of students against those standards?

**Governance:** What are the most effective and efficient ways to organize the education system? What are the roles and responsibilities of parents, teachers, trustees and other education partners?

**Program:** What knowledge and skills do our young people need to participate successfully in a technological society? How should we develop, organize and deliver curriculum?

**Vision:** What is our shared vision for the education of Ontario's students? What values and principles should guide our education system?

The questions in the mandate are precise and reflect public concerns. They will lead to answers that we can put into action.

While the independent commission conducts its work, the government will move forward with a series of initiatives including testing for grade 9 students; the circulation of the working document, *The Common Curriculum, Grades 1 to 9*; the increased participation of parents in education; and further steps in French-language education.

Our goals are ambitious. The commission will confirm its work plan in the coming weeks and deliver its report of recommendations by the end of 1994.

As a government, we have the responsibility to make the system work for the people we serve. As members of our community, we have an obligation to listen and work with the people who will be most affected by our actions. The Royal Commission on Learning is an opportunity both to fulfil those duties and to bring systematic and major change to the education system.

Education and training are one of the 10 points in our government's plan to put Ontario back to work. We want education that emphasizes more than the basics, prepares students for a lifetime of learning and is accountable to parents, students and taxpayers.

I ask all members to support the work of the commission. I encourage all Ontarians to help us build lifelong learning by sharing their views on education with the commission.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Responses, the official opposition: the member for York North.

**Mr Charles Beer (York North):** Let me say first of all to the minister that in the time allotted to me and in



the comments that I'm going to make about the initiative which the government has taken today, those comments that are made are in no way commenting upon the quality and the integrity of those persons who have been named to the royal commission. I say that because I believe there are some critical issues that need to be addressed, and we have some real concerns about the reasons for the government setting up this commission.

We hope desperately, along with the broader members of the public, that the government is serious in terms of some of the things that it has begun in the last few weeks and that it will take the reports of the commission which it has just created seriously.

Minister, it's awfully important to underline the level of scepticism and cynicism that is out in the province around the whole issue of education and where we are going. For that reason, I believe it is terribly important that we recognize what the issues are, that we identify them and that we bring concrete solutions to them.

In many ways, the success or failure of the commission that you have just named will depend in large part on the actions which you and your government take between now and when that report comes out, because if there is any intention that you are simply going to back off and not deal with some of the critical issues that are out there, then we are going to be in very big trouble. I acknowledge that you have said you are not going to do that, but I simply underline that it would be a grave mistake to leave the issues to the commission.

Of particular importance, and one of the areas that is of great concern to us, is the question of the funding of the system. It is clear that in the mandate of the commission, it will not be dealing with funding. In the background questions and answers which you released at your press conference, you note that education finance is being dealt with by the education finance reform project. Minister, what I have to say to you is, how can the commission adequately talk about the purpose and direction of our school system, the program and curriculum development needed in our schools, the system of governance, the system of accountability that we want in our system and the organization of that school system without in effect being able to deal with some of the fundamental funding issues?

As you know, the Fair Tax Commission has brought in a report. There is a minority report attached to that. All of the main players in the education system are saying we have got to deal with this fundamental issue of funding. The cutbacks announced on April 23 only make that issue even more important.

I believe that we need from the minister standing here in this House, and with very short delay, a full statement on how the government is going to handle the funding of education, what specific steps are going to follow over the course of the next few weeks and

months to get the system into balance, because without that, all of the work of the commission could well go for naught.

Monsieur le Président, je veux souligner aussi qu'une des questions que la Commission devrait aborder, c'est la question de la gérance des écoles de langue française. C'est très important, parce que la communauté francophone, depuis longtemps, attend et attend : Quelle sera la solution ? Comment est-ce qu'on va diriger nos propres écoles ?

Alors, je sais que c'est dans le mandat de la Commission. Je souligne l'importance pour la communauté francophone.

While we have many reservations about the need for this commission in terms of solving all the issues we have, we recognize that the members who have been selected are going to approach their task in a serious way, and we will work with them in doing that. But I want to tell the minister and I want the minister to understand clearly that on the issues to do with governance, on the issues to do with funding, we will need some answers this spring, next fall, during next year, and we are going to need those long before the commission has finished its task.

Again, Minister, the success of the commission will depend in large part on what actions you take between now and when its report comes in.

**The Speaker:** Responses, the third party: the member for Waterloo North.

**Mrs. Elizabeth Witmer (Waterloo North):** I'm pleased to have this opportunity to respond to the statement in the Legislature regarding the Royal Commission on Learning, and I'd like to deal specifically with the concerns we have regarding this initiative.

First of all, we're very disappointed that once again, instead of taking action and dealing with the growing public dissatisfaction throughout the province, we have set up yet another education commission. Certainly, although you're going to take a look at the goals and the objectives and the programs, you are not dealing with the most critical issue of all, and that is the area of finance.

The past Minister of Education, Mr Silipo, promised to bring in a new funding model for 1993. Clearly, that's not going to happen. The Fair Tax Commission couldn't reach agreement on that. The question I pose to you is, when is the issue of finance going to be resolved and why is it not being considered in the context of looking at the goals, the standards and the programs of education? It is all part and parcel and it's very crucial to the future of education in this province.

I'd like to compliment you on the inclusion of a student within the committee. However, I have to tell you that I'm extremely disappointed that there is no parent representation. We've seen a growing concern

among parents in this province; in fact, we had three parent groups in here last week: the Organization for Quality Education, Quality Education Network and Parents in Action.

These parents, unfortunately, because you refused to meet with them, had to hold a press conference to highlight their concerns about education, and I'm certainly disappointed that there wasn't a parent representative on the committee, because parents deserve to be involved.

Also, you talked about the cost of the commission only being \$3 million, for the study. However, I guess the big concern is, what will the cost eventually be to the taxpayer in this province to implement the recommendations? That's certainly unknown at the present time.

Also, you've indicated that while the commission is studying long-term changes, the ministry is going to undertake selected short-term initiatives in areas of priority. I want to tell you that this is causing grave uncertainty and concern to parents, students and teachers in this province as you proceed with initiatives such as destreaming and the common curriculum, and also take a look at junior kindergarten and child care. All of those issues should have been resolved within the context of the Royal Commission on Learning, and not in a slipshod manner as is presently being done.

1400

You've talked about the need for more accountability and we certainly agree. In fact the Ontario PC Party put out a document last fall, *New Directions: A Blueprint for Learning in Ontario*. In fact we've noticed that the good ideas that you've put forward today are based on our *Blueprint for Learning in Ontario*. We certainly have stressed the need for accountability to the public and the need for accountability in the area of standards and evaluation.

However, you have not given any assurance to the taxpayers in this province that there will be financial accountability. It is extremely important that we reassure taxpayers that they are getting value for their money. They must be assured that their money is being used well, and that issue is not addressed at all in the commission's mandate.

Also, you talked about the programs in our schools that we need to take a look at. What is the knowledge, what are the skills, what are the values that students need? How do we develop, organize and deliver the curriculum? If that's what you're taking a look at, why are you proceeding with the use of the common curriculum for grades 1 and 9? Why is that being now implemented in a vacuum of ignorance when at the same time you're going to take a look at what's going on in the schools? I really do question that.

I would suggest we don't need another expensive

education study. We've had five since 1986. It's unfortunate, because there has been no commitment to follow through on any of the recommendations of the other task forces and now we have yet another committee that's not going to report until the end of 1994, just in time to serve as a springboard for the 1995 election. Again, we're going to see all of the recommendations put on the shelf. We're going to see the taxpayers' time and money wasted. I would hope that when you're taking a look at consultation with the public—

**The Speaker:** The member's time has expired.

#### MEMBERS' PRIVILEGES

**Mr Dennis Drainville (Victoria-Haliburton):** I rise on a point of personal privilege, if I might. Mr Speaker, as you know, last week I decided to cross the floor and sit as an independent member in this assembly. I have to say this has raised at least some questions and some problems which need to be dealt with by people in this House, by yourself as the Chair of the House.

I must say that I sent a letter last Thursday to the three House leaders and in that letter I indicated to the House leaders that I believe that my rights in this House are not accorded to me in certain important areas as a member of this House; that is, that I cannot ask a question in question period—if I were to rise, I could not be recognized—that I cannot make a member's statement and that I also cannot sit on a legislative committee.

Now, as you know, Mr Speaker, a year ago I introduced a resolution, which passed in this House, which indicated that independent members should be accorded these rights. I have also said on numerous occasions that this is the only jurisdiction in North America where these kinds of standing orders prohibit recognizing the rights of an independent member.

I would ask two things, Mr Speaker: Firstly, in your capacity as Speaker of the House, I would ask that you make some ruling as to my status, to clarify it so that all members realize exactly what rights I do have and what rights I don't have as a member of this House. But I would also say, if I could, Mr Speaker, I would challenge the honourable government House leader that I have sent him this letter. It would be in my way of thinking a great help to the House if the honourable government House leader would indicate the government's response to that letter as soon as possible.

I would hope that we can come to a day when these standing orders that we work under will reflect a more fair and equitable role for independent members.

**Mr Ernie L. Eves (Parry Sound):** On the same point of order, Mr Speaker: I would just say that I believe when the standing orders were reviewed the last time and amended, there were no independent members sitting in the Legislature and I don't think that—

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** Just in the caucuses.



**Mr Eves:** Well, there have always been independent members sitting in some caucuses, I say to the Premier, including ours, and I don't think anybody really anticipated the situation that we find ourselves in now.

For our part, we certainly would be willing to look at the standing orders. I feel quite strongly that any elected member of the Legislative Assembly should have the right to participate during question period and private members' statements, and obviously there has to be some mechanism whereby independent members also have the ability to participate in the committee process. They, after all, are elected members like anybody else and they certainly should have the same rights and privileges.

We, for our part, will be more than willing to sit down and talk to the other two House leaders about perhaps how not only the member for Victoria-Haliburton but other independent members can be accommodated in this place.

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** Mr Speaker, on the point of order, while I think it is important that the three House leaders representing the established parties sit down and try and work out a reasonable solution to this issue, I would actually invite the meeting together of these House leaders with both the Clerk and yourself as more objective viewers of this place in looking at it from an other-than-party perspective.

While I think we would attempt to do the best to provide an evenhanded and a fair distribution of opportunity to ask questions and serve on committees, I think that cannot easily be seen when the three of us might be together looking to the interests of a fellow member of the House who was not a member of one of the caucuses.

The issue at hand is an interesting one because, as you see, there is a relatively large group of New Democrats representing the government, there is a significant number of Liberals in the opposition party and there is a smaller number of people representing the other party, whose name escapes me at the moment.

It is becoming quite clear that it is increasingly difficult for even the backbench members of most of the parties to have real access in question period, and while we would like to divide up even more the number of opportunities for people to participate, it will have to be seen to be equal opportunity for all of the backbench members as far as that is practically possible.

I understand that there is always going to be a difficulty in trying to make our questions short and precise, and even interventions on points of order precise, but we have been recently reaching only two of our backbench members' questions after the leaders' questions, and that really is not allowing very much access at all.

So in one way, when the member for Victoria-

Haliburton, in his letter to me as House leader which I have now passed on to my colleagues, has suggested a guaranteed access every so many days to question period and to do other things, it is interesting because not all of our members are able to access every two weeks the question period, just by the very nature of the examination of the business put to the ministers.

Mr Speaker, this is not an easy exercise. It's one we willingly participate in, it's one we will certainly be looking for some guidance and direction not only from yourself and the Clerk but from my friend the government House leader and my friend the House leader for the third party, and we look forward perhaps at your call to come to a meeting to look at a way that we can fairly treat independent members.

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Government House Leader):** Just very briefly—I don't want to take a lot of time here in the House on this issue this afternoon—let me say first of all, through you to the member for Victoria-Haliburton, that he's written to all three of the House leaders and hopefully whatever response we make at the end of the day will not be a response from the government House leader, it will be a response from our consultations with each other, you, Mr Speaker, the clerks and the members of our caucuses; in other words, a response that reflects the best interests of this House.

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The House leader for the official opposition has suggested, for example, that in our considerations of the member's requests in his letter we will have to take into account the fairness of that over and against his circumstance and the circumstance of every other member in the House, and I hope we can do that in as non-partisan a way as we can. I'm certainly prepared to sit down with the other House leaders and with yourself, sir, and the Clerk and have some serious discussion about how we contemplate the participation of independent members outside of the three caucuses in this House.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** May I say first to the member for Victoria-Haliburton that indeed, in his request of me, he answered his question. The standing orders are quite clear. They are indeed quite rigid with respect to any member who does not belong to a recognized party, so there is nothing in the standing orders which would assist either myself or himself in being able to participate in question period or indeed in other activities.

To the honourable House leader for the Conservative Party, the member for Parry Sound—

**Mr Elston:** Do you remember the name?

**The Speaker:** I remember the name—and to the honourable member for Bruce and the government House leader, they perhaps will know, as I trust all

members will know, that I've had a concern for some time with respect to the rights and privileges of independent members, and I appreciate very much the opportunity to meet with the House leaders and the Clerk to see if we can find a way to address the problem through a change in the standing orders.

In the meantime, or until that can be accomplished, members should know that always by unanimous agreement we can accomplish just about anything that is the will of the House.

I would say finally, in reply to the government House leader, that indeed it is my view that the best kind of accommodation for difficulties is when the House decides to make a change. Perhaps when the House decides to make changes, then all members will be happy with that and we can conduct our business the way it should be conducted.

#### NOTICE OF DISSATISFACTION

**Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South):** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I understand that there is a requirement for unanimous consent if a request for the late show—I think it's standing order 34—has to be waived. I made a request yesterday of the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations, and she phoned me today at 12:30 and advised me that she was ill. I said I was perfectly happy to reschedule that when she is well, but she told me it required unanimous consent of the House, and I'm making that request on her behalf.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Do we have unanimous consent? Agreed.

#### ORAL QUESTIONS

##### LABOUR RELATIONS

**Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition):** My first question is for the Premier. Premier, two weeks ago when the unions walked away from your social contract talks to draw up their own alternatives, you indicated that you would welcome their proposals. As you, I am sure, are aware, it is now being very widely reported that one of the major union alternatives to restraint will be proposals that you raise taxes even further. Surely you are not going to the table to negotiate more taxes. Premier, I ask you to give us your assurance that you are not prepared to entertain union proposals for major tax increases in addition to what you are already planning.

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** I can assure the honourable member that the tax decisions that are made by the Minister of Finance are, in accordance with tradition, made by him after his reflections and his discussions with his cabinet colleagues, as well as the very extensive budget and pre-budget consultations that have taken place. The issue of taxes is not at the table with respect to the social contract and is not subject to negotiation.

**Mrs McLeod:** We are assured by that reassurance,

Premier, and we hope it reflects the fact that your Treasurer, as well as you, understands that you cannot deal with this deficit situation with more taxes when they will put more people out of business, more people out of work, and probably drive your deficit even higher.

**Hon Mr Rae:** That's not what you asked me and that's not what I said.

**Mrs McLeod:** I understand your answer and I'm just wanting to extrapolate from that answer that we can seek further reassurances about what we will see in the budget.

But, Premier, let me take you back to the social contract discussions and the negotiations which you expect to have resumed this week, which was indeed the focus of my first question. I would suggest to you that we can well understand why the negotiations are mired in some confusion, because it has been a problem for anybody to understand what in fact is on the table.

I believe, Premier, that you added to that confusion last week in Hamilton when you told Hamilton municipalities, and I believe I'm quoting accurately: "We are also going to be taking into account the circumstances faced by individual municipalities. If there are special cases to be made for any one municipality, absolutely, we'll be prepared to listen to that."

I ask, Premier: Can you explain to us how you intend to take into account the specific circumstances of individual municipalities, school boards, hospitals, colleges and universities, which are already struggling to cope with your broad-brush cuts?

**Hon Mr Rae:** First of all, since my honourable colleague made a point of extrapolating from one answer into a totally different answer, perhaps she'll permit me to de-extrapolate and to say what I've said in the House in response to questions from other members and from members in the press: It is certainly my understanding, on the basis of everything that the Treasurer and I have discussed, that there will be tax increases in the budget.

I don't want there to be any illusions about that. We've made that very clear. We're making it for the simple reason that we feel it has to be done in order to deal with the extent of the deficit problem in the province as well as part of broader strategies that we're putting into place.

What I said when I met with the mayor of Hamilton, my good friend Mayor Morrow—as is my colleague from Mississauga. I would feel the same way. I would feel precisely the same way—was to say that one should not read into, for example, the percentage cut in the transfer payment to the municipalities that each municipality would be affected in exactly the same way. Obviously, it depends on the degree of dependence on transfer payments and it depends on the particular



circumstances facing the municipality, and those are circumstances which obviously would be taken into account by the Minister of Municipal Affairs. That's his job. If there's a special case to be made, that's something which has to be taken into account.

**Mrs McLeod:** Premier, I agree with you in one respect, and that is your suggestion that in Hamilton-Wentworth they have shown leadership in dealing with the constant budget changes which your government has imposed on them. I would agree with you that that has also happened in Mississauga, where they have shown leadership at a municipal level, and I would suggest that that has also been true in other municipalities, just as it has been true in many school boards and for many hospitals.

That is why, Premier, I have a problem with the fact that you seem to be trying to have it both ways, because at the bargaining table your negotiators are talking about very broad-brush cuts, but when you hear the local concerns you say, "Don't worry, you'll be exempted." As we understand what you said in Hamilton, Premier, it was to tell municipal workers that they have sacrificed enough and should be exempt even from the social contract proposals on unpaid leave.

I simply ask you: How can you give your assurance to one municipality in the province that it will be exempt from the social contract before that contract is even negotiated? I ask further whether or not other municipalities and hospitals and universities and school boards that have indeed already made cuts will also be exempt. How are you going to identify who is going to be exempted and why?

**Hon Mr Rae:** Again the honourable member has extrapolated, and I'm glad she's introduced the word, because it now allows me to use it. She's extrapolated again. She's gone from my talking about a situation where, obviously, the circumstances and the steps that have been taken at a local municipality will be taken into account to my talking about there being blanket exemptions. I've never used any such expression. She's using that expression.

Everyone's going to have to pitch in, and I quite understand—I'm not saying it's easy. I'm not saying that the circumstances facing the province make the lives of mayors or regional chairs or local councils or school boards any easier. They do not. I'm the first to admit that, and that's precisely why we've taken the unprecedented step of encouraging people to come to the table, to sit down and talk with us, tell us their problems, their responses to what it is the government is proposing and have a serious dialogue at the table.

I think that's where the confusion over time—and it's going to take a bit of time and it's going to take a lot of work—where that can be cleared up and where, if everyone comes to the same table, it will then be possible for us to make some good, constructive deci-

sions in which as much fairness as possible can inform what will no doubt be a very difficult process. But I don't think I've ever used the words "blanket exemptions."

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**Mrs McLeod:** I think the focus of concern for the people who come in to negotiate is what the process is for them to be able to persuade the Premier that they are deserving of the non-blanket exemption.

#### PUBLIC SAFETY

**Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition):** My second question is on a different issue. I would have preferred, I say at the beginning, to have addressed this question to the Attorney General, but it is a question which I have already deferred once in her absence, and I do feel the importance of proceeding with the question today, so I will address it to the Premier.

Premier, I'm sure you are aware of the Attorney General's decision to go to court to overturn the court-ordered police protection for Denise Thournout of London. You also know that many women are afraid that the actions of your government in intervening in this case mean that women who are vulnerable will not be protected even if the courts have ordered it.

Premier, when some of these women who are concerned expressed their concerns by staging a protest last weekend in London, the Attorney General said: "I personally think the anger is misdirected. I think if the demonstration were taking place at the residence of the person who is harassing the individual, it would be much more appropriate."

Premier, I ask you, do you not agree that these women have legitimate concerns and that they have a right to express them in a way that they consider to be appropriate?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** I would say to the honourable member, and I know that she's going to be frustrated by this answer, but I really feel that in the circumstances I should simply refer the issue to the Attorney General and indicate to the honourable member that she will be here tomorrow and Thursday and will be in a position to reply to the question.

**Mrs McLeod:** Premier, I'm going to pursue the question, although I respect the fact that it would have been preferable to be able to address the question directly to the Attorney General, because I do feel that on an issue that has the kinds of consequences which this issue has and which is certainly not one that we're springing on you by surprise, since it has been featured quite prominently in the media, it's fair for me to expect that you and the Attorney General would have had at least some discussions about the implications of her decision, and thereby your government's decision, to intervene in this particular case.

Premier, I also understand that your government,

through the Attorney General, has made very clear the reasons for intervening in the matter. But what is not clear to any of us, Premier, is what concrete alternatives your government has had to offer to this woman or to others like her. There are many women like Denise Thournout across this province who live in fear, and yet the only message that your Attorney General, and therefore your government, has sent to them is that you're prepared to step in and take away the police protection that's been ordered by the courts. You have clearly said that Denise Thournout can't expect to keep her OPP protection, but I ask what concrete, practical alternatives you have to offer to Denise Thournout and to others like her so that women do not feel betrayed by a justice system that is leaving them without protection.

**Hon Mr Rae:** Let me say to the honourable member that I don't take away for a moment her right to pose the question. I hope she will appreciate that this is a matter that, in terms of the particular instance and the particular case, is being handled in the courts. I'm very reluctant to comment on it in any way except to say that in general I think the government is very firmly committed to providing whatever assistance we can and whatever assistance can be provided to people who are affected by any kind of harassment. But above and beyond that, I just don't think it's right or reasonable for me, as Premier, to comment on an individual case, and I would certainly refer the question. I know the honourable member will be here tomorrow and the Attorney General will be able to answer, perhaps by means of a previously asked question.

**Mr Tim Murphy (St George-St David):** Mr Premier, in deferring the question I would ask that you take into account that the member for London Centre is both the women's issues minister and the Attorney General and that women of this province are looking to her and to your government for leadership in this matter, and they expect your government to take decisive action. Yet what is proposed to be done is to take away that very court protection, and in fact, from copies of documents that I have, not only are you taking that protection away but you're asking the respondent, Miss Thournout, to pay the costs if you win in taking that protection away.

We can understand, Mr Premier, that perhaps you can't afford 24-hour OPP protection, and yet I would ask that you ask the Attorney General to see if there are other alternatives, if she's considered other alternatives, before she did this move. Mr Premier, I'm asking you to ask your Attorney General and your Solicitor General if they explored other alternatives before they proceeded in this fashion. If you are not so satisfied, I'd ask you to undertake that they have that discussion and consider and decide on better alternatives than what they're proposing.

**Hon Mr Rae:** I don't say this simply to observe a

nicety, but to say that I welcome the participation of the member for St George-St David in the House in terms of his participation in questions. Let me say that I shall certainly refer his question, as well as the question from the Leader of the Opposition, to the Attorney General as well as to the Solicitor General.

I think, though, that if he looks at the broad record and the direction which has been taken by the Attorney General and by the Solicitor General, I can assure him that uppermost in our minds is working in cooperation with the federal government, the new federal law that's now being proposed and the steps we've taken as a government. We are very much aware of the need to provide protection and the need to provide some real sense of security to women who feel that their safety is in any way in danger or that their rights are in any way in danger as a result of actions being taken by others.

I know this is something which would be shared by all members and making sure that that assurance is provided as a general rule. But with respect to the particular case, I'm very reluctant to make a comment and I will certainly refer it to the Attorney General.

#### LABOUR RELATIONS

**Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing):** Mr Speaker, I'm assuming that the Liberal Party making no comment of Clyde Wells's re-election was because he got elected on an issue that they fundamentally disagree with.

But I think we should take the opportunity, the first one, to acknowledge Clyde Wells returning as Premier of Newfoundland, and congratulate him on his election. Perhaps, by way of that in a question to you, Premier, I would like you, in a very non-partisan way, to say that this victory is one that you, who are now Premier of Ontario, should take some comfort—it should reinforce to you that the time for tough action is indeed now. The time to cut the cost and the size of the bureaucracy and government is indeed now.

Premier Wells campaigned for cutbacks, against the entrenched position of the union bosses, and he won. He won the support of voters, he won the support of taxpayers and he won the significant support of the union membership. I think we would all acknowledge that today.

He also knew, Premier, that the union leaders can negotiate from a vested interest—

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Would the leader place a question, please.

**Mr Harris:** —but you must not allow them to set the agenda. They can negotiate their agenda, but you can't allow them to set it.

I would ask you this then, Premier: Since setting the agenda is slipping away from you, are you prepared to embrace the Wells victory as a sign that you need to toughen up, that it is you who should be setting the agenda, that it is you who should be talking about



what's on the table and you who sets the deadline? Would you acknowledge that, Premier?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** Perhaps I could borrow from a debate in another jurisdiction and say that I know Clyde Wells, have known him for some time and have worked with him, and I will say, listening to the leader of the third party, "You're no Clyde Wells."

I would say to the leader of the third party that, as a general rule, whenever premiers are re-elected, certainly an incumbent always takes a little bit of comfort from that fact. But I would make the additional point, in all seriousness, to the honourable member, that I'm not going to comment on events in other provinces except to say that I would obviously congratulate all those who campaigned. I've spoken both to Premier Wells today and to the leader of the New Democratic Party, who won his seat and increased his popular vote in the province in a difficult circumstance.

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Obviously, we face a difficult challenge in the country. I listened to Premier Wells last night and also this morning on television and on radio, and I heard him saying very clearly that he wanted to sit down and negotiate with his employees, that he wasn't seeking a confrontation, and I heard very clearly from the unions saying that they also wanted to negotiate and weren't seeking a confrontation. In our own province, I think we're finding more and more that although there are differences of opinion—they're being expressed very strongly—people are willing to come and sit and talk and discuss and dialogue.

**The Speaker:** Would the Premier conclude his response, please.

**Hon Mr Rae:** It's in that spirit, and not in a spirit of confrontation, that this government thinks we're going to make the most progress, and that's the spirit with which we enter these discussions here in Ontario.

**Mr Harris:** The Premier will know that he and I are in favour of negotiations. Mr Wells and I felt that there should be a level playing field, and he sought a mandate: He sought a mandate, he set the agenda, he began negotiating from at least a level playing field.

Premier, I appreciate that today, in response to the leader of the Liberal Party—who somehow or other was disappointed that the Liberals won; I guess only because of the agenda that they fought, they disagree with—you said the unions may put tax hikes on the table, but that is not negotiable, you will not allow that to be part of the negotiations. I heard you say that and I just wanted to acknowledge that and appreciate that and support you in toughening up a little bit in saying that you will set the agenda. If that is indeed what you are saying, let me acknowledge that part of it.

However, the unions do plan, Premier, to put on the table today pay freezes for job security or position

security, which, in many people's views, could significantly damage the ability of the government today, tomorrow, next year and the next year to properly downsize the size of government, as you have said must take place.

Premier, I would ask you this: As part of the negotiations, as part of the discussions—

**The Speaker:** Would the leader place a question.

**Mr Harris:** —are you also prepared to take a tough line, as you have on taxes, and saying it is your job, it is the legislator's job, the Premier's job, to set the size of the civil service, but negotiating how you reach that size, what the pay schedule is, that's up for negotiation? Are you prepared to tell us that, too?

**Hon Mr Rae:** I have a feeling that somehow, somebody took away his second question so he had to put another one in there; just listening to it. All I would say to him is that, broadly based across the broader public service, the issue of employment security naturally will be brought forward by the employees, as it has already been raised by the government in terms of its broad approach in the social contract proposal. I think if you look at the social contract proposal, you'll see a very strong willingness on the part of the government to do that.

Look, we have a responsibility to manage; any government does. In the 1990s, in an age of progressive management, it seems to me we also have an obligation to provide as much security as possible in an economic climate in which, of course, there's a great deal of concern. My own view is that that's going to be better for confidence, it's going to do more for the economy, if we have a greater sense of trust and a greater sense of security in terms of what we're facing. But of course we retain the right to manage. That's quite fundamental to any government.

**Mr Harris:** It's going to be an interesting set of negotiations. The unions say they want to negotiate tax hikes for everybody else, and the management of the size and what the civil service would do; they're not going to have much left to talk about. But we'll see what unfolds this afternoon. All I'm holding you accountable for, Premier, is to stay that course, because there are a lot of people concerned that you will not.

I suggest to you that if Clyde Wells were here today, he would differ with you. When the union bosses gave him a tough time, he called an election to get a mandate to be able to negotiate from a position of strength.

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Mr Harris:** That's right. He told the union bosses that it was time for turnaround management, "management" being the key word, and that he was going to manage.

Now, I don't think you're going to call an election,

Premier, so we're looking for other signs. I would ask you, as I asked you last Thursday: You said you had a line beyond which you would not be pushed, that there was a deadline for these negotiations to conclude. Will you today tell us what that deadline is, will you lay it out for us, for the public, for taxpayers and for the unions, will you be fair to them in their negotiations, will you tell us what that line is, and will you give us the assurance that if that line is passed, that deadline—

**The Speaker:** Would the member complete his question, please.

**Mr Harris:** —that you are prepared to legislate?

**Hon Mr Rae:** Let me say—and I say this to my colleagues; we've had a good caucus meeting this morning—that an election is not the first thing on my mind at the moment. I know that will come as a disappointment and a surprise to many members. But some two and a half years into the mandate, we have a mandate to govern and we'd be wise to govern, and we have a way to go before we sleep, let me say.

Let me just say to the honourable member that I think the answer I gave last week was very clear, that as we indicated in the social contract proposal, the Treasurer needed to have some indication from the bargaining table, from our chief negotiator, as to the kind of progress that was being made and as to his recommendations. That date is tomorrow, and I'm quite confident that tomorrow or Thursday, the Minister of Finance will have a report from the negotiator which will allow him to make a decision and report directly to the House, which is, I'm sure, exactly what the Minister of Finance will want to do.

Having said that, I think we also want to give time for the negotiations to work and time for people to come to terms with what can only be described as a change which requires their participation in order to work. But I can assure the honourable member, we will take the decisions that need to be taken.

#### AFFORDABLE HOUSING

**Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South):** My question is to the Minister of Housing. Minister, yesterday, in your answers to my leader, Mike Harris, on government housing, you demonstrated your complete blind faith on this subject; in fact, so blind that we believe you have blinkers on, because times change, and today in this province we have the highest vacancy rate since 1972. We believe it's totally unjust to those people who require affordable housing today and the beleaguered taxpayers who must pay for it.

Yesterday you said, "When those market units are filled, it helps to pay off the cost of social housing faster." In fact, what you didn't tell us is that you're paying for video productions and all kinds of forms of advertising to fill those particular units. How naïve of you to think that people are going to choose to pay

market rent in a government-subsidized building.

Madam Minister, what we would like to know is how you can honestly deny the needs of a quarter of a million people in this province who are on waiting lists for affordable housing while you spend more money for only half that number of people because you want to spend money on bricks and mortar rather than on people.

**Hon Evelyn Gigantes (Minister of Housing):** The member for Mississauga South continues not to understand what social housing is about. It's unfortunate, because it was her government which began the programs of non-profit housing in this province. While times have changed, I think the member will have to recognize that one of the things that's changed is that a great number of people in Ontario now—up to 600,000 cases in Ontario, which represent more people in the household than 600,000—are dependent on social assistance, and it is very helpful to people in that kind of situation not to be receiving a shelter subsidy in the form of a rental subsidy through social assistance but to have access to affordable housing which is paid for through the Ministry of Housing accounts.

1440

But she can't have it both ways. You can't have people receiving social assistance for free. It's not free, member for Mississauga South. You can put them in affordable housing, which gets paid for over a 35-year mortgage, which retains its use of the public resource—

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Would the minister conclude her response, please.

**Hon Ms Gigantes:** —for people who have income problems.

I wish she would start to settle down and really look at this program and understand its benefits.

**Mrs Marland:** I guess the difficulty is that we have in this province a Ministry of Health that doesn't pay for two hearing aids, and I now understand why there's a need in this House as well as outside of this House.

I certainly wasn't talking about anything being free. I'm talking about the actual cost to the taxpayers of this program that does not look after—the same number of dollars spent on four times as many people. It's very simple, actually.

Yesterday, in fact, the minister said to my leader that \$2.5 billion was spent on shelter allowances. She said, "If that is not a rental subsidy in this province, how much more does he want to put into payments which are subsidies to landlords, which don't create new affordable housing?"

This is a selective argument. What I'd like to know is, how about the subsidies to land owners to whom the non-profit housing program pays three times the market cost of the land, then allows flips by these groups before they even come to market in terms of buildings?



I would like to remind the minister—

**The Speaker:** Would the member place her question, please.

**Mrs Marland:** The auditor has identified a lack of need and demand studies. The auditor identified that 25% of the projects do not even have approved operating budgets, the auditor talked about multiple waiting lists—

**The Speaker:** Would the member please place a question.

**Mrs Marland:** If this such a good thing, Madam Minister, why don't you open up your books and answer the questions that were asked in public accounts committee and answer the questions asked by the auditor himself, who is still waiting—

**The Speaker:** The question's been placed.

**Mrs Marland:** —for the facts and figures on your oh-so-great housing program?

**The Speaker:** Will the member take her seat. Minister.

**Hon Ms Gigantes:** Mr Speaker, it's hard to know where to begin to answer this outpouring of vituperation and agitation, but I take all that she's saying very seriously because it's so highly inaccurate. It really dismays me that this inaccuracy goes on being spouted. It dismays me.

The Provincial Auditor reviewed the social housing program as it operated in this province between the years 1985 and 1991. He raised a number of questions, all of which we took very seriously at the Ministry of Housing in reviewing the social housing program which we are carrying forward under Jobs Ontario Homes.

We are making changes to those programs. The figures that were spouted yesterday by the leader of the Conservative Party are simply not the case. We will not be spending \$1 billion by 1995. We have reconstructed our social housing program. The costs will be, on an annual basis, \$70 million lower than that. I hope the member for Mississauga South will pick up her Hansard, read over the committee hearings which she participated in and note that every question raised was answered.

**The Speaker:** Final supplementary, brief supplementary.

**Mrs Marland:** Minister, if you had been in those committee hearings, you would know what questions your deputy agreed to answer at a future date. Those are the questions I'm referring to.

And when you talk about an outpouring of agitation, I want to tell you who is agitated in this province: It's the people your government is asking to pay higher taxes and give up their jobs.

You also said yesterday that my Conservative leader is going around the province talking about this program

in pathetic terms. I want to tell you what's pathetic. The program is pathetic. You're asking people to make sacrifices in this province at the same time that you do not know what's going on in your ministry. You do not know that the auditor identified \$200 million of mis-spent dollars, money that they can't find where your ministry has spent that money.

**The Speaker:** And your question?

**Mrs Marland:** I want to give you an example—  
*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Mrs Marland:** —by the Board of Trade of Metropolitan Toronto. They are saying that the annual provincial subsidy has grown from only \$33 million in 1987—

**The Speaker:** Will the member please place a question.

**Mrs Marland:** Yes, Mr Speaker. This is the question: In light of the fact that this subsidy has grown from \$33 million in 1987 to \$605 million in 1992—

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Mrs Marland:** —why do you not provide the affordable housing that would house twice as many people for one seventh of the cost of your annual subsidy in the program as it exists today?

**Hon Ms Gigantes:** I would invite the member for Mississauga South to sit down.

**Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West):** Not another briefing.

**Hon Ms Gigantes:** Yes, for a briefing, absolutely. She still doesn't understand.

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Hon Ms Gigantes:** I'd like to address two issues that she's sort of generally thrown out here this afternoon.

**Mr Charles Harnick (Willowdale):** Minister, where is the \$200 million? Tell us about the \$200 million you can't find.

**The Speaker:** Order, the member for Willowdale.

**Hon Ms Gigantes:** One is the question of this government spending money, raising taxes, throwing people out of work. I don't know what she's talking about, but let me point out for the benefit of the member that the social housing that will be under construction in the province of Ontario this year will create the equivalent of 30,000 full-time jobs. Is that worth nothing to the member for Mississauga South?

The questions that have been raised in the public accounts committee have been answered. If there is a specific question, aside from these generalized pieces of misinformation, that the member would like answered,

I'd be glad to get it from her and be glad to get her any answer she's looking for.

#### REPORT ON VICTIMS OF ABUSE

**Mrs Yvonne O'Neill (Ottawa-Rideau):** My question is to the Premier. Yesterday, your government received a stay, pending an appeal, on the release of the 1976 report on the Grandview school for girls in Cambridge. Mr Premier, judges, a former Attorney General, the media, some of whom are plaintiffs in this case, and the community at large have stated consistently for almost a year that your actions surrounding the release of this I remind this House that this is a heavily edited document, with all the names and personal interviews deleted. Your continued request to suppress this report is described over and over again as extremely rare and highly unusual.

You know and I know that the release of this report, even in its edited version, would most likely help to prove that there was real abuse at Grandview. The NDP government has always claimed to be the champion of the rights of those wronged through their contact with provincial institutions.

Mr Premier, you have demonstrated your personal interest in this matter by requesting and receiving a confidential briefing on the case by the assistant Deputy Attorney General, criminal law, the same person who argued your government's case yesterday.

Will you and your Attorney General stop hiding behind the excuse of hindering an investigation? I ask you, will you give us the real reason why you are continuing to request the suppression of this report, which is of such high interest to you, to your government, to the members of this Legislature and indeed to the community of Ontario? Why are you personally and three of your ministries fighting so hard—

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Would the member place her question, please.

**Mrs O'Neill:** —to suppress this heavily edited report, contrary to the decisions of several judges and the freedom of information and protection of privacy commissioner?

**Hon Bob Rae (Premier):** First of all, I would say to the honourable member that her statement that this is some personal action being taken by any member of the government is frankly absurd and unworthy of the member. Secondly, I would refer her to page 16 of the standing orders, and I would refer others as well, to standing order 23(g), which states specifically:

"...a member shall be called to order by the Speaker if he or she:

"(g) Refers to any matter that is the subject of a proceeding

"(i) that is pending in a court or before a judge for judicial determination..."

Those are the standing orders of the House. They

guide me in my actions and in my answers as clearly as they guide the honourable member. I can make no further comment on this matter, and she knows it perfectly well, as does every member of the House.

1450

**Mrs O'Neill:** The Premier knows that he had a meeting on March 17, and that is the point of my question today. You met that day with the director of the provincial crown law office, Mr Murray Segal, and the assistant Attorney General for criminal law, Mr Michael Code.

Some crown attorneys in Ontario are concerned that their arm's-length relationship with this government has been compromised by this troubling and unprecedented briefing. Many believe your meeting with the director of the provincial crown law office, who will ultimately determine where and whether charges in this case will be laid, is more than the appearance of interference that your Attorney General continues to refer to.

Mr Premier, are you prepared today to share with this Legislature the contents of that briefing, or the reason why it was held on Grandview, that you received on the evening of March 17?

**Hon Mr Rae:** The basis of the question is without any substance or foundation whatsoever. There's nothing unprecedented in the discussion between the Attorney General and I with respect to briefings on matters concerning her ministry, nothing unprecedented or unusual in it at all with respect to it. I would refer the honourable member and, if I may say so, refer other members to what is, after all, I would have thought, a pretty clear standing order of the House with respect to comments that a member or that a Premier can or cannot make.

#### LOCATION OF AWARDS CEREMONY

**Mr Norman W. Sterling (Carleton):** My question is to the Minister of Citizenship. Madam Minister, I'd like to thank you, and also the Minister of Tourism and Recreation, for your invitation to the celebration of the presentation of the 1993 volunteer awards, a Festival of Stars, where they will recognize the stellar achievements of Ontario volunteers with special guests next Tuesday night.

I'm getting quite a few calls in my constituency office because my volunteers from my riding can't understand that at the bottom of this, it says these volunteer awards for Ontario residents are going to be given in Hull, Quebec.

**Hon Elaine Ziemba (Minister of Citizenship):** Thank you very much for the question. I want to say I'm very pleased that you received your invitation. We are often criticized that we don't extend those invitations. I hope also that you will participate, because we have tried, in all of our events—that all the members participate in the event.



We are also very concerned about making sure that we save as many dollars as we can, that we can provide the best opportunity for our volunteers because they're extremely important, but we also have to make sure that we have facilities that will not cost us the dollars. I will look in to see about the costs effect of going to Hull, Quebec, for you.

**Mr Sterling:** Madam Minister, maybe you're not aware of it, but the Ottawa Congress Centre, which is owned by this province, is deficit-ridden at this point in time and would be very appropriate for this kind of ceremony. We have the National Arts Centre in the city of Ottawa, in the province of Ontario, which would be very appropriate for this kind of awards ceremony.

Madam Minister, I'm proud to be a Canadian, I'm proud to be an Ontarian, and the people who are receiving a province of Ontario award for voluntarism, quite frankly, would expect that this ceremony would take place in our province.

**Hon Ms Ziemba:** I'm very pleased to hear that the member is proud to be an Ontarian, proud to be Canadian, and I think we all share those values. I think it's extremely important that we state those. But I also would like to say, as I said to you in the last response, that I will look into this matter to see what the cost-effectiveness is of going to that particular facility and to make sure that we take your concerns into account next time.

*Interjections.*

**Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West):** What are you going to look into?

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Order.

**Hon Ms Ziemba:** Perhaps next time you could give us the proper facility that you would like to have the events in, and I hope this time that you will participate, because other times you haven't.

**Mr Stockwell:** What are you going to survey, the provincial boundaries, hire some surveyors and move the boundaries?

**The Speaker:** Order, the member for Etobicoke West.

#### AFFORDABLE HOUSING

**Mr Donald Abel (Wentworth North):** My question is for the Minister of Housing. Madam Minister, when the recent federal government's pre-election budget came out, we didn't hear much about the negative impact that spending cuts will have on social housing. In this budget, the federal government cancelled five national programs which in the past have assisted tens of thousands of Canadians annually.

This move by the federal government has many people in my riding of Wentworth North, and I'm sure all across Canada, very, very upset. I think it is of the utmost importance that the people of Ontario are made aware what effects these Tory cuts are going to have on

housing in the province of Ontario. Madam Minister, can you provide us with some information?

**Hon Evelyn Gigantes (Minister of Housing):** I'm glad to do that, Mr Speaker. There were five programs affected by the federal budget, and in fact five programs have been completely eliminated including the non-profit housing program, which has been a federal-provincial shared cost program; the federal rent supplement program, which really has been useful especially in small towns and rural areas—

[Applause]

**Hon Ms Gigantes:** Are you applauding now, Conservatives?

—the rural native housing program, which is a rent-to-own program; the residential rehabilitation assistance program, RAP, which has helped people of low income repair their homes; and the urban native non-profit housing program.

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Order.

**Hon Ms Gigantes:** In addition to the complete elimination of these five programs, the federal Conservatives have capped the operating funding for the more than 40,000 units of social housing here in Ontario that they've cost-shared with the province of Ontario, including with Conservative governments in the past, over the last several years.

**Mr Abel:** Thank you, Madam Minister. I think it's also very important that the people of Ontario know what kind of pressures these cutbacks are going to place on housing programs in this province.

**Hon Ms Gigantes:** Mr Speaker, it appears quite clear that the Conservative members of this Legislature think it's very funny when Ontarians lose assistance from the federal government that helps meet the desperate needs of people seeking affordable housing in this province.

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order.

**Hon Ms Gigantes:** I'd like to point out to them that it ain't funny. I'd like to point out to them that 2,000 units of social housing will be lost this coming year, 3,000 units of rehabilitated housing, and that amounts to 4,000 construction jobs in one year only, and that will be repeated year after year after year. That loss is going to be suffered in Ontario.

#### CENTRALIA COLLEGE

**Mrs Joan M. Fawcett (Northumberland):** I have here something for the Minister of Agriculture and Food, if he would like to take a look. I'd like to have a page come and deliver this to the minister so he could even get a closer look.

Last night, Minister, my colleague the member for Bruce and I travelled to Centralia College of Agricul-

tural technology to listen to the concerns of the friends of Centralia. There were over 800 very concerned individuals from all walks of life there devastated by the closing of Centralia College by your ministry. They told us the vital role Centralia College plays in their lives and in the agrifood industry in our province.

I would ask the minister, have you talked to people like Dr Susan Fussell, the head of the animal research lab at the University of Western Ontario—

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Order. The member for Chatham-Kent.

**Mrs Fawcett:** —who stated she preferred to hire graduates from Centralia because of their experience with large and small animals? In fact, she stated there were at least four Centralia graduates working there now.

Has the minister talked to people like Donna Stewardson, the second vice-president of the Ontario Federation of Agriculture, who told us last night that the OFA considers the closing of Centralia as an outright attack on research, education and the establishment of future generations of farmers?

Has the minister talked to people like Brian Dudgeon, the president of the students' council at Centralia, who believed his future was in agriculture—

**The Speaker:** Would the member pose her question, please.

**Mrs Fawcett:** —and who so passionately feels that his education at Centralia would equip him with the latest technology and skills to compete in the global economy?

Did you, Minister, consult with these people directly before you made the decision to close Centralia?

**The Speaker:** Would the member please place a question.

**Mrs Fawcett:** If not, how can you sit at the cabinet table and pretend to represent the agrifood industry when you haven't even consulted with the stakeholders?

**Hon Elmer Buchanan (Minister of Agriculture and Food):** I'm fully aware of the value of Centralia College to the Huron area and the staff there who do an excellent job. The research that's there is important to agriculture in this province and I'm aware of a couple of the research programs that are specifically located at Centralia and their importance to that region. But it's my job and the job of being part of the government to look at fiscal responsibilities. When we looked at the agricultural colleges, we have spaces for 2,000 students and we only have about 1,100 students in the agricultural college system.

1500

Quite frankly, decisions had to be made. No one likes to close any college. If it had been Ridgetown, the

people from Ridgetown would have had a meeting and they would have had a sign that said, "Save Ridgetown." It's very tough to close any institution, whether it's a school, a college or any other facility, but these are tough decisions that had to be made.

It's unfortunate for the people in the area, and I understand the economic impact. We'll do what we can to offset that. We are responsible and we will do what we can for the people in that region. But at the end of the day, we have to make decisions, we have to downsize the number of colleges we have in this province to show responsibility and reflect the capacity that we need to serve the agricultural community.

**Mrs Fawcett:** Is this the real Minister of Agriculture or an impostor? Never before, Minister, has the agrifood community shouldered such a disproportionate share of an Ontario government's attempts at fiscal responsibility.

How can you justify these cuts when your government is spending \$2.8 million on seven ministers without portfolio who can't even answer questions in this House, or is spending over \$1 million just to move cabinet offices across the street?

The minister has to realize that there is a future for agriculture in our province and that future depends on our ability to do research and development to provide our farmers with the best technology so that they can compete in the global economy.

**The Speaker:** And the member's question.

**Mrs Fawcett:** And that is true with all industry. The agrifood industry depends on our youth. A well-trained and educated youth is the key to the future, yet there can be no—

**The Speaker:** Does the member have a question?

**Mrs Fawcett:** —future if you continue to close agricultural offices and colleges like Centralia and New Liskeard.

Will the minister today make a commitment to reconsider the closure of Centralia and New Liskeard, and will he sit down with all of the stakeholders and discuss all of the options and opportunities?

**Hon Mr Buchanan:** During the last administration, the Liberal administration, when revenues were increasing 10% and 15% per year, if the Liberal administration had put some money aside and left some money in the kitty, we could continue some of the programs that they valued so much. If our growth in revenues was the same as it was in the 1980s, we wouldn't be experiencing the kinds of closures we've had to take.

These are very tough decisions. At least we had the guts to make those decisions and we're going to stand by those decisions. There will be no reversal in the closure of the colleges that we've announced. There will be no backtracking on that.



In terms of Agriculture and Food taking an unreasonable cut, I have the list here in terms of percentage of cut. Agriculture was treated very fairly. Some ministries were as high as 18%, some below that. We're basically somewhere in the median range in terms of the restraints that we suffered, and we believe that Agriculture and Food has to participate and be a responsible ministry in this government and be responsible to the people of the province.

#### ENVIRONMENTAL REGULATIONS

**Mr Leo Jordan (Lanark-Renfrew):** My question is for the Minister of Natural Resources. The Ontario Forest Industries Association has stated that your government's ban on chlorine is not based on scientific evidence. Furthermore, it is the industry's contention that the large financial commitments necessary to meet your new regulations will not result in environmental gains.

Minister, how can you proceed with these regulations when the scientific evidence to support your position is inconclusive?

**Hon Howard Hampton (Minister of Natural Resources):** The regulations which are addressed here are more properly in the realm of the Minister of Environment. I think the question should go to the Minister of the Environment and Energy.

**Hon Bud Wildman (Minister of Environment and Energy):** I thank the member for his question. He will know that the MISA regulations were put forward after about six years of development and widespread consultation. We had a 60-day comment period and we'll be taking into account the comments made in the development of the final regulation.

The member should know that, while he questions the scientific evidence, the International Joint Commission has called for the elimination of organochlorines from our water supply in the Great Lakes, and I think that the International Joint Commission is a commission that is set up by both the governments of Canada and the United States to protect those waterways and we could hardly question their ability to make scientific judgments.

**Mr Jordan:** It is now estimated, Minister, that as many as 6,000 jobs could be lost if the zero AOX regulation is pursued. One operation has been widely quoted as stating your policy will leave them with no other option than to close the plant. The mayor of Thunder Bay has called this ban a threat to the survival of northwestern Ontario.

Minister, why does your government insist on jeopardizing these jobs without the scientific evidence to support the policy?

**Hon Mr Wildman:** I did refer to the question about science in the previous answer. I would just say that we all are concerned about the health of the pulp and paper

industry in Ontario. All of us would recognize that the prices have been depressed for some time and that the difficulties being experienced by some of the kraft mills are related to the market, not to regulations.

I would also like to correct a misunderstanding that the member has in that he refers to the zero as a regulation, when in fact it is a goal. What is regulated is 0.8 by the year 1999, and he should know that two out of the eight kraft mills can already meet that regulation and that they will be required, along with the other six kraft mills, to file a plan on how they might meet the goal of zero by the year 2002 by the end of 1998. This is not really very onerous at all.

#### LABOUR LEGISLATION

**Mr Gary Wilson (Kingston and The Islands):** My question is for the Minister of Labour. Our government has taken steps to help working people in Ontario. With Bill 40, Ontario has one of the most progressive labour relations acts in North America. We've initiated a wage protection plan that ensures that working people receive earned wages and vacation, severance and termination pay when their employers don't pay.

The Ontario investment and employee ownership program encourages workers to buy into their own companies and provides a source of investment for individuals who want to invest in our economy here in Ontario. We've made progress with pay equity, and our down payment program announced this spring will pay up to \$2,500 to thousands of lower-wage working women in the broader public sector.

With Bill 80, we have emphasized the basic democratic rights of construction workers by promoting greater freedom and control for local unions in their relationship with their international parent unions in the construction industry. Recently, however, some of my constituents have suggested that Bill 80 will require building trade unions members—

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Will the member place a question, please.

**Mr Gary Wilson:** —to join only Canadian-based unions. There appears to be a contradiction here, Minister, between the constructive things for working people our government has done and this apparently arbitrary provision. Could you clear up this contradiction?

**Hon Bob Mackenzie (Minister of Labour):** I'm very glad to hear the member for Kingston and The Islands raise the issue, for example, of Bill 40 and Bill 80, which relates to Bill 40. Some of the members across the floor of the House might take a little time to find out exactly what's happening with Bill 40, both from the workers' and the companies' side, and might find out that it's nowhere near the bugbear they thought it was when the legislation was brought into the House. It has had the effect of speeding up the processes.

*Interjections.*

**The Speaker:** Order. Minister.

1510

**Hon Mr Mackenzie:** As I was saying, Mr Speaker, the ability of workers to organize has been enhanced. There are quicker first contracts, there have been less costs through speedier handling of issues before the board and to date—it's early in the game yet and that's why I haven't got up in this House to say anything before this—it has been a success right down the line.

With respect to Bill 80, I want to say that it does not restrict, I tell my honourable friend, union members or workers' rights to join the union of their choice and it does set out prohibitions from the parent unions interfering with a local union, with the autonomy of the workers without just cause, which we think is something that's a step forward. It also provides effective representation in benefits and non-benefit plans, and it gives shared bargaining rights with the local unions as well as with the international that they represent.

**Mr Gary Wilson:** Minister, many of my constituents have been following the progress of Bill 80. They've participated in the consultations surrounding it and are anxious to see it reintroduced into the House for second reading. Just when can they expect to see Bill 80 back in the House?

**Hon Mr Mackenzie:** We have heard some of the concerns that were raised earlier by the member. We have been engaged in extensive consultations with the building trades unions and with both sides, those that are happy with Bill 80 and those that have some reservations about the legislation, and we are currently in the process of meeting with the various groups and discussing the concerns that have been raised by construction workers across the province of Ontario. I can tell you it is my intention to meet some of the concerns that are there when we bring the bill back in for second reading, and we hope to have it through in this session of the Legislature.

MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT AND  
ENERGY FUNDING

**Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines):** I have a question for the Minister of the Environment. When I had the opportunity to establish the investigations and enforcement branch of the Ministry of the Environment, it was set up as an independent branch whose mandate it was to investigate all environmental infractions and to enforce the environmental laws of the province of Ontario. It was deliberately separated from other branches of government and from the control of the minister in order that it may preserve its independence and do its job appropriately.

As the minister has been asked by the treasury board to look at his ministry to determine which parts of the ministry shall be dismantled or cut back, would the minister assure the House that the investigations and

enforcement branch of the Ministry of the Environment first of all will not be reduced in size; second, will not be reduced in its mandate; and third, will be retained as a totally independent branch of the ministry and not integrated with other parts of the ministry as a so-called cost-saving measure?

**Hon Bud Wildman (Minister of Environment and Energy):** As the member will know, all ministries of the government are playing a role in the expenditure control plan of the provincial government, and the Ministry of Environment and Energy is playing a part in that.

I think, though, that he will know that the cuts we have made have been made in such a way as to ensure that we will carry out our mandate for environmental protection and to ensure that the responsibilities of the Ministry of Environment and Energy are met. As a matter of fact, certain environmental groups have expressed the fact that they believe that the cuts have been made in such a way that our mandate will indeed continue to be met.

Specifically with regard to the enforcement branch, it is indeed independent and I expect that it will continue to carry out its mandate as it has in the past.

MOTIONS

PRIVATE MEMBERS' PUBLIC BUSINESS

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Government House Leader):** I move that Mr Harris exchange places with Mrs Witmer in the order of precedence for private members' public business.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

PETITIONS

ABORTION

**Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East):** I have a petition here. Enclosed are photocopies of 586 names and signatures of persons in my constituency who signed cards concerning the report of the Task Group of Abortion Service Providers, and it's from Campaign Life Coalition.

GAMBLING

**Mr Dennis Drainville (Victoria-Haliburton):** Mr Speaker, I add to the thousands of signatures that I've introduced in this House concerning the issue of casino gambling:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the New Democratic government has traditionally had a commitment to family life and quality of life for all the citizens of Ontario; and

"Whereas families are made more emotionally and economically vulnerable by the operation of various gaming and gambling ventures; and

"Whereas the New Democratic Party government has had a historical concern for the poor in society, who are



particularly at risk each time the practice of gambling is expanded; and

"Whereas the New Democratic Party has, in the past, vociferously opposed the raising of moneys for the state through gambling; and

"Whereas the citizens of Ontario have not been consulted regarding the introduction of legalized gambling casinos despite the fact that such a decision is a significant change of government policy and was never part of the mandate given to the government by the people of Ontario,

"Therefore we, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the government immediately cease all moves to establish gambling casinos and that appropriate legislation be introduced into the assembly along with a process which includes significant opportunities for public consultation and full public hearings as a means of allowing the citizens of Ontario to express themselves on this new and questionable initiative."

I am happy to affix my signature to this petition.

#### BICYCLING SAFETY

**Mr Randy R. Hope (Chatham-Kent):** I have with me today 4,200 signatures that have been circulated over a four-week period, which is addressed to the Speaker of the House and the Parliament of Ontario. It is, the undersigned support the voluntary use of bicycle helmets but are opposed to the province's implementing the mandatory use of bicycle helmets. It is also signed by a number of people throughout my riding and throughout Kent county, and it is also signed by our future voters of the province of Ontario who are opposed to the mandatory use of bicycle helmets.

#### LAYOFFS

**Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines):** I have a petition which is addressed to the Premier and members of the Legislature. It reads as follows:

"General Motors' announcement to close the foundry operations in St Catharines, with the resultant loss of 2,300 jobs, adds to the growing devastation of the vital manufacturing sector in the Canadian economy. The spinoff effects will result in four to six lost jobs in other sectors for every lost job in auto. The foundry closure also puts the remainder of General Motors' St Catharines operations in serious jeopardy, which has a total combined employee population of 9,000 hourly and salaried workers. We strongly urge the Ontario government to intervene in all possible manners to stop the erosion of jobs and the economic base of our province and, in particular, the Niagara region."

I have added to this petition my own signature, as I am in support of it.

#### NATIVE HUNTING AND FISHING

**Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East):** I have a petition here to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas in 1923, seven Ontario bands signed the Williams Treaty, which guaranteed that native peoples would hunt and fish according to provincial and federal conservation laws, like everyone else; and

"Whereas the bands were paid the 1993 equivalent of \$20 million; and

"Whereas that treaty was upheld by Ontario's highest court last year; and

"Whereas Bob Rae is not enforcing the existing laws which prohibit native peoples from hunting and fishing out of season; and

"Whereas this will put at risk an already pressured part of Ontario's natural environment,

"We, the undersigned, adamantly demand that the government honour the principles of fish and wildlife conservation; to respect our native and non-native ancestors and to respect the Williams Treaty."

That's signed by 30 people and myself.

#### AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE

**Mr Ron Hansen (Lincoln):** I have a petition here to the Legislative Assembly and the Lieutenant Governor of Ontario:

"Whereas the people of Ontario are undergoing economic hardship, high unemployment and are faced with the prospect of imminent tax increases; and

"Whereas the Ontario motorist protection plan currently delivers cost-effective insurance benefits to Ontario drivers; and

"Since the passing of Bill 164 into law will result in higher automobile insurance premiums for Ontario drivers,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That Bill 164 be withdrawn."

#### 1520

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** The member for Bruce.

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** For me? Okay. Thank you very much, Mr Speaker. I was so taken by that previous petition, I didn't get a chance to get up.

#### BRUCE GENERATING STATION

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** "We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"When discussing the future of Bruce A, to consider that the undersigned are in full support of the continued operation of all the units at Bruce A. Furthermore, we support the expenditure of the required money to rehabilitate the Bruce A units for the following reasons:

"In comparison to other forms of generation, nuclear energy is environmentally safe and cost-effective. Rehabilitating Bruce A units is expected to achieve \$2 billion in savings to the corporation over the station's

lifetime. This power is needed for the province's future prosperity.

"A partial or complete closure of Bruce A will have severe negative impacts on the affected workers and will seriously undermine the economy of the surrounding communities and the province."

This has been endorsed by several organizations, including the Bruce Provincial Liberal Association and others, including the municipal governments and labour groups in the area, and I have affixed my name to the petition.

#### HOME CARE

**Mr Larry O'Connor (Durham-York):** I've got a petition here:

"We, the employees of health care in the community and members of the community, wish to protest the government's move to eliminate the provision of publicly funded home care by commercial companies.

"We feel that a balanced mix of not-for-profit and profit agencies should be maintained in order to keep the quality of care at a maximum and to service the needs of the community.

"The elimination of commercial agencies will put many more people out of jobs and cause less service to be supplied to people in the community."

#### AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE

**Mr Randy R. Hope (Chatham-Kent):** I have another petition here that was mailed to my office, and it's saying:

"Whereas the people of the province of Ontario are going through hard economic times, high unemployment and are faced with possible tax increases...."

They also say, for some reason, that the Ontario motorist protection plan is currently working well.

It's just signed by a number of residents throughout, I guess, Kent, Port Lambton, Chatham and Wallaceburg, and I wish to forward it to the Legislature.

**The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin):** The member for Bruce.

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** Mr Speaker, it's so helpful to have the member for Chatham-Kent helping us out with the auto insurance bill.

#### BRUCE GENERATING STATION

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** "We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"When discussing the future of Bruce A, to consider that the undersigned are in full support of the continued operation of all the units at Bruce A. Furthermore, we support the expenditure of the required money to rehabilitate the Bruce A units for the following reasons:

"In comparison to other forms of generation, nuclear energy is environmentally safe and cost-effective. Rehabilitating Bruce A units is expected to achieve \$2

billion in savings to the corporation over the station's lifetime. This power is needed for the province's future prosperity.

"A partial or complete closure of Bruce A will have severe negative impacts on the affected workers and will seriously undermine the economy of the surrounding communities and the province."

Along with municipal governments, with labour groups and riding associations, I affix my signature in support of the petition.

#### AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE

**Mr Kimble Sutherland (Oxford):** I have a petition that was forwarded to me by Mr Wayne Geall, who's an auto insurance agent in my riding, and it says:

"To the Legislative Assembly and Lieutenant Governor of Ontario:

"Whereas the people of Ontario are undergoing economic hardship, high unemployment and are faced with the prospect of imminent tax increases; and

"Whereas the Ontario motorist protection plan currently delivers cost-effective insurance benefits to Ontario drivers;

"Since the passing of Bill 164 into law will result in higher automobile insurance premiums for Ontario drivers,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That Bill 164 be withdrawn."

There are 63 signatures on the petition.

#### BRUCE GENERATING STATION

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** "We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"When discussing the future of Bruce A, to consider that the undersigned are in full support of the continued operation of all of the units at Bruce A. Furthermore, we support the expenditure of the required money to rehabilitate the Bruce A units for the following reasons:

"In comparison to other forms of generation, nuclear energy is environmentally safe and cost-effective. Rehabilitating Bruce A units is expected to achieve \$2 billion in savings to the corporation over the station's lifetime. This power is needed for the province's future prosperity.

"A partial or complete closure of Bruce A will have severe negative impacts on the affected workers and will seriously undermine the economy of the surrounding communities and the province."

I affix my name in support of the petition.

#### ABORTION

**Mr Noel Duignan (Halton North):** I have a photocopied petition signed by some 989 names of persons in my riding who have signed petition cards concerning



the task force group on abortion services. It's being submitted by Campaign Life Coalition.

#### BRUCE GENERATING STATION

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** I have a petition. This is one in several which actually bring to the Legislative Assembly some 15,600 signatures in support of the protection of Bruce A.

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"When discussing the future of Bruce A, to consider that the undersigned are in full support of the continued operation of all of the units at Bruce A. Furthermore, we support the expenditure of the required money to rehabilitate the Bruce A units for the following reasons:

"In comparison to other forms of generation, nuclear energy is environmentally safe and cost-effective. Rehabilitating Bruce A units is expected to achieve \$2 billion in savings to the corporation over the station's lifetime. This power is needed for the province's future prosperity.

"A partial or complete closure of Bruce A will have severe negative impacts on the affected workers and will seriously undermine the economy of the surrounding communities and the province."

This, as I have indicated, is supported by various organizations, including labour groups, business groups, the several riding associations previously mentioned and several municipal governments. I have affixed my name to the petition.

#### AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE

**Mr Paul Wessinger (Simcoe Centre):** I have a petition also with respect to Bill 164 and concern that it will result in higher automobile insurance premiums for Ontario drivers.

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That Bill 164 be withdrawn."

#### BRUCE GENERATING STATION

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** I must note while I'm reading the petitions today on Bruce A that we do anticipate in very short order that there will be several petitions to come here in the days ahead in support of the continued existence of Centralia College. But with respect to the over 15,000 supporters of this petition, I wish to read the following:

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"When discussing the future of Bruce A, to consider that the undersigned are in full support of the continued operation of all of the units at Bruce A. Furthermore, we support the expenditure of the required money to rehabilitate the Bruce A units for the following reasons:

"In comparison to other forms of generation, nuclear energy is environmentally safe and cost-effective.

Rehabilitating Bruce A units is expected to achieve \$2 billion in savings to the corporation over the station's lifetime. This power is needed for the province's future prosperity.

"A partial or complete closure of Bruce A will have severe negative impacts on the affected workers and will seriously undermine the economy of the surrounding communities and the province."

In addition to all of the other groups mentioned in support of this, I have affixed my name to the petition.

#### LAND-LEASE COMMUNITIES

**Mr Larry O'Connor (Durham-York):** I've got a petition here.

"We, the residents of land-lease communities, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas residents of Sutton-By-The-Lake felt the previous government set up a committee to report on land-lease communities but took no specific action to protect these communities;

"Whereas the residents of Sutton-By-The-Lake feel it should be a priority of this government to release the report and to take action to bring forward legislation on the following issues that surround land-lease communities;

"Whereas the residents feel that the government of Ontario should examine the problem of no protection against conversion to other uses which would result in the loss of home owners' equity;

"Whereas the residents of these communities do not receive concise and clear information about their property tax bills;

"Whereas there are often arbitrary rules set by landlords and owners of land-lease communities which place unfair restrictions and collect commissions on the resales of residents' homes;

"Whereas there has been confusion resulting in the status of residents with long-term leases where they fall under rent review legislation,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to follow through and to release the committee report to the communities and to propose legislation to give adequate protection to the individuals of these land-lease communities."

This continues to be a concern of many residents in my community.

#### BRUCE GENERATING STATION

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** "We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"When discussing the future of Bruce A, to consider that the undersigned are in full support of the continued operation of all of the units at Bruce A. Furthermore, we support the expenditure of the required money to rehabilitate the Bruce A units for the following reasons:

"In comparison to other forms of generation, nuclear energy is environmentally safe and cost-effective. Rehabilitating Bruce A units is expected to achieve \$2 billion in savings to the corporation over the station's lifetime. This power is needed for the province's future prosperity.

"A partial or complete closure of Bruce A will have severe negative impacts on the affected workers and will seriously undermine the economy of the surrounding communities and the province."

1530

In addition to councils, chambers of commerce, business associations and labour groups, riding associations and school boards, I have affixed my name in support of this petition, this particular one being one instalment in a series containing over 15,500 signatures in support of Bruce A. The people herein listed come from Whitby, Ajax, Toronto, Unionville and other places that are removed from the Bruce area, but that know of the importance of Bruce A to the future prosperity of the province.

#### INTERNATIONAL PLOWING MATCH

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** Mr Speaker, I just rise to ask your direction. I have been requested by constituents to advise all members of the Legislative Assembly that the International Plowing Match will be held in Bruce county on September 21 and that there is a special invitation to all members to attend on Tuesday for the opening ceremonies.

#### INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

##### CITY OF LONDON ACT (VITAL SERVICES), 1993

On motion by Mrs Mathysen, the following bill was given first reading:

Bill Pr13, An Act respecting the City of London.

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY

##### MUNICIPAL STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1993

##### LOI DE 1993 MODIFIANT DES LOIS RELATIVES AUX MUNICIPALITÉS

Mr Hayes, on behalf of Mr Philip, moved second reading of the following bill:

Bill 7, An Act to amend certain Acts related to Municipalities concerning Waste Management / Loi modifiant certaines lois relatives aux municipalités en ce qui concerne la gestion des déchets.

**Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West):** Mr Speaker, on a point of order: I ask if there's a precedent here with respect to having a junior minister in a ministry who should be here at this time for carriage of this particular piece of legislation. I can understand the minister not being here, but we've never been in a situation with a junior minister. We are now, and would it not be appropriate that if it is not the minister, then the junior minister must be in the House at the time

legislation is being dealt with?

**The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin):** He's a parliamentary secretary, and this is our procedure, so this is what we're following.

**Mr Stockwell:** Mr Speaker, on the point of order: The point I was trying to make was that it's either the minister or the second in charge who has to be in the House during carriage of legislation. Now that we have junior ministers, it would make sense to me that it's either the minister or the person who's second in charge: a parliamentary assistant if there's no junior minister, but if there's a junior minister, one or the other must be in the House, one or the other, the minister or the person who is second in charge in that ministry.

The member who is standing in his place today and introducing the bill is not the person who's second in charge in that ministry who has carriage in this House. I would ask, Mr Speaker, considering the fact that there is a minister and a junior minister, would it not be acceptable that one or the other must be here, that it's no longer the parliamentary assistant's role?

**The Deputy Speaker:** I have just explained to you that we're totally within the rules. He is the parliamentary secretary and therefore he has the right to represent the minister. I will not entertain that point of order any more. Mr Hayes.

**Mr Pat Hayes (Essex-Kent):** Thank you, Mr Speaker. I don't believe this is setting any type of precedent. I think one of the things the public really wants to know, and I'm sure the opposition, is that parliamentary assistants are exactly that: They're assistants to the ministers, and they have certain responsibilities. I'm looking forward to carrying out that responsibility.

As many of my colleagues will recall, the throne speech emphasized that this government's top priority is putting Ontario back to work. There's a very important part of the 10-point plan, which includes sustaining the environment by encouraging the emergence and growth of green industries.

My colleague the Minister of Environment and Energy introduced ambitious new regulations last week that will help ensure that Ontario meets a 50% waste reduction target by the year 2000. The regulations require businesses and municipalities to recycle more and to reduce the amount of solid waste going to landfill sites.

Today I'm introducing for second reading Bill 7, the legislation that will enable municipalities to implement these new regulations. Bill 7 gives municipalities increased powers to develop and operate comprehensive waste management programs, particularly the 3R programs. The bill amends the Municipal Act, the Regional Municipalities Act, 13 regional acts and the Municipal Affairs Act.



We know that many, indeed most, municipalities already have the 3R programs in place, but existing powers are inadequate for developing comprehensive waste management systems geared to waste reduction, and most municipalities lack explicit 3R powers.

In introducing Bill 7 for first reading, Municipal Affairs Minister Ed Philip noted, "It is important that communities have the tools they need to continue with innovative, effective and long-range waste management programs." Indeed, the Association of Municipalities of Ontario told us that municipalities clearly support this legislation which, in their words, "represents a close fit with the recommendations the association has made in the past for clear municipal legislative authority for waste management activities."

We've also received support in principle for the bill from the Ontario Waste Management Association, representing more than 250 private waste management firms. The Ontario Waste Management Association's members contributed numerous suggestions during our consultations that are reflected in Bill 7. I might add that they do have some concerns, and we'll be looking at amendments to address those particular concerns from the waste management association.

This kind of reaction from our partners tells us that we are on the right track in our approach to sustaining the environment. Let me provide some specifics of the enabling legislation.

Under the amendments to the Municipal Act, municipalities can establish and operate facilities for all waste management activities: collecting, reducing, reusing, recycling and waste disposal. They can charge user fees for waste collection and disposal. They now have powers to enter potential waste management sites to conduct surveys and soil tests. Accompanying these entry powers, of course, are procedural safeguards to protect the rights of property owners. Penalties for breaching municipal waste bylaws have been increased, and municipalities can market products made from waste materials.

1540

Our legislation goes a lot further. We know that even in areas where the 3R powers already exist, they are vague and unclear about how the powers are distributed between the two tiers of municipal government in regional municipalities.

We have addressed this issue. Bill 7 clarifies that whatever level of government is currently responsible for waste disposal sites has the power to operate the 3R facilities. For example, in Metro, the upper tier currently has the power to dispose of waste; now it gets the power to process recyclables. In addition, upper tiers can assume any waste management authority from the lower tiers—for example, collection—but only if certain voting requirements are met.

I know that financial considerations are on everyone's mind these days. In fact, we have been asked, why give power when there's too little money to pay for waste management programs? Just as an example, Ontario spends about \$33 per household a year for the blue box program. That cost, I submit, is a relative bargain, but the cost of not reducing and recycling is even higher. If we don't reduce, reuse and recycle, we end up sending more waste to landfill sites, and nobody wants that.

We have been asked about user fees which our legislation gives municipalities the power to charge. Of course, people pay for garbage services now through their property taxes. Our new legislation, however, allows municipalities to compute and levy these fees in a different way if they so choose. The great benefit of user fees is that they reward people for reducing the wastes they generate. But let me make this point clear: It's up to municipalities to decide whether they want to establish a user-fee system; our legislation simply ensures they have the authority to do so.

We also recognize that municipalities, like the provincial government, are facing unprecedented financial constraints these days. Despite these hardships, the Ministry of Environment and Energy plans to contribute its 3R financial and technical support programs for municipalities, which accounted for about a quarter of the cost to run 3R programs in 1991.

The government will also be looking very carefully at a more appropriate way of financing the system. Too much of the burden of cost is on the taxpayer. More of the costs need to be shouldered by those who introduced disposable products and packaging into the marketplace in the first place.

Our enabling legislation is both timely and necessary. Municipalities told us that they need and want these powers, and we have listened to those municipalities. This is something they have wanted for a long, long time.

I know the opposition parties do have some concerns; of course, those who did sit down who were willing to discuss it, not just the ones who want to automatically criticize things. There were some concerns in regard to the voting process and there are some other areas about the flow. Some of these areas we feel we can certainly address in the committee. We look forward to amendments to address those particular concerns from the opposition, and I don't see too much problem in going along with some of those recommendations they have made.

I look forward to the cooperation of all three parties on this particular bill that is well overdue. Thank you very much. I'm looking forward to the debate.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Questions or comments? Are there any other members who wish to participate in this debate?

**Mr Bernard Grandmaître (Ottawa East):** I listened with great interest to the member for Essex-Kent, who today is representing the Minister of Municipal Affairs because this is partly a Municipal Affairs and partly a Ministry of Environment and Energy bill. I agree with most of what he said. I think every municipality in the province of Ontario is very much interested in the 3Rs and also in resolving the waste management problems that exist in the province of Ontario.

My biggest concern is who will pay in the long run. The member just mentioned that municipalities are overtaxed and sick and tired of paying more taxes. We were told this morning—or at noon—at a briefing that the program of providing municipalities with more moneys will continue, but when you read the newspapers, how municipalities are being treated by the expenditure control plan and also the social contract, I'm just wondering, how will municipalities afford to continue to provide these services? I'm especially thinking of the smaller municipalities.

As I mentioned before, I think every municipality wants to respect the environment, and most of the programs we're addressing today were all started about four and a half years ago by the previous Minister of the Environment, the famous Minister of the Environment, the member for St Catharines, Mr Bradley, and today we're simply applying what Mr Bradley had initiated.

**Hon Bud Wildman (Minister of Environment and Energy):** Therefore, you're in support.

**Mr Grandmaître:** In some way, Mr Minister, I do support a lot of the recommendations, but again I think this government, your government, will have to provide municipalities with better answers as to the cost and the implementation.

**Mr Stockwell:** Get to the point.

**Mr Grandmaître:** Yes, thank you. I have two memos before me from AMO: one dated April 21, "AMO supports new waste management powers for municipalities," and one from April 29 saying, "AMO critical of timing of new waste management regulations," and they're absolutely right.

**Hon Mr Wildman:** You mean they can't make up their minds?

**Mr Grandmaître:** No, they can and they will make up their minds, and they've told you already what they think of the program.

If this government keeps cutting back municipalities on unconditional grants, and the social contract, municipalities want to be assured that these great programs will be in place for many years to come. So the question of AMO is very simple. They don't trust the government. That's the problem. Many promises were made by this government and very few were kept, and now municipalities in the province of Ontario are very

sceptical of what the government is trying to say and do.

I think what the minister or the government is trying to do in a different fashion is really to impose some of their will on municipalities. I realize that municipalities were seeking more powers, but at the same time, they want to know who will pay for this, because this government has said repeatedly, no more downloading on municipalities.

In my own area, my region, the regional government of Ottawa-Carleton will be losing 15%; will have to increase taxes by 15% if the social contract and the expenditure control plan go through—a 15% tax increase. That means between \$10 million and \$12 million.

The Fair Tax Commission was supposed to relieve property taxpayers in the province of Ontario, and now I hear that the Fair Tax Commission cannot resolve this problem, and also the school tax problem. All these reports have been on the minister's desk—the Treasurer, or the Minister of Finance—for a number of months and very little is being done.

1550

Again, I repeat, this is one of the reasons municipalities are so reluctant—and yet they want to do the right thing—to accept this program blindly. I was glad to hear the parliamentary assistant say that it will go before a committee and some amendments will be introduced.

I want to talk about these tax increases and maybe service cuts in my own region, for the simple reason that more and more programs are being imposed. My regional chair, addressing Mr Rae, "They're the most incompetent people I've ever seen in government" Clark fumed—my regional chair. Also he said, "The entire provincial cabinet should be dumped into the Kingston landfill site." That's how he feels about this government, for the simple reason that municipalities, regional governments, were promised: "No more downloading. We will support you and your programs."

The Premier of this province doesn't know what to do with his new plans, because very few of us know, and very few municipalities in the province of Ontario really know, what the social contract is all about. Even the Premier yesterday in Hamilton told the mayor of Hamilton that there could be exemptions. Imagine, there could be exemptions. Now, for how many municipalities?

**Hon Mr Wildman:** Are you opposed to that?

**Mr Grandmaître:** Your Premier said this yesterday in Hamilton.

**Hon Mr Wildman:** But are you opposed to that?

**Mr Grandmaître:** I think it's very unfair that some municipalities can find or enjoy some exemptions while 50% or 75% of our municipalities cannot enjoy the



same exemptions. I find this very unfair. If AMO is now asking these questions, as late as April 29, I think the ministry, I think the minister, should have come clean with AMO and provided it with all the answers. They're still questioning the program.

Again, I like the program, I think it's great, but somebody has to pay. There is no free ride in the province of Ontario and there's no free ride at our municipal level. Somebody has to pay. I'm anxious for the member for Essex-Kent to try and enlighten this House and tell us how these extra services in some municipalities will be paid for if the social contract cuts back on the number of transferred dollars, such as unconditional grants.

Mr Speaker, I know other people want to address this very important bill, which we will support today, but we are anxious to meet in committee and go through this bill clause by clause so that we can have more input.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Questions or comments? Any further debate?

**Mr Dave Johnson (Don Mills):** I rise to talk about Bill 7 today, and I might say that many of the objectives, of course, that are contained in this bill and are contained within the whole area of responsibility of recycling—many of those responsibilities and objectives—would be shared by myself and by the Progressive Conservative caucus.

I might say, from my experience municipally, that the municipalities have eagerly gone into the program of recycling and have indeed put resources towards it and have organized very successful programs right across this province of Ontario.

Speaking of the municipality that I represented myself until very recently, we implemented almost five years ago—it will be five years ago this fall—a blue box program in the borough of East York. That blue box program carries through to today and collects a great amount of recyclable material: paper, cans, glass, cardboard, PET. I can say that the participation rate in the borough of East York is excellent. There have been studies done that show that over 90%—I think about 92% or 93%—of the people of the borough of East York who have blue boxes participate at least once a month in this particular program.

I can say that the participation rate right across Metropolitan Toronto is excellent, perhaps not quite as high as that, but people take the program seriously; municipalities take the program seriously.

I might also say that this program actually was instituted, in a sense, in East York many years ago. We think of the blue box program as being very recent, but I can tell you that when I first came into political life about 20-some-odd years ago, in East York we instituted a paper collection system at that time. Cans were not involved, nor was cardboard, nor was glass, but

there was a program which involved, those many years ago—about 20 years ago—collecting paper, selling the paper and keeping it out of the landfills of the province of Ontario.

This, again, was a program that was supported quite well, even back those many years ago, by the people of East York. The problem was then, and the problem to a certain degree remains today, that the price fluctuated, the price that could be achieved as revenue for selling the newspaper. At some points in time the price was quite reasonable. There was revenue that would come back to offset the cost of the program. But we went through periods where the revenue dropped and you could barely give the paper away to process it those many years ago. As a result, we had neither the facilities to store the paper nor the financial ability to fund the program without some revenue coming in. So the program, basically, was on and off, but nevertheless it was a program that carried through the years.

Today, East York, as do many other municipalities across this province, has programs other than the blue box program. There is a composting program that's very successful here within Metropolitan Toronto. That has two facets to it. One is that we have attempted to distribute and share the cost with the provincial government. It was a provincial and municipal cost-sharing program to try to encourage people to install backyard home composters. This was a very successful program and remains today a very successful program.

A great number of people in the borough of East York, a great number of people in Metropolitan Toronto, and I'm sure across the province of Ontario, have those backyard home composters and they divert a significant amount of waste from the landfill sites.

1600

In addition to that, there is a program through Metropolitan Toronto to pick up hazardous waste. Perhaps this is the one area—and I'm a little bit saddened that we don't focus more, and that there hasn't been a focus on household hazardous waste. I know in Metropolitan Toronto there is a program to pick up the household hazardous wastes, to have them processed so they don't get into the landfill sites. That, to my way of thinking, could be the number one source of pollution that we may encounter in the landfill sites.

If there are hazardous wastes, whether they be chemicals, whether they be paints, Varsols, any other form of pesticide, herbicide, anything of that nature that finds its way into the landfill sites, ultimately there's a chance that those hazardous wastes will find their way either into the groundwater or at least into the soil and certainly cause problems in future years, and that's something we certainly want to avoid.

My concern is, when we talk about this whole issue of waste disposal, somehow I don't think we highlight that aspect of the problem enough. That's an issue that

we don't seem to focus on to the degree that I believe is essential. There's no question that some people in this province of Ontario are not aware of how they should dispose of hazardous waste. There are some people who are not even sure what constitutes a hazardous waste and that they should be looking at special means to dispose of it. Perhaps that's something we could discuss at committee as well, Mr Speaker, because I certainly will be supporting that and calling for this bill to be discussed at the committee level.

The public acceptance is very high in terms of environmental issues, in terms of moving on the environment, but I must say at the same time—I think this is what has been stressed by the previous speaker—the public has also a very high resistance to taxation. The public has a very high resistance to any more taxes. What we need to be concerned about in looking at bills of this nature, Bill 7, is there has to be not just a one-pronged approach but at least a two-pronged approach, one that concerns itself in this case with the environment, but a second concern is the affordability and who pays.

Just drawing again from my experience in East York to outline the public acceptance, dealing with that aspect, two years ago almost to the day, I would suspect, we organized what was called an Environment Day in the borough of East York. During that day, we distributed home composters to the residents of the borough of East York.

**Hon Mr Wildman:** We're still doing it.

**Mr Dave Johnson:** And we're still doing it, that's right. As a matter of fact, I might say this coming Saturday, May 8, is the next Environment Day in the borough of East York and there will be home composters there again for distribution to the people of East York.

By this point, of course, most of the general public will have received a home composter. As a matter of fact, about two years ago, during that first day, about 1,200 home composters were distributed; in the one day alone, about 1,200 home composters. In the fall of that year, about another 1,000 home composters were delivered during an Environmental Week that we held in the month of September. So just during those two short periods of time, there were over 2,000 home composters that were distributed just to the people within the municipality I formerly represented.

I might say at the Environment Day we also invited people to bring in their hazardous waste. If there was anything within their cabinets, in their workshops, in their homes, in their garages, that they felt should not be put out with the general waste, should not find its way into a landfill site, then bring it in. We organized the municipality of Metropolitan Toronto to have the hazardous waste vehicles present and we organized that those who were qualified to deal with household

hazardous waste would be present as well and we invited the general public to bring those wastes in.

I might say that the response was enormous. The response was absolutely enormous. People brought in all sorts of cans and containers and batteries and things you could hardly imagine. They had been storing them in their houses, they didn't know what to do with them, but this was an opportunity. They brought them in and they flooded the parking lot. We could really hardly deal with them. There were just so many containers that the two vehicles and the half a dozen or so staff who were assigned to sort through this material were overwhelmed. I think that's an indication.

Another indication perhaps was that some people brought in materials that weren't hazardous. In their own minds they weren't sure. They'd been storing them. They weren't just too sure if it was or not, but some of the material was not hazardous. Again, it highlights this whole general concern.

That's a little bit of the experience I've had. I might say that we've followed up with an Environment Day last year as well and, as I mentioned, another Environment Day is coming up this Saturday. The response in all cases has been excellent, so people to this day do respond to environmental issues and are concerned about waste disposal. There's no question about it.

This bill, Bill 7, that has been put before us attempts to address this waste disposal issue in certain areas. It has been outlined by the member for Essex-Kent, I guess. It indicates that it will provide municipalities sufficient explicit authority to develop comprehensive waste management systems geared to waste reduction. The purpose is to help to meet the provincial target to reduce the waste going to our disposal facilities here in the province of Ontario by 25%, which I gather it's been construed that we met by 1992 vis-à-vis 1987 levels, and by 50% below those 1987 levels by the year 2000.

The preamble goes on that the municipalities have been undertaking 3Rs activities. They do not all have the full range of explicit 3Rs powers necessary to do so and some of the municipalities have been reluctant to expand their 3Rs activities to develop capital-intensive waste management facilities. Capital-intensive waste management facilities—there's a key that I'm going to come back to in a few minutes.

It goes on to say that they're given adequate and explicit legislative authority in this area and the bill provides all municipalities with expanded powers to develop comprehensive waste management systems including powers needed to engage in a wide range of 3Rs activities.

That's all very nice. The problem is—and it's been alluded to already here today—who pays? How do we somehow organize all these lovely activities so that they



are affordable, because if they're not affordable, then the whole house of cards breaks down. The municipalities are given the power here in Bill 7, and through some of the regulations associated with Bill 143 there's a mandate to proceed with the program right across the province of Ontario. Municipalities must proceed; they must have a 3Rs program.

Let's look at some of the individual areas. I think, in terms of the blue box program itself, which involves blue boxes, some 3 million blue boxes, I believe, across the province of Ontario, which involves the blue domes, which are used for apartment buildings, which involves the recycle trucks to collect the material, these are all expensive items.

To date, there has been a cost-sharing arrangement to fund the capital side of this program. It's been shared one third with the municipality, one third with the province of Ontario and one third with Ontario Multi-Material Recycling Inc—one third with OMMRI. The problem has been over the past couple of years—and again, when we talk about funding, we have already encountered a problem and we don't seem to be addressing this issue through this bill. I haven't heard any specific ideas as to how we're funding this particular issue. OMMRI, who have been brought into this fund-sharing situation, have been unable to fund their one third of the scheme.

I'm looking at the notes of the annual general meeting of OMMRI. OMMRI, I might add, is composed of some 200 members. These members come from the daily and weekly newspapers, publishers and printers, from grocery distributors, from manufacturers and suppliers of grocery and related products, the manufacturers and bottlers and distributors of soft drinks and their suppliers, the manufacturers and suppliers of plastic products and packaging and the manufacturers and suppliers of packaging and packaging materials. This is the private sector we're talking about, the private sector that would be involved largely with packaging materials, who certainly have a stake in this whole issue of waste reduction.

As I indicated, the previous funding arrangement called for this association to provide one third of the capital funds to fund the blue box program.

**Hon Mr Wildman:** It's 50% the first year, 40% the second year and 33% from then on.

**Mr Dave Johnson:** I think you're talking about the operating costs, though. But at any rate, I'll carry on.

Now, what has happened is that three million blue boxes have been provided through the province of Ontario with OMMRI, so I don't want to leave the impression that OMMRI hasn't made an excellent contribution to the blue box program in the province of Ontario. Three million households have been involved, according to OMMRI's report, and I suspect that's

correct. This represents about 80% of Ontario's current population.

I'm not 100% sure how those numbers are derived. I know that there are a great number of apartment buildings in Metropolitan Toronto that, while they may have access to a facility within the area, do not have a facility associated with that particular building. They do not have a blue dome that is located right on their particular property, which is very convenient to those tenants. There may be one in the general neighbourhood that they can go to and put the material in, but there's not one that's particularly handy. So when the figure is quoted as 80% of the population, I suspect that it may not be speaking to tenants.

I would go on to say that OMMRI has contributed \$35 million, according to their report—and I see the minister nodding his head in agreement—to build this province's recycling infrastructure. About \$23 million of that has come from the soft drink industry—\$35 million in total. However, that funding has come up short. Going into 1992, there was \$4 million in requests within the blue box program that could not be satisfied. Municipalities had put forward requests to expand the blue box program, probably more often than not in terms of apartment buildings, I suspect, and the requests could not be satisfied. The money was simply not there.

During 1992, money was raised through the private sector, through OMMRI, to address about \$3 million of those commitments. By the end of the year there was \$1 million that remained outstanding, but during the course of that year there were a further \$4 million in requests that came in, so that at the present time, if my arithmetic is right, there was actually about \$5 million by the end of last year that there remained unsatisfied, and those constitute a backlog now where there is a desire to move, but the money isn't there.

My suspicion is that this is going to be a problem that continues and that some action is going to have to be taken. We're not told precisely what that action is through the discussion with regard to this bill, but there is a shortfall, and this program is not going to be successful unless that money is found somewhere.

Again, my suspicion is that many of the members of OMMRI, perhaps those associated with the grocery industry or plastics industry or whatever, are desiring to reach some sort of agreement with the province of Ontario. They're not charitable organizations, let's face it, so they don't put money simply in for the sake of putting money in. They need to know what sort of an understanding, what sort of an agreement they can get with the province of Ontario so that they can carry on their business, so that they can make the wheels of our economy go, create jobs etc.

Again, the feedback that I'm getting is that they're unable to reach that sort of understanding, that they're unable to reach that agreement, but here we are pro-

ceeding in this area, proceeding to either mandate requirements, proceeding when there's a backlog, perhaps, of \$5 million or more, and we haven't got those agreements with the private sector in place, and I'm not sure how successfully they're being negotiated, frankly.

So that is a great concern to me, and that is something that I think should have been addressed in terms of the whole introduction and process regarding this bill.

To move on, the whole program, if we're going to achieve the 50% reduction by the year 2000, there are other requirements that will certainly have to be met, and the first I will speak to will involve material recovery facilities.

The material recovery facilities are required to accept waste, sort it out and pull out what's recyclable. Of course, there will be some material that will not be recyclable and it will have to be disposed of, either at a landfill site or perhaps, in some day and age maybe, by incineration. Who knows?

The material recovery facilities are very expensive. In Metropolitan Toronto I believe there's one facility in operation at the present time, and there are different types of material recovery facilities as well.

I have a report from the commissioner of works for the municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, and it outlines the costs involved. This again is important in this whole area, because if we're going to proceed and be environmentally conscious, which we all agree with, at the same time we have to understand the costs.

The report states that a minimum of two material recovery facilities, MRFs for short, and one composting plant will be required to meet provincial waste diversion targets. Two material recovery facilities and one composting plant. The two MRFs and one composting plant will have a through-put capacity of 500 tonnes per day, or 130,000 per year, with 75% of the capacity dedicated to the residential material and 25% of the capacity going to the ICI sector, the industrial, commercial and institutional sector.

Those facilities would have a capital cost, in the case of the MRFs, the material recovery facilities, of about \$23 million, and it's broken down as \$15 million for the construction of the plant itself and, unless the land is free, then they've assigned another \$8 million for the cost of the land. If construction is on a municipal property, I suppose, or maybe provincial property, then perhaps the cost of land isn't relevant, but that's the kind of cost we're looking at.

1620

This kind of plant, I might say, is the simplest kind. This kind of plant basically takes recyclable material that's all thrown together—paper, cans, glass and sorts them out—that's the easy job—sorts them out and

redirects the paper to one area and the cans to another area and the glass to another area and then on it goes to be processed.

The more complicated, the second-generation MRF, I might say, is more expensive. The second-generation MRF will take mixed waste, the kind of waste that would be in the green bags today, and attempt to separate it out. Of course, the recovery rate will be quite different because it has to deal with many different types of waste.

The cost associated with such a facility is in the \$30-million to \$40-million range; \$30 million to \$40 million for such a facility. The cost of a composting plant, I might add, is about \$60 million, and that's a plant that will take all compost material. It'll take leaves, it'll take small branches, hedge clippings, anything that's collected and sent to composting. It would also take waste from restaurants, food distributors and that sort of thing—\$40 million to construct the plant for such a facility, and they've estimated about \$20 million for the land because you need a big piece of land for a composting facility.

That kind of plant and that kind of cost are quite a burden, and the question is, where is the money going to come from? Who's going to pay for that kind of operation?

That's just speaking to the capital costs. There are operating costs, of course, associated with all of these facilities, and I might just say that it's estimated that the recovery facility, the MRF, would operate at a loss—the simple one, the one just dealing with recyclable material—of about \$2 million a year. That's for 500 tonnes per day. The composting plant would also operate at about the same sort of loss: a 500-tonnes-per-day facility at about a \$2-million loss a year for such a facility. So that money has to be found.

There are not only the capital funds in terms of creating these facilities in the first place but there are operating costs that must be found, and we're talking about big money.

In terms of the blue box program itself, on the operating side—not speaking of the capital side now but on the operating side, the day-to-day operation—there again is a cost-sharing formula with the province of Ontario and with the municipalities, but there is a considerable cost. I know that within Metropolitan Toronto at one time we estimated that the cost to pick up a tonne of recycled material would be about \$200. The Ontario Waste Management Association has reckoned this cost—and I think they're just talking about collection; I don't think they're talking about processing—to be about \$129 a tonne. Either way, you can see that there's quite a cost.

The revenue derived from a tonne of recycled materials is very low by comparison. In Metropolitan



Toronto it has been estimated to be about \$10 a tonne in terms of revenue, so the cost greatly exceeds the revenue. There is a huge subsidy that's required: well over \$100 a tonne that's required for each and every tonne of recycled material.

I might say that at the present time this is an issue within Metropolitan Toronto because the municipality of Metropolitan Toronto has been covering the cost of the shortfall associated with the collection and processing of the blue box material, but it has a five-year agreement with the municipalities to do this and that five-year term expires either later this year or early next year, depending on the municipality.

I talked with the mayor of North York this morning and he, in particular, is most concerned about this. He estimates that the cost that will be placed on the taxpayers of North York next year when the contract expires will be in the area of \$5 million to \$10 million. He's made a commitment to the people of North York that there will not only be a 0% tax increase this year but there'll be a 0% tax increase next year, and he's not looking forward to having to assume \$5 million to \$10 million of additional costs to pay for the blue box program and the revenue shortfall associated with the shortfall.

In other municipalities the same sort of situation will crop up. In East York I suspect the shortfall will be somewhere in the area of \$1.5 million to \$2 million. The municipalities are in a bind. This is going to mean probably about five to six mills on a local municipal budget to pick up this shortfall.

So, again, while we're talking about the environmental aspects of this bill and the progress we're making in that regard, it has to be sustainable. It has to be financially sustainable, and the municipalities are certainly going to be put in the squeeze.

One interesting aspect of how they might deal with that, I might add, pertains to a press conference that was held yesterday right in this building by the Ontario Waste Management Association. They have done a study where they polled some different municipalities and some different private companies in the waste management business and they found out that the private sector can provide service in the waste field at a considerably reduced cost to the public sector.

Their results were released yesterday. I think they were fairly widely quoted in the press today. They have found that in terms of general waste collection, public operators experience costs as much as 75% greater than the private sector. Public sector wages are 19% higher—

**Mr Grandmaitre:** On residential.

**Mr Dave Johnson:** That's right, on residential. We're talking residential.

**Mr Stockwell:** Contract out. That's the rally cry.

**Mr Dave Johnson:** Contract out. That's right. That's

essentially what they're suggesting.

The wages are 19% higher, the benefits are 42% of the base rate for the public sector and they're only 25% for the private sector. So there's quite an extra gap there to pay for benefits, and when you throw in paid holidays and absenteeism, there's another 7% difference less for the private sector.

They also claim that productivity is greater. I do know that some of the aspects of the productivity they take credit for would be a little difficult in some communities. For example, I know they use very large vehicles to collect the waste, and this would not be acceptable in certain municipalities.

Nevertheless, they say that for residential general waste collection the total cost per tonne is \$27 for the private operators and for public operators it's \$50 a tonne, so there's a difference of about 75%.

I guess, if we're looking at squeezing the municipalities, if we're looking at putting extra costs on to municipalities that they're going to have a problem bearing, that's probably what they're going to have to do. It's perhaps something they should be doing at any rate, but they're going to look at contracting out to keep the costs down.

The questions we run into are: Who pays for the capital recycling program, who pays for the large facilities that'll be required to sustain a waste reduction program that will achieve the provincial initiative, and who pays for the operating losses associated with these programs?

In terms of who pays for the capital recycling program, I've already indicated that OMMRI, Ontario Multi-Material Recycling Inc, is very concerned and the private sector is concerned. They're not the villains in this piece; they are businesses trying to survive in a very difficult economy. They have to meet the bottom line. They have to be able to survive financially, so they're not there just to be tapped endlessly to pay for expensive schemes. They create jobs.

Certainly, at a time when we have about 11% unemployment in this province, we need to be very cautious about imposing too many costs on our business sector. But that's the intention right now, I gather: to have the business sector pick up a good chunk of the capital costs of the recycling program. It'll be interesting to see if they're able to do that. It's an extra tax that they don't need.

1630

Who is going to pay for the large facilities, the MRFs and the compost plants and that sort of thing? I think it's anticipated that these facilities will be paid out of tipping fees or else charges to the local municipality. The tipping fees will have to be put at a level to generate revenue; that the local municipalities will be charged for the tonnage of waste perhaps is another

option, and the money will be derived to somehow pay for these very costly capital buildings.

Again, the problem here is that municipalities are not going to be able to afford this. If there are extra charges imposed on the municipalities—they're struggling to keep their taxes down at a time when inflation is very low, at a time when taxpayers cannot afford more taxes, and they don't need any additional costs imposed on them to pay for expensive facilities.

In terms of generating revenue from the tipping fees, if the tipping fees are too high, which we've seen recently in southern Ontario, certainly, the private sector will simply not use the landfill site. The private sector will use other facilities. Unless there is some legislation that requires waste to be disposed in a certain landfill site—this is generally termed flow control: waste that's created in a certain area must be deposited, both through the public sector and through the private sector, in a waste facility that serves that particular area—unless flow control is instituted, then the private sector will certainly avoid landfill sites that have huge tipping fees and the revenue will not be raised. This bill does not speak to that. This bill does not come to grips with that whole issue, and I have to be critical of the bill in that regard.

You may wonder, where do they go if they're not disposing of their garbage here in southern Ontario? Well, I can tell you where they go to avoid the huge tipping fees. They go to an incinerator in the state of New York, the Occidental incinerator. They also go to many landfill sites. They go to landfill sites in Erie, Pennsylvania, and Detroit, Michigan. They ship it to Waterloo, New York, Seneca Meadows landfill. They ship it to Lewiston, New York. They ship it to Ohio; there's a landfill in Ohio that's receiving waste from Ontario. They ship it to Fort Wayne, Indiana. They ship it to Grand River Disposal landfill in Detroit, Michigan. They ship it to a landfill in Niagara Falls, New York. They ship it to the American landfill in Waynesburg, Ohio, and on and on it goes. They ship it to Green Tree landfill in Poland, Ohio.

That's where the waste is going today, because the landfill tipping fees are too high. Naturally, if you can pay \$50 to \$60 a tonne, including transportation fees, to have garbage disposed of in one of those sites in the United States or you pay \$150 a tonne here in southern Ontario, then what's the choice? Now, some of the tipping fees have been reduced to about \$90 a tonne, but nevertheless, that's still going to be a problem, because there's still an extra charge so they're still going to go south. I think if there's anticipation that the revenue's going to be generated to pay for these schemes from the tipping fees, then there's a real problem.

Just as an example of what's happening, there is a report from Metropolitan Toronto that indicates that in

February 1991 there were almost 80,000 tonnes of garbage, paying the tipping fee, going into Metro landfill sites. By 1992, one year later, the tonnage had dropped from almost 80,000 tonnes down to about 13,000 tonnes. By 1993, just recently, in February, a year later again, the tonnage had dropped from the original 80,000 tonnes per day, I guess this is,—this is a daily tonnage—down to 6,000 tonnes. It had dropped an enormous amount, from about 80,000 tonnes down to 6,000 tonnes per day going into the landfill site to avoid a high tipping fee. All this waste is going down to the United States, and that's where it's being disposed of. As a result, the municipality of Metropolitan Toronto is losing about \$150 million to \$200 million a year in revenue because of the drop in the waste.

That money perhaps could have been used to pay for some of the facilities that will be required to satisfy the bills and the regulations that we've had before us by this government, but that money is not there, and where it's going to come from, I'd like somebody to tell me. Who's going to pay for that?

I'll just say a little bit about the user fee. It's anticipated that the local municipalities will impose a user fee on individual properties within their jurisdiction. It's been indicated by the member for Essex-Kent that this is not compulsory. This is something over which they have a say, they have a choice. The choice will be either to pay for it out of their general revenues—put their taxes up—or to pay for it from a user fee, I gather, which they would charge to each and every household and each and every business in the municipality.

I can say that any way you cut it, that's going to be viewed as being an extra tax by the people in this province, and it's going to put the municipalities in a very tight situation. Some may be doing it; the vast majority are not doing it. They're going to find it very difficult in this day and age to assign a user fee to every householder. People are going to rightfully consider this to be a tax. Frankly, they're getting too many taxes in this day and age, and they don't need another tax on top of the ones they already have.

In addition, I'd be interested to see how this works in apartment buildings. Somebody could explain how they're going to do that. I suppose they're proposing to shut off all the chutes that people use in apartment buildings, give people a bag and have them trot around outside and throw it into a bin. I don't know. I'm not sure this is practical within an area that has a very high percentage of apartment buildings.

But the main point is that this will be viewed as another tax, and people are sick and tired of taxes.

I'd like to shift to the topic that the member for Essex-Kent mentioned that we may be able to resolve: jurisdiction. We'll see.

I agree that there needs to be guidance in terms of



this whole issue, and I personally agree that landfill disposal should be at the regional level. I know that at the present time, some local municipalities have that jurisdiction. In the Niagara region, for example, some local municipalities have that jurisdiction. I think that to some of them it's very worrisome. The environmental assessment process is very complex; they have a difficult time sorting through it.

1640

My guess is that most local municipalities would say that the landfill issues, the disposal issues, should be at the regional level, and I don't dispute that. I don't, frankly, dispute that the processing and marketing of recycled materials should be at the regional level as well. I think there needs to be coordination in that. When we're talking about marketing paper and cans and glass and materials, this is something that should probably be organized and marketed on a broader basis to achieve constant markets, and the best markets that are possible.

Composting is another issue that probably should be handled at a regional level. Some local municipalities may be equipped to handle it, but the issue is one that's expensive and it's broad based and perhaps regional participation should be the way to go.

However, in terms of the collection—the collection of blue box material, the collection of mixed waste—I think there you will find a difference across the province of Ontario. In terms of the collection process, you will find that many local municipalities have been delivering this service, have been delivering it at a good cost and have the ability to deal closely with their ratepayers. If complaints come in, people know who they can get in touch with. They can get in touch with their local councillor and raise issues with their local councillor and get them resolved right on the spot. The collection process is one that in many municipalities is best dealt with at the local level.

I'm not saying that in some regions it doesn't make sense to do this at the regional level. What I'm saying is that across the province of Ontario, when we have such a varied nature in our municipalities, we'll find that both cases make sense, depending on which municipalities we're looking at. In some municipalities, the collection should be regional; in some municipalities, collection should be local.

Now, what's happened through this bill is that the regional municipalities have been given the authority to assume all aspects of waste management, right from the beginning to the end, from the collection phase right to the disposal phase. It varies by the region. In those regions such as Metropolitan Toronto and the Niagara region, where the regional councillors serve only on the regional government but don't serve on the local government, then the way the bill is structured today—and I'm delighted to hear that the member for

Essex-Kent has said there's some room for discussion on this—the regional government can take over the collection without any input, without any say, from the local municipality.

I have to say, from my experience, that this is going to cause friction, that this is going to cause problems, in some local municipalities. I think that must be addressed before this bill is finalized. We have to give the say to the local municipalities and let them have input into this process, and that's not true in at least two of the regions. I hope that when this goes to committee we can resolve those issues and let the municipalities be involved.

In the other regions, where the regional councillors, excluding the mayors, also serve at the local level, and that would be the majority of the regions within the province of Ontario, there is some avenue for say from the local municipalities.

The way the act is structured, it permits the regions to take over all aspects of waste collection, all aspects of waste management, if the region votes in favour and if there is at least one vote from a majority of the local municipalities. I have to say that's at least superior to the first situation that I described, in Metropolitan Toronto and Niagara, but still it's very little input from the local level to satisfy the region taking this over.

I would have to say that when this gets to committee, I'd want to take a look at that, and I think we should take a look in terms of broadening the local input into that process to make sure that we have a consensus. This is what we're trying to achieve: a consensus with the local municipalities and the regions. They can work together and they can mutually decide for their benefit how they want to proceed. Do they want the region to handle it all? Do they want the local municipality to have some part in this process? And it should be by consensus.

When we talk about the powers that have been given to municipalities, I couldn't take part in this debate without mentioning powers that have been taken away from municipalities. It's just interesting that in this sense, in this bill the thrust seems to be to give to some municipalities some additional powers. In many cases I support that and it's a good thing, but I can also say that in the past some powers have been taken away from municipalities in terms of waste management and it has not been a good thing. That has not been addressed here. I see no reference to that sort of situation and I think it should be discussed and pursued.

For example, I mention Bill 143; I mention the landfill search here within the GTA; I mention the fact that going back a few years ago, Metropolitan Toronto—this would be prior to 1991—in the late 1980s and up to 1991 spent \$5 million in a search for a landfill within the GTA: \$5 million. This was a search that involved a very extensive environmental process,

involved looking at landfills within the whole of the GTA and southern Ontario. It also involved looking at the Adams mine site, I might say, near Kirkland Lake.

But in 1991, as the municipalities, including Metropolitan Toronto, including the regions of Durham, York, Peel, were involved in a search for a landfill site, that authority was wrestled from them, taken from them and it was brought back here to the province of Ontario.

In 1992, we had the Waste Management Act, which set up the Interim Waste Authority and that waste authority then took over the search for a landfill site for the regions in the GTA. Now, not even two years later, I'm told that the cost of this search is some \$35 million, or it will be \$35 million by this June, \$35 million in terms of cost to do a lot of the same work that the municipalities had already been undertaking at a much reduced cost.

Unfortunately, this \$35 million, this money, is not only wasted but it's going to result in higher tipping fees, higher user fees, and again this is going to be felt back by the municipalities and by the private sector.

#### *Interjection.*

**Mr Dave Johnson:** Well, you know, I'm being told that it was cheap, but that certainly isn't the information I have from Metropolitan Toronto, that by the time—and "cheap" too implies that there will be a successful result. It's interesting that in terms of the sites that have been found so far, they are almost identical to the sites that Metropolitan Toronto identified about two years earlier at a much-reduced cost. They're essentially the same sites. Let's see now: There are five sites in Durham and Peel and four in York region. In Durham, four of the five sites are located near the hamlet of Whitevale and the fifth site is located in the town of Newcastle.

**1650**

I can recall back in those years serving on the Metropolitan Toronto council looking at sites in exactly those same locations at reduced cost and I can see that what's happening is that the citizens who live near those sites are rising up in arms. We see that the chair of Pickering Ajax Citizens Together—they call themselves PACT—is accusing the IWA of practising the 3Cs, which are cheap, close and convenient.

There are certainly going to be problems. The umbrella group Environment Not Economics, ENE, has stated:

"It's time to take the gloves off. The fact that there is a shorter list doesn't make it any better"—and it's referring to the short list of sites that have been identified through the provincial study—"The process is still flawed. Now the government will really find out what is in store for them: civil disobedience. It's a foregone conclusion. There is going to be a horrendous fight with regard to any one of these locations within the GTA.

The people will not accept them."

So, cheap: First of all we have to establish that in fact the government will be able to deliver on a site. It's my guess that there is a very high probability that it won't be able to deliver on a site, and in that case it's not very cheap. Even if they do deliver on a site, looking at the costs involved, I suspect the site in Kirkland Lake will look pretty good. I might add that some of the benefits of the site in Kirkland Lake by comparison—and this site, I should say, is still being pursued by those who support it.

Metropolitan Toronto, for one, is very concerned that the province of Ontario will not have an alternative site when the current sites are full. They will not, going through this Interim Waste Authority process, be able to find a site, and in fact Metropolitan Toronto is continuing to put forward the Kirkland Lake site as an alternative in that event.

The site in northern Ontario in Kirkland Lake and the Adams mine: Recyclable products would've been directed to the proposed material recovery facility with an initial capacity of 120,000 tonnes per year. The blue box materials from the north would also have been processed at that site. The agreement would've provided for the establishment of an industrial park to develop the local recycling technologies in cooperation with the host communities and providing assistance to encourage recycling industries to locate there.

The northern Ontario solid waste management system project envisaged that up to 1.5 million tonnes of solid waste per year could have been transported by rail to that site—1.5 million tonnes a year. It would have created jobs, it would have created an industry in the north and it would have addressed the problem that I'm very fearful, through this whole process, will not be addressed as it is.

I want to say something a little more positive about this bill and about the whole area, even though I think there need to be a whole lot of amendments.

One area that has concerned the municipalities for some time concerns the problem of dumping. Purely and simply this is: If you put again the tipping fees up too high, if you charge too much for waste disposal, the waste will either go south to the United States or people will dump it illegally in parks, on the roadside or wherever.

The fines, through this bill, are being increased. I'm glad to see that. They're being increased for illegal dumping, for truckers I guess, or whoever is involved in this process—they dump their illegal loads. The fines for an individual would be \$10,000 for a first offence and \$25,000 for subsequent offences; for companies, \$50,000 and \$100,000 for subsequent offences.

Certainly in my municipality we've seen many instances of this kind of problem. We've had to close



off one road which led into an isolated area because dumping was so prevalent it simply couldn't be controlled. I recall an incident in the parking lot of a church just around the corner from me where there was a pile of—

**Mr Jim Wiseman (Durham West):** Some people got no respect.

**Mr Dave Johnson:** People have no respect. Isn't that the truth? A pile of earth was dumped illegally. The only way that this was rectified was that several weeks later, the police were sitting in the parking lot near the illegal pile, probably making out their daily reports, when a truck came into the site, rolled up beside it and attempted to dump a second load in the parking lot. The police officer got out of the car and asked the trucker what was he doing. He said he was dumping this material, he had to get rid of it, and it was brought to his attention that this was illegal. Through that process, the trucker had to remove both loads, the second load and the first load as well.

But this is right in the middle of an urban area, right in the parking lot of a church, and it shows the kind of problem we're running into. It shows the problem that happens if you put the price up too high, if you make people pay too much. This is what happens.

A friend of mine called me—he has a property in East Gwillimbury—and he had over 200 tires dumped on his property.

**Mr Wiseman:** He should hang on to those.

**Mr Dave Johnson:** Yes, maybe he can recycle them in the future. If the proceeds from the tire tax ever get put to good use, then maybe he'll have a gold mine there. But he has 200 tires to dispose of, he had a load of shingles, he had fridges, stoves and other general garbage. There is a real problem there.

The bill does speak to increasing the fines. It doesn't speak to ways of detecting the perpetrators, and I think that's where we need to focus some energies. In terms of those people who are dumping, how do we catch them in the act, how do we find them, how do we pursue this so that the fines can click in? I hope there are some good ideas in that regard, because that's becoming a real problem for a lot of municipalities.

I think perhaps I'll limit my comments to that at the present time. I did want to make sure, to the best of our ability, that this bill was going to be referred back to the committee. There are problems with regard to the financing, problems with regard to the jurisdiction between the regions and the local municipalities. There are also problems in terms of ensuring that the private sector has a role to play in this whole piece, because the private sector, from my experience, is able to deliver a product and a service at very economical costs.

I'll be delighted to be involved in the process when it gets back to committee, and I'll save any further

comments for that point in time.

**The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve):** I wish to thank the honourable member for Don Mills. Questions and/or comments?

**Mr Hayes:** I'm very pleased that the member for Don Mills is certainly supporting this bill, a large portion of it. I know he does have some concerns and I'd like to address some of those concerns.

When he talked about the costs, the regulations have been made more flexible. That will actually reduce the costs. For example, the north would not have to implement the 3Rs program for three years, and of course the depot system that they have would still be in place, and provincial funding will remain in place with no cuts. I think the member wanted to know that.

There are a couple of other areas here. The household hazardous waste that the member for Don Mills raised: Bill 7 permits municipalities to undertake programs to manage household hazardous waste right now. Of course, the Ministry of Environment and Energy does provide funding to municipalities to undertake household hazardous waste management initiatives.

I think the other issue was dealing with who is going to pay. I know that the member for Don Mills did mention the grocery products marketing commission, that it had some concerns. As a matter of fact, they have made a proposal to this province dealing with that issue, and they're willing to look at a model where they would assist to pay the capital cost and also the operating cost, and this government is reviewing that proposal at this present time.

1700

**The Acting Speaker:** Further questions and/or comments? The honourable member for Etobicoke—

**Mr Stockwell:** West.

**The Acting Speaker:** West.

**Mr Stockwell:** Thank you. It's sometimes hard to deal with your own party.

The crucial point that the member for Don Mills raised was a point that he, as mayor of East York, has been dealing with for the last number of years, particularly surrounding the blue box program. I know the member was a member of the works committee at Metropolitan Toronto, and his knowledge of the program, the costs, the benefits is second to none in this House.

I would say that the issue that hasn't been dealt with by this government is the financial implications of the extension of this particular program we're discussing. When you talk about a hit of five or six mills on a municipality like East York, the flexibility of a municipality like East York to absorb the cost inherent in this program is very, very minimal.

The point that was made by the member for Don

Mills that should not be overlooked by this government is that many municipalities, during the past few weeks, have taken great care and gone to great lengths to pass on no increase to the beleaguered taxpayers. With one fell swoop, in an ill-conceived, badly planned, financial fairy tale, the government's going to wipe out all that goodwill that's been established by those municipalities to keep the tax rate on the taxpayer to nothing.

You can kiss them goodbye in Mississauga, in Etobicoke, in East York, even in the city of Toronto, the council, the biggest spenders of all, got the message and held it to nothing.

So this particular initiative, I think, was enunciated very clearly by the member for Don Mills. It's ill-timed, it's underfunded and it's simply trying to placate a community out there that they've alienated with their half-baked game plan on landfill issues.

**The Acting Speaker:** Further questions and/or comments? The honourable member for Durham West.

**Mr Wiseman:** I will be speaking at some length later, but in these two minutes I would like to make a couple of comments.

The member for Don Mills has raised a couple of interesting points, in particular around the cost issue. What I would like him to consider for a moment is the Ernst and Young study that was done about Kirkland Lake and the transfer of waste from Toronto to Kirkland Lake in the context of what it would cost.

When we look at the cost in that study, it clearly indicated that it was \$750 million to run the garbage from Toronto to Kirkland Lake on the train and a further \$750 million to run the transfer station in Vaughan. So for the people who are watching who live in Vaughan, under the Kirkland Lake scheme you're getting it one way or the other.

**Mr Stockwell:** So how much does it cost?

**Mr Wiseman:** The total is about \$1.5 billion to ship waste from Metropolitan Toronto to Kirkland Lake. That's \$1.5 billion; those are the numbers.

**Mr Stockwell:** What a lot of bunk.

**Mr Wiseman:** The member for Etobicoke West doesn't like to hear this, but those are the numbers in the Ernst and Young study. I've read it; maybe he hasn't. But that \$1.5 billion would have to come out of the taxpayers' pockets in Toronto. That is a huge hit on the local taxpayers. Local option is far more cost-efficient.

Just to have it broken down, currently it costs about \$30 a tonne to run the Keele Valley landfill site and \$30 a tonne to run the Brock West site. Metro is currently making money from the municipalities outside of Metro which have been subsidizing Metropolitan Toronto's waste management schemes for the last 20 years.

For example, the Durham Board of Education paid \$152 a tonne to tip into Brock West, which is in Durham, whereby—

**Mr Stockwell:** Then start your own dump site.

**Mr Wiseman:** We were, until you guys got in the way. The Metropolitan Toronto boards paid nothing. Thank you, Mr Speaker; we'll examine this later.

**The Acting Speaker:** One final participant, the member for Simcoe East.

**Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East):** I want to take a couple of minutes to respond to the speech by the member for Don Mills. It's one of his first major speeches in this Legislature and he certainly had his facts straight. It was a good speech, one that deserved a great deal of attention by the people listening.

I want to say that this Bill 7 is certainly going to create a great discussion when it gets to the committee stage. It's interesting to note that we were talking about waste management powers that are going to be available to the municipalities. In Simcoe county right now we have the great hearings going on in Midland with regard to site 41, something that's already cost \$1 million or better. The cabinet has allowed that site 41 to be reopened, and the hearings now, my understanding is, could go right through until September, at great cost to many municipalities.

Since Bill 208, which gives the counties the authority to take over waste management, I don't know why we're looking at other sites when we've got a dozen sites or more that are now accepting waste. Why is the Ministry of Environment and Energy not looking at those sites and not having these great hearings with regard to site 41?

The member for Don Mills spoke about costs at great length and he spoke with regard to the transportation of garbage from Ontario to the States and to incinerators. When we look at the rail haul that has been proposed for Kirkland Lake and we look at the haulage that's taken place from here to the States, it certainly leaves this government options which it should be looking at, which I believe many people in Ontario want it to look at, which the people of Kirkland Lake want it to look at, and I know it will come to a decision which is proper.

**The Acting Speaker:** The honourable member for Don Mills has two minutes in response.

**Mr Dave Johnson:** I guess I'm happy to hear from the member for Essex-Kent that the money will not be reduced in terms of the programs. I guess it's my position, though, that the money is insufficient at the present time. We're particularly going to see this when the local municipalities in many cases start picking up the costs that perhaps regional municipalities had been assuming. When we look at the inflation rate and the expectation of the taxpayer to keep taxes very low, there



is going to be a whole lot of trouble. In addition, user fees are still going to be considered as an extra form of taxation and they're not going to be well accepted in this day and age. So I think there is going to be a huge revenue problem and funding problem, notwithstanding the member's comments.

With regard to the northern Ontario solid waste management system project at Kirkland Lake, I have a report from the municipality of Metropolitan Toronto that considers all facets of this particular application and shows a cost per tonne of \$51.73 to dispose of waste in the Adams mine site. That is more expensive than today, for sure, there's no question about that, but I will be interested to see that in comparison to any site that may come out of the process through the Interim Waste Authority.

I look at some of the comments in the report coming out of the ministry that the key issue for the participants from the Vaughan area of the study pertain to social impacts associated with the future site because of the number of nearby residences and the presence of a school, and there's concern with the compatibility with regard to protection of agricultural lands. The minister's going to have a real problem putting a site in this area, and the Adams site may seem very cheap by comparison.

**The Acting Speaker:** The member's time to respond is complete. Further debate, the honourable Minister of Environment.

1710

**Hon Mr Wildman:** I want to congratulate the member for Don Mills on what really is his maiden speech and to say that he obviously took a great deal of care to research his position. He has experience at the municipal level that has been very helpful to him in making his views known to the House on behalf of his constituents and on behalf of his party, and I congratulate him on his initial intervention in the debate in this House.

I want to also say very clearly that I strongly support, obviously, the amendments to the Municipal Act that were tabled in the Legislature by my colleague the Minister of Municipal Affairs and that the member for Essex-Kent has brought forward for debate this afternoon.

The amendments for the first time will mean that all municipalities in Ontario have unquestioned powers to plan, develop and operate 3Rs facilities and to embark on aggressive reduce, reuse and recycle programs. As you know, last week I made an important announcement on new regulations relating to the 3Rs in this province that will become law in August, giving us some time to consult the municipal sector and the private sector on how we can implement the 3Rs program to make it the most comprehensive in Canada and perhaps in North

America between now and August. That will then give southern Ontario municipalities approximately a year to implement the program, and then in northern Ontario the choice of two to three years for implementation because they are indeed farther from market.

A lot has been said so far in the debate that relates mainly to the announcement of regulations that I made last week and/or the Interim Waste Authority process in the greater Toronto area, particularly as it relates to Metropolitan Toronto waste, which doesn't directly relate to the bill my colleague has brought forward for second reading debate today.

Bill 7 will give municipalities increased powers to develop and operate comprehensive waste management programs, particularly the 3Rs, and I want to emphasize that this bill comes forward after extensive consultation with the municipalities across the province and after many concerns being expressed by the private sector as well about the need to know how the 3Rs programs are to be implemented at the municipal sector and also to know what the regulations are going to be. So this really does fit closely with the regulations that I announced in the House last week.

Really, I believe that the amendments meet the needs of the municipalities across Ontario and should be passed into law by the House. It will enable municipalities to ensure that we do in fact implement waste management programs. It will make it possible for us to reach the goal of diverting 50% of our waste from landfill sites by the year 2000.

We have met, as I announced a couple of weeks ago, the challenge of cutting by 25% the amount of waste going to landfill by the end of 1992, in comparison to the amounts in 1987, when every Ontarian was responsible for approximately one tonne of garbage each year. That was a great achievement, but the greater challenge is going to be to meet the next 25% and to cut by 50%.

It has been suggested that what is being proposed in these amendments is some sort of downloading from the province to the municipal sector. I know that my colleague the member for Don Mills alluded to that, perhaps not as forcefully as the Liberal critic for Municipal Affairs, the member for Ottawa East, who, when he made his short intervention in the debate, said he believed this was a kind of downloading, or could be. As my colleague the member for Essex-Kent has indicated, with regard to the implementation of the 3Rs, we are committed to maintaining the level of funding that has been provided by the provincial government, particularly for the blue box program, and we will not move away from that. In fact, the first year of an implementation of the blue box, the provincial government provides 50% of the cost, the second year 40% of the cost, and then subsequent to that, 33%, and we will maintain that. We are committed to doing that.

What we're talking, though, in this bill is allowing

municipalities the powers to get involved in more complex waste management programs than just the blue box. There has been a lot of concern expressed about what might be proposed by that minority of municipal governments that are not now involved or are only involved in a very restricted way in the 3Rs. There are a number of them, around 15 municipalities of a considerable size, and many of them are in northern Ontario. We've consulted with them about the implementation of the 3Rs and the implications of this bill, and I want to say that we've listened to their recommendations. The consultation process enabled us to draft amendments which would assist the municipalities in their 3Rs endeavours.

The amendments we're debating here today have the strong support of the Association of Municipalities of Ontario and the Ontario Waste Management Association. There have been comments raised that I want to deal with in a few moments about cost and so on, but it's important to recognize that the particular amendments we're debating here today have the support of those associations.

Because of the concerns raised by municipalities, we have given them the power, all municipalities, to establish and operate facilities for all waste management activities, including collection, reduction, recycling and waste disposal. We will require separation of waste and recyclables and we will give the municipalities the power to establish user fees and incentives for waste reduction. The municipalities will also be given the power to enter on to property, to conduct surveys and soil tests for waste management purposes, while safeguarding the rights of property owners and occupants.

The municipalities will also be able to market products made from waste materials, and I want to emphasize that it's going to be the responsibility both of the provincial government and of the private sector, in conjunction with the municipalities, as we move into the expanded 3Rs programs, to develop markets and determine how we can indeed market products that are in fact a resource and should be seen as a resource for our economy rather than as waste materials that should go to landfill.

These amendments also will give the municipalities the right to increase fines for breaching municipal bylaws.

The 3Rs regulations that I announced will help reduce Ontario's garbage production by two million tonnes per year by the year 2000. Also, we've made a commitment that we will simplify approvals for recycling facilities, and we will also be able to save money on waste disposal if we implement the 3Rs program.

The regulations, as we all know, will require blue box recycling, leaf and yard composting and home composting programs for municipalities with a population of more than 5,000. The municipal amendments that we're

discussing today are the initial requirement for the implementation of this 3Rs program. Municipalities then will be able, once these have been passed, to carry out reducing, reusing and recycling of their waste in order to ensure that we don't continue the levels of landfill that we have now been experiencing.

It's important for us to recognize, as the member for Don Mills did, that the legislation will give municipalities the clear power to handle residential waste. As for waste generated by the ICI sector, the industrial, commercial and institutional sector, the provincial government will continue to look to the private waste industry to deal with those materials.

The amendments sort out the roles and responsibilities of regional and municipal governments. We've had different situations with regard to the regional municipality of Muskoka, for instance, than we've had with other regional municipalities, and certain lower-tier municipalities haven't had the power to do certain things that they wish to do. These amendments now make it clear. We believe the amendments will help the municipalities to tailor and implement waste reduction programs which will be appropriate to their communities and that the municipalities will be able to ensure that any measure required by them will be able to be carried on successfully.

1720

I said that this has been the result of extensive consultation. This government consulted with the municipalities, with AMO, with private sector firms, with environmental groups and with individual citizens to ensure that these amendments were on the right track. The public consultation which was undertaken last year included 12 open houses and public meetings across the province. We received more than 100 written responses to the proposals.

As the situation stands now, some counties and a few regional municipalities that assume waste management powers find it difficult to exercise these powers because of service area restrictions on landfills. This restriction often prevents counties from moving waste in an effective manner to the most appropriate site.

That's why I propose to bring forth a regulation pursuant to the Environmental Protection Act to enable counties and those regions which assume powers under the proposed municipal amendments to increase service area and fill rates where the approved landfill's capacity is not exceeded. I emphasize that landfill capacities will not change, only the authority for counties to rationalize landfill capacities across the county so that rates of filling certain landfills may change. The overall capacity won't, but the rate of filling individual landfills may.

Over the next few months, between now and August, obviously we will have to consult even more widely with all the stakeholders to develop a new and fair partnership in waste reduction.



There's been a lot of discussion about how we can finance this, not the amendments we're debating here today but the expanded 3Rs program. It's obvious to me that while we've had some participation from the private sector, it has not been as consistent or as widespread as it perhaps should be.

Too much of the cost for dealing with waste management has been put on the shoulders of the taxpayers. It's obvious to me that if we take into account the concept that was accepted by the international community at Rio de Janeiro—that is, that the polluter must pay—private sector firms that put single-use, disposable products or packages on the market will have to take responsibility for dealing with those materials when they have been used and it should not fall to the taxpayer to have to deal with disposable products.

We do support the hierarchy of the 3Rs: to reduce, reuse and recycle. Important and successful as the blue box program has been, it is the third in the hierarchy. We've got to ensure that there are more reusable products on the market, and if there are companies that insist upon developing and putting on the market disposable products, then they've got to take a greater share in the cost of dealing with those products.

I think we can develop a partnership. The Grocery Products Manufacturers of Canada has a proposal that has been put forward for dealing with waste from their sector, and while we have some concerns about how it might be developed, we're prepared to discuss with them further how we might develop that partnership and have all of the players in that sector play a greater role. The partnership is essential if we want to see our waste action plan succeed. Many of the elements of the plan are now in place—some of them began with the previous government—and they are working. The blue box program is successful, but it can be made more successful and fairer.

In closing, I want to emphasize that I believe the amendments brought forward to the Municipal Act by the member for Essex-Kent today are a step in the right direction. To reach our goal of diverting the amount of waste going to landfill by at least 50% by the year 2000, municipalities must be given the powers and authority to carry out waste management programs. These amendments, which the municipalities have been asking for for a long time, will help them in meeting that challenge.

For that reason I fully support the amendments brought forward by my colleague and hope the House will move quickly to pass them into law and to pass second reading now so that we can deal with the various elements of the bill where amendments might be required in committee.

**The Acting Speaker:** Questions and/or comments?

**Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines):** I'd like to

offer a couple of comments on the minister's remarks in the brief period of time that I have to do so, to say that one of the areas that a minister must always speak to in introducing a program is how the program is going to be appropriately funded. Experience always tells all of us, when we're dealing with municipalities particularly, and other agencies or partners, that one of the areas they will always want to discuss with us is that of money and it makes it easier for them to accept when indeed the funding is appropriate.

I would hope that, once again, when the government is involved in its restraint program, it will pick out its priorities. There is a tendency on the part of treasury board, or as it used to be called, Management Board, to simply cut everybody at about the same rate. That makes everybody feel good. The Minister of Finance, as they call him now—the Treasurer, as I still call him—can go about saying: "It's fair to everybody. You know, the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology has lost all of those offices that she can't visit now and others have lost various parts of their ministries."

I would hope that the government overall would ensure that there is adequate funding for the Ministry of the Environment, because I think at least the Liberal Party and the NDP—perhaps the Conservative Party will speak for itself—have placed a high priority on the field of the environment, but you're going to find that the municipalities are going to be quite resistant unless there is some continuing assistance provided to the municipalities as the program is expanded.

I think the program has to be expanded. I think there has been a reasonable start to it and I think there has been an anticipation by the people of the province of Ontario that in fact the program is going to be expanded. The minister is appropriately doing that with this legislation, and I'll look forward to the opportunity to discuss this matter in some greater depth when I have an opportunity to speak of my own volition.

**The Acting Speaker:** Further questions and/or comments on the minister's participation?

**Mr Ted Arnott (Wellington):** I wish to thank the Minister of Environment and Energy for his important contribution to this debate. Certainly, as Minister of Environment and Energy he has a great deal to say about this particular initiative.

By way of my response at this time, I would like to pose a question to him. My question centres around the amendment to subsection 209(4) of the Municipal Act, which allows a county to assume all or any of the waste management functions if a majority vote on county council representing a majority of local municipalities votes in favour of that.

Following the former Minister of the Environment, who was the minister for five years under the Liberal government, who I believe took the initiative to change

the legislation—and he'll correct me, I suppose, if I'm mistaken—from a unanimous vote on county council for county government to assume the responsibility for waste management away from the lower-tier municipalities, now we have the New Democratic government changing this again, reducing it from a two-thirds majority to a 50% majority.

My question would be, does the minister not think it's desirable to have more consensus building which would be represented in a larger majority on county council prior to the county government assuming the waste management responsibility? My concern would be that in some instances there could be a possibility where a number of municipalities could, in terms of their waste management planning, identify a landfill site in one particular municipality such that there could be a situation where municipalities would be, so to speak, ganging up on one.

I would think that it would be better and very desirable to have more consensus building, as represented by a larger majority, prior to the upper-tier municipality going ahead with assuming the waste management responsibility. I would pose that question to the minister.

**The Acting Speaker:** Further questions and/or comments?

**Mr McLean:** It was about two years ago that this government gave the Environment minister power to unilaterally dictate the waste management procedures that had traditionally been done by the municipal governments. Today he's giving back something that he feels is appropriate in Bill 7.

1730

The question that I also have from the minister's comments is with regard to the 50% of the two thirds. In the county of Simcoe, they have a weighted vote; certain municipalities have five votes, some municipalities have one. How is this bill going to affect that vote? Is it going to be one vote per municipality or is it going to be used as a weighted vote, so called, where the large municipalities will get more votes than the smaller ones will? That's a concern that those small municipalities are going to have when it comes time to deal with this.

I'd like the minister to also indicate with regard to the waste management in the county of Simcoe with regard to site 41, of which the previous government had said there are now new hearings established. As I said before, there's already \$1 million spent. They're now looking at hearings going on all summer, and my colleague Mr Waters from Muskoka-Georgian Bay was at it for about an hour and says we're going through this all again with lawyers and consultants and a great cost.

So since the county took over waste management, why are we proceeding with this site 41? We've already got probably a dozen sites in the county. Why are we

proceeding with site 41? I'm telling you, it's interesting to note the background of the waste management corporation from north Simcoe county, and I wish the minister would look into it and see what's the problem.

**The Acting Speaker:** One final participant.

**Mr Wiseman:** I'd like to just comment a little bit about the powers of the Waste Management Act in terms of the history of waste management site searches in the greater Toronto area. It goes back an awful long way in terms of the history of my community, what with Beare Road right on the boundary taking 18 million tonnes of Metro's garbage, and who knows what the content of that was, and then Brock West, and of course then the site selection search beginning in 1987, where Metro was looking in Durham and where they identified some sites and removed them from the table. Two of them happened to be in the Rouge Valley.

The next stage occurred when the previous government gave an environmental exemption to the site called P1 in my riding. What happened under that was that the province of Ontario, the government of Ontario of the day, decided to involve itself in the waste management issue, which had traditionally belonged to the municipalities and which I hope this bill will return to them. What they did was they gave an exemption.

The history has been rather clouded around P1 because in fact this government didn't remove P1 from the table. It didn't say that it had to be removed. What it did was say that any landfill sites would have to undergo a full environmental assessment hearing. That precipitated the regional municipality of Durham from removing that site and removing the five other sites that they had already identified even though the Minister of the Environment had told them not to do so.

So the responsibility for waste management in Durham was thrown away or abrogated by the regional municipal government and thrown on to the province, and this has led to the creation of the IWA. The process had been hoped to have been done in partnership between the municipalities and the province, but with the withdrawal of the municipalities from their responsibilities and obligations, that was not possible. I hope I've cleared up the record a little bit about the abrogation of municipal responsibility.

**The Acting Speaker:** This completes questions and/or comments. The honourable Minister of Environment and Energy has two minutes in response.

**Hon Mr Wildman:** The member for St Catharines indicated that he wasn't speaking of his own volition. I'm not quite sure what forced him to speak, but at any rate I want to assure him that there are no cuts across the board. In terms of the way this expenditure management plan has proceeded, each ministry first looked at its programs and determined which ones might be curtailed, which ones must be maintained and which



ones would have to expand. Also, then we looked across government, and the whole government operated that way.

So you'll see that there has not been an arbitrary figure of 10% or 15% set and everybody cut by that amount by the centre, but rather it's done on a program-by-program basis. I want to assure the member that the funding for the 3Rs for the Ministry of Environment has indeed been maintained. We are committed to maintaining the levels of 50% in the first year, 40% in the second year and 33% subsequent to that for things like the blue box program, and we are committed to maintaining that.

The question raised regarding the county would constitute a majority vote is an interesting one. Obviously we didn't want to have it done in such a way as would hamstring the county from being able to make a decision, to serve its ratepayers across the county, but at the same time we certainly don't want to put it in such a way that it will make it possible, as the member indicated, for a number of lower-tier municipalities through the county to gang up on one of their sister municipalities. I think that's something we might look at in committee and deal with in committee.

I just want to correct the member for Simcoe East's wrong impression that somehow this is giving powers that the province has appropriated back to municipalities. That's not what this bill is about. What the bill is about is responding to the concerns of many municipalities, regional and county, as well as lower-tier municipalities that have attempted to bring in waste management programs but haven't been able to or were concerned they might not be able to because they didn't have the appropriate powers. This is responding to their concerns and giving them the powers that they require.

**The Acting Speaker:** Thank you. This completes the honourable minister's response. Further debate? The honourable member for St Catharines.

**Mr Bradley:** Thank you, Mr Speaker, for the opportunity again to be able to engage in debate on this bill. I think that we have to first of all outline the problem that exists in Ontario.

**Mrs Ellen MacKinnon (Lambton):** Of your own volition?

**Mr Bradley:** In this case, I'm allowed to do it. In the last case perhaps I was encouraged by others to participate, but I am of my own volition in this case involved in this particular debate.

I want to deal first of all with the overall issue of waste management in the province and the desire, I think, of society to see a regime where there is reduction, reuse and recycling as a priority in terms of waste management.

There was a time when our society simply threw things away, to put it bluntly. North America is noted

particularly as a very wasteful society even today, and it was encouraging to see that there were environment groups and people who used to be referred to as "granolas" and a lot of people laughed at them in the 1970s and early into the 1980s, but we began to see that governments recognized that they had to run to catch up to the population.

In other words, there were a lot of people who felt that it was not simply appropriate to dump anything and everything into the local sanitary landfill site, as every Environment minister calls it, and dump, as everybody else calls it. As a result, we began to see that there were ways of diverting that waste, diverting it in a few ways.

One way to divert, of course, is to reduce the waste we produce in the first place, and all of us have gone through the procedure of being annoyed at the amount of packaging we see in many of the products we've purchased over the years. Sometimes there has been reasonable justification for the packaging in terms of preserving the sanitation, or preserving the hygiene I guess is a better word, of the particular product, or in other cases it's to prevent theft, and there are further reasons.

But I think there's a recognition that a reduction in the packaging and a reduction in the amount of waste produced in the first place is desirable, so many of the catchy consumer goods that were available early on are now beginning to disappear as people make their own decisions to purchase that which can be reused or recycled.

In terms of reuse, we could take a lesson again from many of our grandmothers and great-grandmothers, I suppose, in that economic circumstances dictated that we did use different products. I can think of, for instance, sugar bags that were used for pillowcases. There aren't many people who can relate to that because we're in a much more affluent society today, but I was a little kid in Sudbury and I can well remember that in our house we had pillowcases that were made in fact from sugar bags.

Just down the street from me, the member for Sudbury, Ms Murdock, lived one block away from me, and I'm sure at the Murdock household, because we both came from modest means, modest backgrounds—

**Ms Sharon Murdock (Sudbury):** Too many kids.

**Mr Bradley:** Too many kids, she suggests. There were five in our family, and I won't say how many in her family, but she is holding up two hands and now says eight was the total.

1740

We recognize that there was a need to reuse, and it was mostly economic circumstances that dictated that and our affluent society produced an awful lot of waste. So governments started to look at ways that they could be involved in reducing that waste and encourag-

ing people to reuse. Unfortunately, some of the measures have not been popular, and the easiest has been the third of the 3Rs, which is to recycle. It's much more difficult to get people to reduce and to reuse than it is to recycle, even though the first two are the most desirable.

But there has been some considerable success with the blue box recycling program and additions to that. In my backyard and, I'm sure, many backyards in the community of St Catharines, people have composters where we take our banana peels and other household waste, as we used to call it, that is compostable and can be used once again to be useful on lawns and in gardens and things of that nature. It's amazing the amount of waste that is diverted as a result of that.

Second, the blue box program was denounced by many of the naysayers. You have to understand that there are still dinosaurs out there. You will still find the dinosaurs who will say, "Well, you know, that's a passing fad." I think, as you look around the Legislature today, you will see very few members who would hold that opinion.

You do get some resistance from some people in some municipalities because they will refuse to calculate the real cost of the old dump, of disposing. If you look at the real cost and compare it to diversion, you find out that in fact reduction measures, reuse measures and recycling measures are saving money or at least are exactly the same, because they will not take into consideration the fact that it costs you money, first of all, to purchase land, to site the land, to prepare the site, to go through the hearings, to operate the site appropriately—not under the old rules, but under 1993 rules—and then to keep the site in perpetuity and ensure that you don't have the leaching of undesirable materials into the waterways. You try to have catchment systems for that. And, of course, there's dealing with the problem of methane gas.

So I think all governments that are moving in the direction of diverting more waste and encouraging more reduction, reuse and recycling are in fact moving in a continued appropriate direction which I think would have very good support among the general population, if not among those who are out there today to pan environmentalism.

Let me assure you that there is an attack on environmentalists and environmentalism today. You particularly see it south of the border, where those who look at the state of the economy see this as an opportunity to begin to attack measures which involve conservation, which involve preservation and which involve many of the environmental issues that were popular in the 1980s and began to be implemented in the 1980s. So we have to be careful of that. There are spokespersons, in fact, in various legislative bodies who are prepared to take up that charge today, going back to the days when the

environment was pushed to the back burner instead of being on the front burner for governments.

I'm a bit concerned about the actual financing from the provincial government. Though I understand the problem that the minister has, having been a minister, the idea was that the funding that would be provided to municipalities would be startup funding, would be initial funding for them, funding which would allow them to integrate into their waste management system a new program for diversion.

I'm pleased to see as well that we do not list the fourth R any more, although there are still people who list the fourth R, and that, of course, essentially was incineration, even though it didn't start with an R. It was essentially incineration. It was called recovery. Recovery is still an option, in my view, to be looked at for the purpose of disposal, but I do not consider recovery to be one of the measures for diverting waste from landfill sites because you still have the problem with incineration of the fly ash particularly, and to a certain extent the bottom ash, that has to be put somewhere and has to go through a leachate test to determine whether or not it is toxic. So those who offer that as a wonderful solution should know that while it should be on the table to be looked at, it is certainly not the solution that many people believe it to be and it is not a measure of diversion.

#### *Interjection.*

**Mr Bradley:** The member for Durham West, who knows everything about everything, interjects something about this because he has all of the answers. I watched him—in fact, I should compliment him. I saw him on cable 10 in St Catharines with the member for St Catharines-Brock, who interviewed him on two different shows on waste management. Even though there were some politics in it, which happens from time to time, I thought it was useful, and I commend my colleague from St Catharines-Brock because I think it allowed an opportunity to deal with waste management issues, which aren't always very attractive to deal with.

I've become concerned about the funding because I see so many programs that the government is not moving forward with in the field of the environment, and I also worry about the investigations and enforcement branch. The Speaker will be saying, "Well, what does this have to do with this bill?" Let me explain to him what the investigations and enforcement branch has to do with this bill.

When we have waste management initiatives taking place, anybody who's in violation of those could be confronted by the investigations and enforcement branch of the Ministry of Environment. When it was established, when I had the opportunity to sit down with ministry officials and develop a separate branch of the government called investigations and enforcement, I saw that as being an extremely important branch.



I know there are those who don't like it. Whenever you went to visit a company, the vice-president—environment always said, "The Gestapo was here last week." Now, the Gestapo, he didn't have to translate what that meant—he or she, whichever the vice-president happened to be. He didn't have to say to me what it was. I knew it meant the investigations and enforcement branch.

There's a value to it, and why it fits into this bill and why it's important that we retain it as a separate entity is that if we are to enforce our environmental regulations as they relate to the management of waste, we would recognize that we can't have it integrated with other parts of the ministry. It's like having a police force. It has to be separate, first of all, from political control so the minister can't simply send the branch after somebody the minister doesn't like or protect somebody the minister does like or owes a favour to. That is simply not acceptable. I am told that used to happen at one time in the history of the Ministry of Environment. Though I don't know precisely what the date was, I can tell you it predated 1985. At least I can tell you that.

I think everybody supported the fact that it should be a separate entity, that you have an investigations and enforcement branch that answers to itself to a certain extent and works on the policy developed by a government.

I understand what's happening now and I know it was happening. People wonder: "Well, how do you know this is happening? How did you know that the government was thinking of scaling back or eliminating its program to move ministries to various communities?" Well, I sat around the cabinet table for five years, three months and four days. Don't know how many hours it was, but it was a good time to get an insight into the workings of government. And I on that occasion did not even have a second business that I could go to. I had to earn all of my money in the Legislative Assembly, so I didn't have that opportunity.

But it was important to have this separate branch, and I hope the members who are not members of the cabinet, and some who are members of the cabinet who are here, will hear the message of how important it is not to let them—that is, treasury board and people who make certain recommendations—destroy the investigations and enforcement branch, either by reducing its size or by reducing its mandate or, perhaps more insidiously, by having it report to people other than the branch itself. You see, there has always been some resentment out there that the investigations and enforcement branch had that degree of independence.

Let me put it this way. When you're dealing with a branch of this kind, abatement people have the job of working with the company or the municipality to try to develop systems of avoiding the production of

contaminants or waste material or perhaps suggesting ways of developing catchment systems so the material doesn't go into the air, the soil and the waterways.

**1750**

Well, you can't be sitting down nicely with the people around a table, around lunch or something, and discussing these matters and being friendly and then the next day lay 16 charges against them. So abatement is extremely important, and our abatement branch in our ministry plays a very significant role. But it has always been my view that abatement should be separate and apart from investigation and enforcement, and my fear is—

**Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West):** Déjà vu.

**Mr Bradley:** Well, certainly. The member for Etobicoke West, who is bilingual, says, "Déjà vu all over again," and that is true.

We're seeing a dismantling, in my view, potentially a dismantling, of this independent branch, and its integration within the ministry. I know that the people out there who watch this aren't always aware of the intricacies of government and some members are not aware of the significance of that, but I urge members of the government who are concerned about the environment to question the minister, to question anybody who has anything to do with the potential of reducing the importance of the investigation and enforcement branch. Let me tell you, it is a branch which is admired right across Canada and North America.

**Mr Stockwell:** Steven Langdon likes him.

**Mr Bradley:** It's not only Steven Langdon. I would say Michael Davison probably likes him. I see a headline here that says, "Bob Rae Must be Defeated as Leader at the NDP Convention." This is the former member for Hamilton Centre, Mike Davison, whom I always admired when he was here in the Legislative Assembly. I can't believe that Mike Davison wouldn't agree with me that there should a circumstance where the Ministry of the Environment preserves the investigation and enforcement branch. Anybody who wants to get a copy of this, it was in yesterday's Hamilton Spectator. It is rather revealing. It follows along a little bit of what Steven Langdon has had to say, and, last session, what other members from the Windsor area have had to say.

However, I do not wish to be diverted from the real importance of this bill.

In terms of municipalities, I'd like an option where there is some local input into which level of government locally, the regional or the local government, shall control waste management. However, I think the one reason we went from unanimous consent to a different mode of consent was because, obviously, it was hard to get that consent. Say you had 30 municipalities within a county—it didn't happen in regions, but within a

county—and you had five of them that were potential sites; you can be sure that those five potential sites would have one view and those who didn't have the potential sites would have another view.

So it will be interesting to see, when the amendments to this bill come in, whether or not the government is prepared to move on this.

I know that in my own city of St Catharines, our mayor, Joe McCaffery, is concerned that if the region takes over garbage disposal, the cost to the citizens of St Catharines will zoom upward. We have endeavoured in our part of the province to develop a club system, where four municipalities—in this case, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Thorold, St Catharines and Niagara Falls—were to develop a common site for that material which would be ultimately disposed of when all diversionary activities were completed.

It has had its difficulties. One of the difficulties is that the Ministry of the Environment had promised funding to this particular club and the funding has not been forthcoming, so as a result we haven't had the degree of cooperation that we might have hoped for. It is my hope that the ministry—with its priority for the environment, surely the government will ensure that those funds will be flowing to my local municipality.

The government must continue, in my view, to expand all methods of diversion, and I think it's wise, as we move from the residential—the residential has to be retained, but as we move from the residential into industrial and businesses in terms of finding ways—I can even think of some businesses that you wouldn't think would need this that should certainly ensure that they should be recycling and reducing and reusing. If someone, for instance, happened to be in the automobile business, they would find ways of being able to do this. I can't name any particular person, but I would say that there is that opportunity.

So I think you will find some considerable support for most of the portions of this bill. I think the support will be enhanced by sufficient government funding in terms of startup and in terms of continuing funding and for the purposes of education, though I don't include in that self-congratulatory advertising, which this government is very good at and is carrying on a time-honoured tradition, I might add. In times of financial restraint, what we don't need are ads that have a third hand coming back to pat the government on its own back, but rather are educating the population as to ways in which we can become better citizens environmentally.

All of us as members of this assembly, and I'm sure you, Mr Speaker, encounter people on a weekly basis who ask us, "How can we make a positive contribution to the environment?" This bill and some of its provisions are pointing in that direction. I'm not a person who's negative about legislation that I think will have some positive effects, and I think there are very support-

able portions of this bill; some that may require some amending, and I heard the member for Essex-Kent telling the House earlier today that the government was prepared to accommodate suggestions from the government side, the opposition side or outside on how the bill might be improved, how it might be modified—not gutted, because the government certainly doesn't want to do that, but how it might be appropriately modified to make it a better bill.

What I'm wondering is where along the line this fits in with the funding of the remedial action plans in various harbours, because I have not seen that funding; it must be invisible. But I can well remember that we needed funding for that.

I don't know where this fits with the clean air program, which appears to have totally disintegrated somewhere. It was announced in June 1990, I think, somewhere around there. It was a well-thought-out, well-developed program that was all ready to go, and I thought the government would seize this and move forward with it. I would have been here in the Legislature to commend it. The member for Etobicoke West has the famous—what do you call that?

**Mr Stockwell:** Agenda for People.

**Mr Bradley:** The Agenda for People, that I'm sure contains that.

And the municipal-industrial strategy for abatement: I wonder where this fits in with the MISA program, which appears to have been gone somewhere along the way.

So all of these environmental initiatives that I heard my friends in the NDP talk about—I was almost tempted to vote NDP last election because they had such a good platform on the environment. My hand trembled as I went in to vote, because I thought: "You know, I'm a true environmentalist. This party is committed to it. We're going to see 100 days of action and this province will be in great shape." So as I drove past Oakville today, I was sniffing the air and I thought: "That can't be the petroleum smokestacks. That's got to be coming from the United States, because we have an NDP government in Ontario now, and surely all of those melodious sources are now finished. And Sudbury will be perfect."

Dave Kappel, who was my opponent in St Catharines, who came very close to winning—and good fellow he was: worked very hard, worked for the member for Lincoln for a little while; no longer works for the member for Lincoln—I was convinced that he had a platform there that was worthy of support.

I certainly see a lot in this bill that's supportable, but I'm wondering where the rest of it is. I know that the strong environmentalists over there must be wondering the same. I know Mike Davison is wondering the same. Leo Panitch I heard on the radio this morning, a person



I've always admired all my life, Leo Panitch was on NDP Morning—Metro Morning—and he was very concerned about the lack of action on the part of the NDP on initiatives such as this.

I know the Treasurer is going to speak to the federal NDP caucus today, and Mr Fulton, who is a strong environmentalist, and Mr Blaikie will both be asking him about the funding that will be forthcoming for all the environmental initiatives that this government will be embarking upon in this, the month of May 1993.

I see that it is almost, as we say in this House, 6 of the clock. I don't know why we say that, but it is 6 of the clock. I believe I'm adjourning the debate at this

time. It will continue at another time, and the member for Etobicoke West will get a chance to ask questions and respond.

**The Acting Speaker:** The member need not adjourn the debate. He will have the floor when we resume debate on Bill 7.

It now being 6 of the clock, this House will stand adjourned, but I want to remind members that there is the Order of Ontario presentation on the main staircase, so you may want to avoid the main staircase on your way down.

This House now stands adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, May 5, at 1:30 of the clock.

The House adjourned at 1801.







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